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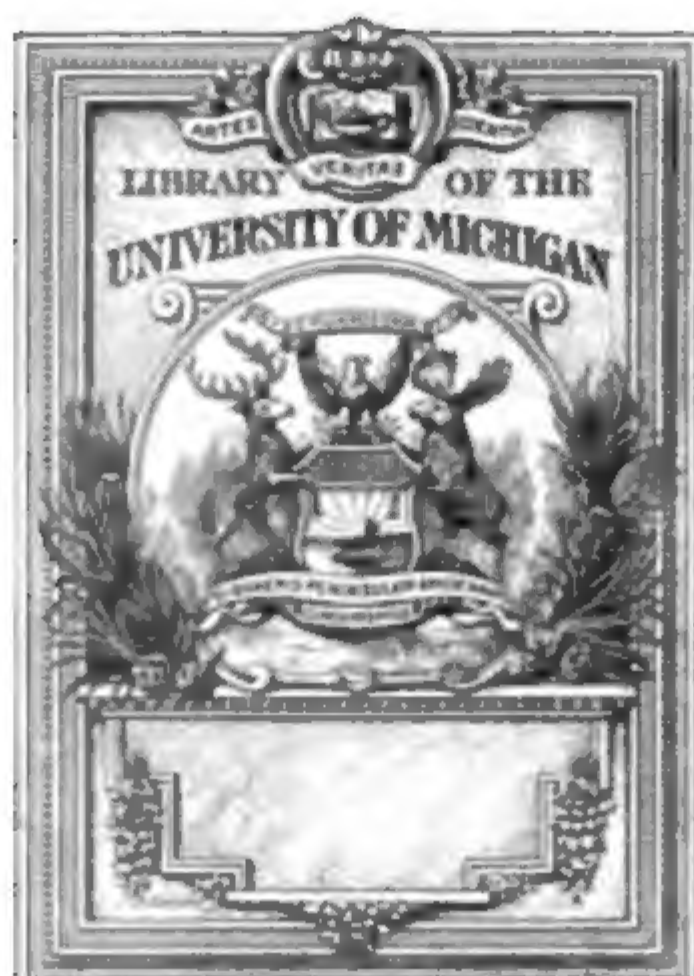
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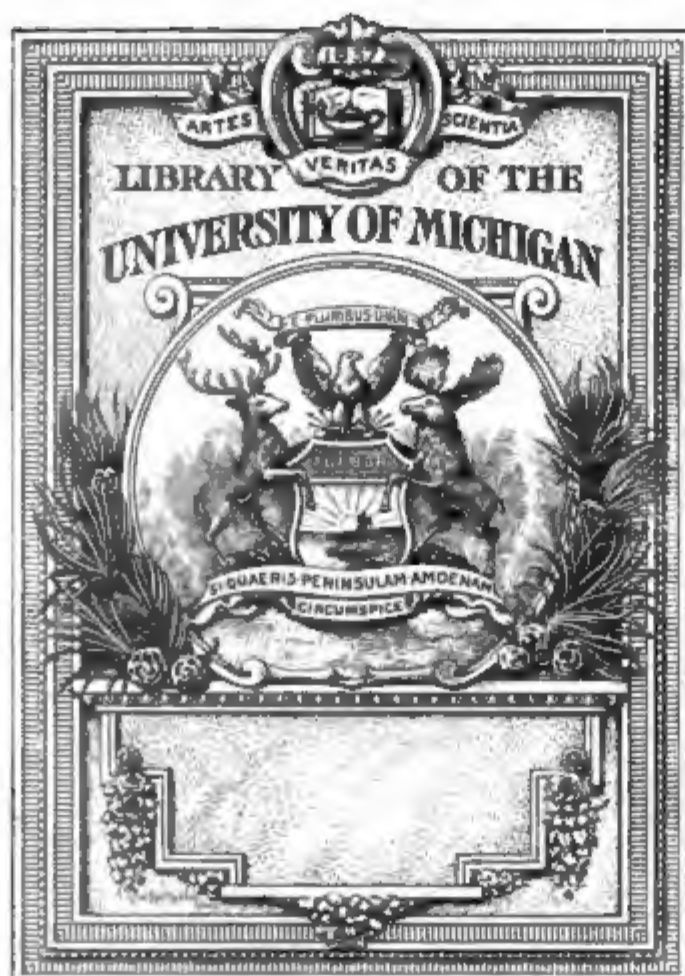
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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER.
1885.

ALL THE VOLUMES OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE

ANNUAL REGISTER

1863 to 1884

MAY BE HAD.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER:

A
REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME
AND ABROAD,

FOR THE YEAR

1885.

NEW SERIES.

LONDON:

RIVINGTONS, WATERLOO PLACE.

LONGMANS & CO.; SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO.; HAMILTON & CO.;
HOULSTON & SONS; SMITH, ELDER, & CO.; E. BUMPUS;
H. SOTHERAN & CO.; BICKERS & SON; J. TOOVEY;
J. WHELDON; R. WASHBOURNE.

1886.

PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
LONDON

CONTENTS.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

Unpopularity of the Government—Rumours of Cabinet Dissensions—Mr. Chamberlain on the Rights of Property—Prince Bismarck—Colonial Policy—Imperial Federation—The Egyptian Imbroglio—The Intention of England—The Members for Birmingham and their Constituents—Mr. Goschen at Edinburgh—The Dynamite Explosions—Mr. Parnell and the Tipperary Election—The Fall of Khartoum—Public Opinion and Public Speeches—Cabinet Changes page [1

CHAPTER II.

Reassembling of Parliament—Egyptian Affairs—The Business of the Session—The Vote of Censure in the Commons and the Lords—Narrow Escape of the Government—Its Foreign Relations with Russia, Germany, and France—The Reserves called out—The Egyptian Indemnity Loan—The Redistribution Bill in Committee—The Revolt against Sir S. Northcote—The Representatives of Scotland and of London—Navy Estimates—Army Estimates [25

CHAPTER III.

State of Foreign Relations—Mr. Shaw-Lefevre and Mr. John Morley—The Story of the Negotiations with Russia—Mr. Gladstone's Statement—Military Preparations—General Komaroff's Version—The Vote of Credit—Lord Salisbury at Wrexham—Popular Opinion—Mr. Gladstone's Warlike Utterance—The Ray of Peace—The Attitude of the Conservatives—Abandonment of the Soudan—The House of Lords on the Central Asian Question—The Duke of Argyll on Indian and Egyptian Affairs—The Redistribution and Registration Bills—Mr. Childers's Budget—Colonial Legislation—Renewal of the Irish Crimes Act and the Cabinet Crisis [65

CHAPTER IV.

The state of parties—The renewal of the Crimes Act—Speeches of the Recess—Lord R. Churchill's manifesto—Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham—The Budget—Defeat of the Government—The Interregnum—The revolt of the new Conservatives—Lord Salisbury's difficulties—The new Administration—The intervention of the Queen—Honours and rewards—The Archbishop of Canterbury on the State Church—The policy of the new Cabinet—Blunders in Admiralty Finance—Housing of the working classes—The Irish legislation of the Government—Foreign Affairs—Position of the Ministry—Close of the Session . [96

CHAPTER V.

THE RECESS.

The Recess—The Liberal programme explained by Lord Rosebery in Midlothian, by Mr. Forster at Bradford, and by Mr. Chamberlain at Hull—Mr. Brett's proposition—Mr. Parnell on the duties of Ireland—Lord Hartington's attitude—The Moderate and Radical programmes—Lord R. Churchill and Mr. Chamberlain—Mr. Gladstone's manifesto—The immediate present and the possible future—Mr. Goschen's political economy—Mr. Chamberlain's three points—Lord Salisbury's Conservative programme—The rivalry of Mr. Goschen and Mr. Chamberlain—Lord Hartington's visit to Ireland—The question of Disestablishment *page* [134

CHAPTER VI.

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

The Disestablishment of the Church—Mr. Chamberlain's Address—Mr. Gladstone's Campaign in Midlothian—The Irish Nationalists—Lord Salisbury's Manifesto—Conservative Successes in the Boroughs—The Revolt of the Counties—General results—Mr. Gladstone's Scheme of Home Rule—Attitude of the Radical Leaders—Close of the Year—Colonial and Foreign Policy of the Government [175

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONDITION OF IRELAND.

The Prince of Wales's visit—The Lord Mayor of Dublin and the stolen standard—Mr. O'Brien at Mallow—The Errington letter—The choice of an Archbishop—The New Ministry—Mr. Parnell's policy—The General Election—Home Rule [195

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY [203

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY [232

CHAPTER III.

EASTERN EUROPE: RUSSIA—TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE [258

CHAPTER IV.

MINOR STATES OF EUROPE: BELGIUM—THE NETHERLANDS—SWITZERLAND—SPAIN—PORTUGAL—DENMARK—NORWAY—SWEDEN [278

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER V.

ASIA : INDIA—CENTRAL ASIA—CHINA—JAPAN, &c. *page* [308

CHAPTER VI.

AFRICA : EGYPT—SOUTH AFRICA—THE CONGO—MADAGASCAR . . . [340

CHAPTER VII.

AMERICA : UNITED STATES—CANADA—MEXICO—CENTRAL AMERICA—WEST
INDIES—BRAZIL—CHILI AND PERU [369

CHAPTER VIII.

AUSTRALASIA [391

PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS 1
RETROSPECT OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART . . . 71
OBITUARY OF EMINENT PERSONS 135
INDEX 203

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1885.

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Unpopularity of the Government—Rumours of Cabinet Dissensions—Mr. Chamberlain on the Rights of Property—Prince Bismarck—Colonial Policy—Imperial Federation—The Egyptian Imbroglio—The Intention of England—The Members for Birmingham and their Constituents—Mr. Goschen at Edinburgh—The Dynamite Explosions—Mr. Parnell and the Tipperary Election—The Fall of Khartoum—Public Opinion and Public Speeches—Cabinet Changes.

HEAVY clouds hung all round the horizon when the new year dawned; and in spite of Gordon's encouraging telegram, received at the moment General Herbert Stewart was starting across the desert, there were few who really felt that Khartoum and its defenders could still be rescued. In the larger question of the settlement of the Egyptian difficulty, Prince Bismarck had ostentatiously opposed English views, and thrown the weight of his influence on the side of France; and he marked his contempt for the British proposals by declaring through his organ, the *North German Gazette*, his conviction that "no agreement could be arrived at by written despatches always crossing each other." Almost simultaneously the news arrived that the French were about to occupy the New Hebrides, and that Sir H. Bulwer, the Governor of Natal, had taken possession of St. Lucia, a harbour in Zululand, where Herr Lüderitz, a Bremen merchant, claimed to have acquired the surrounding land, and held it for his own country. Two Cabinet councils, called in quick succession, followed by Mr. Gladstone's somewhat sudden departure from town, served to stimulate the belief that a crisis had arisen, and that some fresh distribution of office was imminent. The newspapers, which

were usually neutral or courteous towards the Ministry, denounced in strong terms the hesitancy of its foreign and colonial policy, which had embittered France and estranged Germany. The *Times*, generally cautious in expressing decided views, wrote, "The crisis is becoming so serious, and the complications with which this country is beset in different parts of the world are so menacing, that the incapacity displayed by the Cabinet in its external relations is becoming a national danger. Much is forgiven to men who have a reputation; but, in face of continual and glaring proofs of failure to conduct the most ordinary affairs, the country may speedily be driven to the conclusion that there would at least be no harm in trying what can be done by persons with less high-sounding names. Once before there was a 'Ministry of All the Talents,' which conspicuously failed to carry on the national business; and whatever the powers of the men who now compose the Government, they are collectively cursed with an infirmity of will and a blindness to facts which are rapidly involving the country in difficulties and dangers such as the most powerful State may shrink from encountering." The *Spectator*, even, whilst declaring the new jingoism, which preached indefinite annexations as inevitable, to be as unreasonable as and far more dangerous than that which saw in Russia an inevitable enemy, admitted that Mr. Gladstone's foreign policy had not had the "complete invariable success of his home policy," and hinted, although obscurely, that he had earned his retirement from active political life. A few words, spoken by Mr. W. H. Gladstone at an agricultural dinner, from which his father was forced to absent himself, gave further support to the idea that the retirement of the Prime Minister was imminent; and the *Daily News*, in a certain sense a Government organ, gave expression to the belief held in some quarters that Lord Granville and the Lord Chancellor (Selborne) would follow their chief into retirement, that Lord Derby would be moved to some honorary but irresponsible post, and that a new Liberal Ministry would be reconstructed under the leadership of Lord Hartington. If such views were ever seriously entertained within the Cabinet—and of this no evidence ever transpired—the insuperable difficulties of any such reconstruction were speedily made clear to the public by Mr. Chamberlain's course of action. On the first rumour of a crisis he took the opportunity of a workmen's dinner at Birmingham (Jan. 6) to explain the results obtained by the Radicals in the Cabinet, their views upon foreign and colonial questions, and their programme of future legislation. He declared that the changes brought about by the Franchise Bill, and still further accentuated by the Seats Bill, necessitated a fresh organisation of the Liberal party. He desired to see the creation of councils in each electoral district, each selecting its own candidate, and all uniting in one association to express the opinion of the whole town. Passing to colonial matters, Mr. Chamberlain went on to say that if we allowed ourselves to be

thrown into a panic of apprehension every time foreign nations snapped up an unconsidered trifle of territory which we never before thought worth acquiring, our power of interference would be lessened when the time came to make it felt. "If foreign nations are determined to pursue distant colonial enterprises we have no right to prevent them. We cannot anticipate them in every case by proclaiming a universal protectorate in every unoccupied portion of the globe's surface which English enterprise has hitherto neglected; but our fellow-subjects may rest assured that their liberties, their rights, and their interests are as dear to us as our own, and if they are seriously menaced the whole power of the country will be exerted for their defence, and the English democracy will stand shoulder to shoulder throughout the world to maintain the honour and integrity of the empire." Avoiding all answer to the charges of vacillation and divided counsels which had been brought against the Cabinet on account of its Egyptian policy, he said, "We are in Egypt at this time in pursuance of an unselfish object. Our task has proved of greater magnitude than we had anticipated; it is one, indeed, of almost unexampled difficulty. We have met with hostility and opposition in quarters where we had reason to hope for assistance and co-operation, but we will not be driven from our intentions. We will not yield one jot either to the perfidious suggestions of dubious friends abroad or to the interested clamour of financial greed at home. We will not destroy the independence which we are solemnly pledged to Europe and to Parliament to respect."

On these points there might, even in a Cabinet, be practical unanimity of object, combined with variety of opinion as to the means to be employed. But in his programme of the future, and in his views as to the obligation and rights of property, there was room for every sort of divergence and contradiction. "What are the rights of property?" asked Mr. Chamberlain. "Is it a right of property which permits a foreign speculator to come to the country and lay waste two hundred miles of territory in Scotland for the gratification of his love of sport, and to chase from the lands which their fathers tilled long before this intruder was ever heard of the wretched peasants who were convicted of the crime of keeping a pet lamb within the sacred precincts of a deer forest? Are the game laws a right of property? Is it a right of property that sailors should be sent to sea to pursue their dangerous occupation without any sufficient regard to their security? Lastly, is it an essential condition of private ownership in land that the agricultural labourers in this country, alone of civilised countries, should be entirely divorced from the soil they till, that they should be driven into towns to compete with you for work, and to lower the rate of wages; and that, alike in town and country, the labouring population should be huddled into dwellings unfit for man or beast, where the conditions of common decency are impossible, and where the conditions lead directly to disease,

intemperance, and crime? These are questions which I hope you will ask at the next election, and to which you will demand an answer."

These sentiments were strongly condemned by nearly every newspaper as tending to inculcate Socialism, and to lead the new electors to look to the State to take the part of the poor in despoiling the rich.

A few days later (Jan. 14) Mr. Chamberlain found at Ipswich an opportunity of replying to the criticisms to which his speech at Birmingham had given rise, and of explaining in fuller detail his personal opinions:—"It is said these views, as to the common right to land, lead straight to Communism, and Communism is a very terrible thing. I for one have never thought it possible or expedient to bring everything down to one dead level. I have never supposed you could equalise the capacities and conditions of men; the idler, the drunkard, the criminal must bear the brunt of their defects. The strong man and the able man will always be first in the race. What I say is that the community as a whole, co-operating for the benefit of all, may do something to add to the sum of human happiness, do something to make the life of all its citizens, and, above all, of the poorest of them, somewhat better, somewhat nobler, somewhat greater, and somewhat happier."

Coming to particulars, he urged that much more attention should be paid to social legislation, such as the poor law and the Education Act, with respect to which they had not got far enough. He would make education free. He would also extend the powers and duties of local authorities with a view to the general good of the community, and grant local government to the counties.

"What are the two greatest needs, the most pressing needs, of our times? I think most men would say the provision of healthy, decent dwellings in our large towns at fair rents, and in the country facilities for the labourer to obtain a small plot of land which he may be able to work well. I believe that both these objects can be attained by local authorities, and I would give them the power of acquiring any land that might be necessary for them to take in order to carry out their objects, or for any public purpose. I would further enable them to acquire it at its fair value, which I take to be the price which a willing purchaser would pay to a willing seller in the open market."

He was not satisfied that the incidence of local and imperial taxation was fair, and so he would press for reform. There were also anomalies in our imperial taxation. He could not understand why the poorest tobacco was taxed 40 per cent., while the best cigars were only taxed at 10 per cent., nor why the man who derived his income from a profession should pay the income tax, and not the man who had his income invested in securities. He was, moreover, in favour of a graduated income tax. The question of land reform was also urgent, and he did not believe that the

problem would be solved merely by cheapening and facilitating the transfer of land. He was not afraid of the three F's in England, Scotland, or Ireland. He was convinced that the most urgent and the most pressing need of all was that we should, as far as may be, go back to the old type of multiplied freeholds in the land, and re-establish the peasants and yeomen, who were some of the most prosperous, the most independent, and the most comfortable class in the community. He was anxious for an inquiry into the illegal absorption of waste, common, and roadside lands, with a view to their restitution, and also into the application of charitable endowments. In conclusion Mr. Chamberlain said, "There is not a single one of the changes of which I have spoken which has not a parallel in the organisation either of the United States or on the Continent, or of some of those great dependencies from the English race who have shown their capacity for self-government; and yet in those countries property is as secure, and its enjoyment is just as real, as it is at home. I am not sanguine enough to hope that we can, by any legislation that can be devised, remedy all the evils of humanity; but we can try to do something; and I am confident in the capacity of a wise Government, resting on the representation of the whole people, to do something to add to the sum of human happiness, to smooth the way for misfortune and poverty. We are told that this country is the paradise of the rich; it should be ours to see that it does not become the purgatory of the poor."

Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Chamberlain's Radical colleague in the Cabinet, beyond expressing (Jan. 13) a general hope that sweeping land measures would effect the restoration of much land stolen from the people by the enclosure of commons, avoided all reference to the Radical programme of the future. He hinted, however, that it was not to the Radical section of the Cabinet that any hesitancy in foreign and colonial policy was attributable; and admitted that, however wise the old policy of forbearance might have been, the time had perhaps arrived when a change for more vigorous action was not only expedient but even necessary.

Meanwhile Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P. (Jan. 12), at a meeting of the London and Westminster Working Men's Constitutional Association, took occasion to express his views on the foreign and colonial policy of the Government, especially with reference to the marked hostility of Prince Bismarck to Mr. Gladstone. "Englishmen," said Mr. W. H. Smith, "were not aggressive, and they believed there was room for Germans and Frenchmen and Prussians and Austrians to live at peace with each other all over the world; and he must indeed be incapable of directing the affairs of this country who could not find means of arriving at a proper understanding with an old ally like the Emperor of Germany. Germany had been our ally in the past in times when the trouble was sore indeed, when we had few allies in Europe or in the world. Germany might be our ally again, and ought to be if we had statesmen who

were capable of directing the affairs of this country with foresight, courage, and without the sacrifice of a single interest which Englishmen could justly and properly maintain. There would have been no difficulty in coming to such an understanding as would have insured for Germany the full colonial expansion which she desired, and which would have secured for our colonies the entire freedom from any hostile complication, and the complication which they detested most of all, the convict invasion of the South Seas. There would have been the most complete freedom for the development of Germany's colonial aspirations, and of her trade and commerce side by side with our own, and without any ground for apprehension or complaint to our colonial friends and neighbours."

The text for this and many similar speeches had been the intentions, real or supposed, of Prince Bismarck to create for Germany a colonial empire. On the West Coast of Africa, to which he had first turned his eyes, were various stretches of coast to which no formal claim had been put forward by England or any other of the Western Powers, especially in the neighbourhood of the Cameroons, or further south at Angra Pequena, where a few troops had been landed and the German flag hoisted. It very speedily became apparent that in the latter case at least the value of the back country to the German settlers and traders was considerably reduced so long as Walfisch Bay and its anchorage remained in the hands of the English; and overtures, more or less direct, were made to bring about its cession to Germany. In a speech to the Reichsrath (Jan. 9) Prince Bismarck had exposed the basis of his colonial policy, and recognising the need of support in it from England, he seemed to hold out a threat that unless such support were afforded, Germany might be forced to favour those who were adversaries, and "to establish some *do ut des*." The *Cologne Gazette*, although not an official organ, yet frequently the exponent of Prince Bismarck's views, put the matter more clearly, and thus frankly stated the German offer:—"It is most desirable that England should be in a friendly way persuaded to cede to Germany Walfisch Bay, which it will be utterly unable to hold for any length of time. The secret rivalry of two Powers on that coast would entirely ruin the back country, which has already suffered much from hostilities as it is, and would make the German protectorate on the coast either quite worthless or, at the best, very difficult to hold. The small service which England would do Germany by evacuating Walfisch Bay, which is utterly useless to England, might easily be made up to her by diplomatic favours in other places."

That a refusal on the part of the English Cabinet to listen to the German proposals may have decided Prince Bismarck to adopt a hostile attitude towards this country cannot be asserted, but it was followed by a marked change externally in the relations of France and Germany. The English proposals for the settlement

of the Egyptian difficulty were put aside, and French policy at Cairo became more openly hostile to our own in proportion as it received German and Austrian support. Almost simultaneously the news reached this country that the Russian Government had refused to send its commissioner to confer with Sir Peter Lumsden on the demarcation of the Afghan frontier. In such an aspect of affairs the conference on imperial federation held in London under the presidency of Mr. Forster (Jan. 14) attracted more attention than it might otherwise have done. The need of some closer union between the colonies and the mother country was admitted without discussion; and although the resolutions adopted aspired rather to the establishment of a fiscal and political union for the whole empire, there was a very general, though somewhat vaguely defined expression of the benefits which would follow upon the more intimate association of the colonies in the consideration of imperial policy.

Various proposals were put forward by which this end was to be attained: some advocated the admission of colonial representatives into the House of Commons; whilst Earl Grey, taking up an idea originally put forward by Sir Henry Parkes, a colonial Minister, desired to see a body composed of delegates from various colonies established in London, forming a sort of consultative council for the Secretary of State. The colonies themselves, however, seemed hardly to appreciate the value of federation; for whilst asserting that the Australian colonists were loyal to the backbone, Sir Saul Samuel, the agent-general for New South Wales, declared (Jan. 15), in response to the toast "Britain one Empire," that "he looked upon the idea of imperial federation as a delusion. . . . The moment an imperial council or parliament was created in this country for the purpose, it was said, of common defence, a charge would be thrown on the self-governing colonies, and that charge would be beyond the control of their own Parliaments. They would never consent to that." The actual position of England in the presence of the desire for colonial possessions displayed by Continental countries was never more strongly put than by Mr. Goschen in his address to the Roseberry Club at Edinburgh (Feb. 3). This attitude he declared imposed upon us new duties; and England having become next-door neighbour to all the world, home, colonial, and foreign questions had become inseparable. He appealed, therefore, to the new electorate to give up vague and general aspirations, to limit the objects of ambition to their duties; to learn to know their own minds, and concentrate their efforts upon the achievement of their deliberate purpose.

These topics were, amongst others, touched upon by Sir S. Northcote in an electoral campaign he was then commencing in the proposed Barnstaple division of North Devon, for which, after some opposition, he was invited to stand. At the first meeting (Jan. 19) he declared that the Conservative party had no

cause to be afraid of the results of an extended franchise, but anticipated from it a favourable verdict. During their term of office, Sir Stafford observed, the Government had not added to the country's greatness, happiness, and prosperity, while they had left unsolved many questions to which they formerly urged attention should be devoted. Their accumulated difficulties abroad, especially in Egypt, he attributed to their eagerness to shrink from responsibility. It was their duty to maintain the greatness and unity of the empire, and their position as an Eastern and oceanic Power, and to make it evident to the colonists that we had their interests at heart, regarding them as an integral part of the empire, and were not prepared to sacrifice them to unreasonable demands on the part of other countries, or to bring them into foreign difficulties by neglecting at the proper moment to deal with questions that affected foreign nations.

This criticism was followed by another speech at Bideford (Jan. 20), in which Sir S. Northcote reviewed Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy. By a strange coincidence it was delivered on the very day when a Cabinet council had been hastily summoned to discuss the rejection by the Continental Powers of the English proposals for the settlement of the Egyptian financial difficulties, and with it the consequent collapse of the European concert, which it had been Mr. Gladstone's aim to preserve. Prince Bismarck's ostentatious hostility to England had at length brought home to the unwilling minds of the Ministry the conviction that German friendship was worth conciliating, and perhaps worth purchasing.

The essence of these French counter-proposals adopted by Germany, Austria, and Russia, was the substitution of an international for a purely British guarantee of the intended new loan, and the appointment of an international *Commission d'Enquête*, which, under the guise of a multiple control by the great Powers, revived all the embarrassments of the dual control under an aggravated form. Public opinion for once pronounced itself with decision and unanimity against such a solution of the question, and the Government was urged on all sides to speak out clearly and decisively. The *Times* expressed the belief that the readiest solution would be found in the proclamation of a protectorate, or the guarantee of the Egyptian Debt without a formal protectorate. The *Daily News* declared that the idea of a multiple or dual control was equally inadmissible, and that we should undertake the settlement of the Egyptian question for ourselves, on our own responsibility and according to our own ideas. The *Standard*, taking a similar view, whilst deploring the isolation of England, believed that one strong straightforward word would at once disarm our enemies, and might on a future occasion furnish us with friends. The provincial press used similar language, and urged that the Foreign Office should not in dealing with Egypt repeat the tale of aimless dawdling which Prince Bismarck had

laid bare in his revelations of the Fiji negotiations. Frequent and prolonged meetings of the Cabinet were held, and at length (Jan. 22) it was unofficially announced that the French proposals had been accepted as a basis for negotiations, subject to the distinct understanding that there should be no multiple control in any shape or form. The coupon was to be taxed instead of being cut; representatives of Germany and Russia would be admitted to the council of "the Caisse;" but the functions of that body were to be no way extended; and England, whilst offering to guarantee 9,000,000*l.*, would consent to discuss an international guarantee, provided it were unanimously supported by all the Powers.

With but one important exception (the *Spectator*), the London and provincial newspapers denounced in strong language the joint guarantee, in which they saw hiding the germ of the multiple control. But the *Spectator*, giving Mr. Gladstone's Government the credit of trying to set Egypt on its legs, argued that, in giving way on the minor matters of finance which were so powerful with foreign statesmen, no appreciable harm would ensue—that the endorsement of the four other Powers did not render the bill for the payment of the loan more valuable. The news then arriving from the Soudan of the success of our expedition under General Sir Herbert Stewart, or the friendlier attitude of Germany, seems to have induced the Continental Powers to abate some of their pretensions, for in the course of a few days it was announced (Jan. 31) that the English modifications had been accepted, although some minor points of detail were left for subsequent discussion; and it was decided that although the foreign Governments were, with England, to jointly guarantee the interest of the loan, they were to have no power to interfere with the finances of Egypt. But public interest in this complicated question was speedily diverted to other channels. The series of rapid and hard-fought battles in the Soudan desert stimulated the warlike instincts of a large body of the English people, whilst the renewal of the dynamite explosions (Jan. 24), and the reckless way in which innocent women and children had been exposed to danger, aroused anew those anti-Irish feelings which had been slumbering for some months.

If, however, the Radical members of the Cabinet were unable to impress upon its foreign policy that directness, and to infuse into its military undertakings that energy, of which they were the credited champions, Mr. Chamberlain at least endeavoured to prove that in domestic politics he, for his own part, was not afraid of unfolding his programme in the boldest and clearest form. At a large meeting of his constituents at Birmingham (Jan. 29) he vindicated his speech at Ipswich, which had evoked a chorus of condemnation from Whigs and Tories, political economists and taxpayers. He began, however, by referring in graceful terms to his intended opponent, Colonel Burnaby, who

had met his death in the Soudan, where he was serving as a volunteer. Mr. Chamberlain next appealed to Mr. Parnell and all who had influence with his countrymen to separate themselves from such crimes as the blowing up of the Tower of London and the House of Commons, not only by silence but by denouncing them in public; and he further declared that such murderous and cowardly attempts rendered impossible the task of doing justice in a calm spirit to reasonable claims. Passing rapidly on to the more immediate topic of his address, he remarked that since the true need of Liberalism was a perfect trust in the people, he was in favour of manhood suffrage and the payment of members, both of which he expected to see realised in time. The objection raised to the latter proposal was, he knew, that it tended to create a class of professional politicians; but Mr. Chamberlain saw no reason to fear such a class, and deprecated the idea that politics should be the only business left to amateurs. The great interests of the State, he argued, should not be committed to men who did not make them the serious business of their lives. But this was only a small point in the Liberal programme of the future as sketched by Mr. Chamberlain. He protested strongly against the doctrine which seemed to be held in such honour among the Conservatives, that the working classes, "in the future as in the past, should order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters, and do their duty in that state of life to which it had pleased God to call them." This he declared to be a rich man's gospel and a barren programme. It would be only tolerable if it were possible for any man willing to work to obtain it at a fair remuneration, sufficient to provide for himself and family and to lay by something for a rainy day. During the previous twenty years the condition of the working classes had undoubtedly improved, but they had not obtained their full share in the general advance of prosperity. One million were in receipt of parish relief, another million were on the verge of pauperism, and during the period 800,000 had left the land for life in town, or had been forced to emigrate. On the other side of the picture were hundreds of thousands of acres wanting cultivation; and in presence of this contradiction, said Mr. Chamberlain, "we will not be content to stand with folded arms and do nothing to lift, even by one inch, the heavy load of misery which presses upon millions of our fellow-creatures." In order to carry his views into effect, he added, "I have had two main objects in view. In the first place, I want to see that the burden of taxation is distributed according to the ability of the taxpayer. In the second place, I want to increase the production of the land, and I want to multiply the small owners and tenants. I hold that the sanctity of public property is greater even than that of private property; and that if it has been lost, or wasted, or stolen, some equivalent must be found for it, and some compensation may fairly be exacted from the wrong-doers."

Mr. Chamberlain then went on to explain his views on taxation, which aimed chiefly at the substitution of direct for indirect taxation upon incomes above a fixed amount, adjusted by an ascending sliding scale. He maintained that under the existing system "an ordinary working man pays more in taxation, a larger proportion of his income, than the greatest peer or the richest commoner in the land." He denounced this system as unfair, and one under which the poor suffered, but not the rich. He believed that if Parliament would give the Chancellor of the Exchequer leave to equalise the duties payable on land and personal property passing by death or inheritance, and would consent to impose a higher tax upon incomes exceeding a certain amount, he would be able to give the poor a free breakfast-table at once.

But these innovations, which Mr. Chamberlain would have been glad to see carried, fell far short of the sweeping land law reforms he was prepared to support, for, he continued, "however important the question of the revision of taxation may be, it sinks into insignificance beside the question of the settlement of the land. I do not believe there is any way to increase the incomes of the population as long as our present ridiculous, exceptional, unjust, and unfair land system continues to exist. I agree with Mr. Bright and others in desiring the speedy accomplishment of all the reforms which they have been striving so long for—registration of title, cheapening of transfer, and the removal of all the obstacles to free sales which are caused by settlement and entail. But I believe we must go further than that. The present system has broken down. The farmer has no capital, the landlords declare they are penniless. Then the land must pass into other hands, and we must consider the possibility of creating and of preparing the way for a return to the old conditions when English agriculture was prosperous and the poor law unknown. I am convinced that we must contemplate a return to the old conditions and a re-establishment upon the land of the old class of yeomen who were at one time the most independent and the most prosperous class of the community."

The creation of such a yeoman class Mr. Chamberlain admitted to be a difficulty. A few rich noblemen like Lord Tollemache might divide up their land into small holdings of from three to fifteen acres, build cottages and stables, and reap a profitable return on the outlay; but the risk and expense would be too great for the majority of farmers and landlords, impoverished as they were by long agricultural depression. "Then," said Mr. Chamberlain, "they must give place to those who could. That is why I have been anxious to call in the local authorities in every district, and give them authority to take the land at its fair value, and to incur expenditure in the pursuit of this enterprise. I do not think the local authority would go too fast in the matter. But if the landlords are unable to develop their property to the best advantage, if they cannot perform the obligations which

attach to it, then I say they must be taught that their ownership is a trust which is limited by the supreme interests of the nation, and they must give place to others who will be able to do full justice to the capabilities of the land."

In conclusion Mr. Chamberlain explained that he had only referred to the subjects of a revision of taxation and the readjustment of the land as illustrating the direction which the new Liberal policy should take. He deprecated the idea that they should be looked upon as bribes to silence the democracy, but rather as duties remaining to be fulfilled, as debts to be paid, and as acts of justice demanded in the interests of the whole nation.

The speech of Mr. Chamberlain's colleague, Mr. John Bright, who spoke first in the same evening (Jan. 29), showed in a very strong light the divergences of the old and new Radicalism. After appealing to the people to make the elections of 1886 as remarkable a starting-point for a better policy as had been the elections of 1832 and 1868, and expressing his doubts whether the question of the Disestablishment of the English Church would be ripe in the next Parliament, Mr. Bright addressed himself especially to those who advocated or supported the demand for increased naval and military expenditure. He declared that the recent "scare" about the navy was as devoid of reason as any preceding panic, and regarded the idea of a war with France as the most unlikely chance in the whole range of European politics, and one which no Frenchman outside a lunatic asylum regarded as possible. For himself he was thankful that the "Manchester school" was not dead, for with it morality and Christianity would be dead also. The Victorian era, however, had profited but little by its teachings, for during the Queen's reign the Government had spent on war one hundred and fifty millions of money, and had sacrificed from 60,000 to 80,000 of their fellow-subjects. Mr. Bright went on to deprecate the constant cry of certain sections of the press for more colonies, and declared an ever-growing empire to be in his opinion a delusion and a snare, imperial federation childish and absurd, and the Colonial Board of Advice a great evil, as shown by the Indian Council, which all Governors-General of India and many Secretaries of State and Cabinet Ministers thought might be abolished with great advantage. Mr. Bright concluded his address: "The true policy of this country is not to seek to enlarge our empire. Nor is it to seek to bind the empire together more closely in the way proposed by the Federation League. The way to deal with our colonies is to deal with them as we do now, to encourage them, to give them freedom as now, to deal justly and fairly with them on all occasions, to cultivate sympathy and good-will towards them; but if we bind or attempt to bind them in a closer tie by meddling with them, by allowing them to give counsel which perhaps we should not follow, we shall find that instead of their being more our friends they will be less our friends, and that the bond of union will, in all probability, be

weakened. I am for friendship—I have said this often from this platform—I am for friendship and justice to all our colonies and to foreign Powers, but I think we have enough on our hands. . . . We have, I say, possessions almost all over the world, and our language is spreading all over the globe. A hundred years hence the English language will be the prevailing language as compared with any other language. In North America there will be one hundred millions of people speaking English within a very few years—within the lives of many I now see before me. You will hear it spoken by millions in Australia and South Africa; you will have it spoken, as you now have it spoken, by millions in the British dependencies. Our literature must follow the language. Let us be content, if we can, with the territory we have and with the regions we govern. Let us deal with all people as we would wish them to deal with us. Let us suppress the longings and hungerings for more territory; let us resent the irritating and offensive teachings of those hysterical members of the press; and let the time come when, as I think one of our poets has said, ‘where Britain’s power is felt mankind may feel her mercy too.’ I would say, in addition, that where Britain’s power is felt there may evermore be felt the justice and moderation of her character—that those great qualities may be everywhere manifest and by all nations acknowledged.”

Both speeches were enthusiastically received by the audience to which they were addressed; but when on the following day the work of criticism commenced in the press, even the organs of Mr. Bright’s own party admitted that he was out of touch with modern Radicalism, and that his views of imperial federation were one-sided and dogmatic. Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, whilst clearly stating the objects he had in view, was not by any means definite in explaining how they could be realised. The *Times* asked if Mr. Gladstone and the rest of his Cabinet were ready to be identified with proposals for a graduated system of taxation, which the most advanced political economists, like Mr. Mill and Mr. Fawcett, had condemned. This estimate of his opinions, as well as his violation of the principles of Mill’s “Political Economy,” Mr. Chamberlain refuted in a letter which appeared in the *Daily News* (Feb. 4). He protested, moreover, against the misrepresentation “which attributes to me opinions I do not hold, in order to found on a pure invention an accusation of political dishonesty and predatory suggestion.” The *Spectator*, giving a hearty approval to Mr. Bright’s speech, saw in Mr. Chamberlain’s the speech more of the agitator of the future than of the statesman of the present. In fact, as was abundantly shown, not only during the recess, but at subsequent public meetings, Mr. Chamberlain seemed to regard as of little account the hostility of a Parliament fast drawing to a close, and was already addressing himself to the new electorate, which he had laboured so sedulously to bring into existence. His suggestion

that the State should assume an increased control over the land might call forth the retort that he was advocating a thinly disguised Socialism ; but knowing well that the mass of new electors would belong to a class for whom Socialism had no alarms, he was content to play his own hand in the political game, regardless of the frowns of his temporary partners.

But whilst there were many Liberals ready to cavil at Mr. Chamberlain's programme, and to criticise his proposals, none of his colleagues or political allies were prepared to denounce him as a revolutionary demagogue. Mr. Goschen's carefully prepared speech at Edinburgh (Jan. 31) dealt with little more than the economic fallacies of the President of the Board of Trade, embodying as they did views of finance which Mr. Gladstone had steadfastly opposed throughout his career.

"To hear some men speak," said he, "one would think it was necessary to introduce a set of brand-new principles for the use of new electors, and that we must discard all the old methods and principles of the Liberal party, and toss them aside almost like old clothes. We have a common aim, and that is to secure the greatest happiness for the greatest number, and to endeavour to spread the prosperity of this country over an ever-widening area of the population. Everyone would believe that it was a miserable failure, politically, economically, and socially, if this country were simply to remain or to be a paradise of the rich. That would be a miserable failure ; but I wish to ask, has this idea dawned upon the Liberal party for the first time now? We recognise that work in the future has to be done, and much work too ; but we, and many among us, wish to set about this new work in the old spirit, and we wish and trust that the country will recognise that the statesmen who for so many years have been responsible to the country have not been idle or indifferent in the performance of their work. Who is responsible for the system of taxation under which we live at present? Whose taxation, whose system is it?—a system elaborated with greater care, with greater industry, with greater skill than that prevailing in any other civilised community—whose system is it, I ask? It is his who is the greatest financial genius of this century. It is his whose magic wand has touched our finances, and has brought them to a point which makes them the admiration of every country in Europe. It is the system of Mr. Gladstone ; and, for my part, I am not prepared to stand by in silence without registering an emphatic protest against language which would bid the new democracy celebrate its advent to power by the dethronement of Gladstonian finance. I said something about the spirit in which the new electors might be addressed. If it were right and proper at this first moment of their enfranchisement to say to them, 'Look what you have suffered in the past ; look how unjust the system is under which you are living ; shift your burdens upon others ; strike at other classes ; push your own

class interests,' and that without a word as to corresponding obligations, without a word to lift them to a high and worthy conception of common national duty, without a word to inspire them with zeal for the union of classes, then many persons would be disposed to think that no prophecies could have been too gloomy and no prospects before us more disastrous. Then they might think that the new electors had stormed the constitution on the principle of an enemy storming a town, who demands a ransom for abstaining from plunder. But it is not in that spirit, I am firmly convinced, that our fellow-countrymen have entered the pale of the constitution to share with us the high duty and privilege of governing the State."

After protesting that the new arbiters of England's destinies would not think that they had done their whole duty to the country simply by the drastic application of the principle of self-interest, Mr. Goschen continued,—

"The situation, then, to my mind presents itself as this. We shall not be content unless prosperity widens over a larger area of the population, and we shall all be agreed—the extreme faction, the centres, and the moderates—that we ought to utilise the momentum given by the new Reform Bills to fetch up our arrears of legislation. In this we can all act together. But there are many Liberals who are thoroughly sound in heart, thoroughly sound in Liberal principles, who do not believe that it is necessary to have a policy of root-and-branch changes in everything—that it is necessary to have recourse to these methods in order to secure our common aim. They will go forward with equal resolution, with more prudence, and with less passion. They will believe less in the omnipotence of legislation. They will face new problems, but in the old spirit, and they will go forward, I say, with equal resolution, though disbelieving in crude panaceas, which have been proved over and over again to be useless for the accomplishment of such aims. Now I used the words 'crude panaceas,' and I will tell you what I meant when I said 'crude panaceas.' I call the nationalisation of the land a crude panacea. I should call the establishment of a vast bureaucratic system for the distribution of land a crude panacea. I should call the establishment of a Land Court to fix rents in every part of the United Kingdom a crude panacea. I should say this—let us try freedom first before we try interference of the State. In all the points I propose to touch I want to plead the cause of freedom against State interference, and that is one of the old Radical doctrines. Do not let me be told that I am not a Liberal because I am not in favour of freedom in all respects. It is an old Radical doctrine, try freedom first before you attempt to interfere by the State."

Mr. Goschen then declared himself for absolute freedom in land—land to be as saleable as a watch, with a perfect register of titles, with "a kind of agricultural ledger in every great local

centre. "It is bad for the country that the existing owner should be controlled by the dead hand of his ancestors. I say let the living hand grasp the living soil. One thing I do not see my way to, and that is the artificial planting of the agricultural labourer on plots of land to be paid for by some communities and distributed among them." He was for a genuine and sweeping reform in local government throughout the country, and a thorough review of all the duties of the central authorities and the local authorities respectively, with a view to as much decentralisation as possible.

"Better local government in the counties will no doubt give us better roads, cheaper administration, better sanitary arrangements, better government in many ways; but that, to my mind, is only half the battle. What I want to see and what I have pleaded for is this—that in all local communities there should be more civic life, such as you have in your large towns. I am not content that the dwellers in the country, the agricultural labourers, should have no other idea of civic authority than the tramp of a policeman or of an official of a workhouse."

Reverting to the subject of taxation Mr. Goschen expressed his belief that any proposal of a graduated income tax was in direct contradiction of all Mr. Gladstone's views; and he protested most strongly against statesmen who, at the moment when the whole power was being placed in the hands of one class, should point out to that class how it could best shift the burden on to other shoulders. In conclusion he said,—

"I think that in almost all that I have said I am in sympathy with the great bulk of the Liberal party. I believe that I am in sympathy with three-fourths of the Cabinet upon this question; I believe that I am a truer disciple of the Prime Minister on this question than some of those recent speakers who, officially at least, may be said to be nearer and dearer to him. I do not believe that our great Liberal leaders have sympathy with the raising of this question of the natural rights of man to the property of his neighbours, nor do I believe that they hold the theory of ransom or insurance. There are two policies before the country. The one is a policy of union, freedom, justice, and common sense; the other is a policy of class conflicts and wild dreams. If I had the right to appeal to the democracy, I should say—You have succeeded to the government of a vast and old empire, with classes whose interests have become complicated through centuries. You have been invited to take part in the government with the full approval of all classes of the community. You have high and important duties. You will like that the common sense and fair play which have characterised the history of the United Kingdom in the past shall continue so to characterise it in the future; and if you have reproaches against the classes that have ruled before, because they have followed too much their own interests, you, the democracy, will show that you

take a higher view of the duties to which you have been called. You will remember how Great Britain is the mother of parliaments."

Protests of a similar nature came from all shades of Liberals; from Sir James Caird, the chairman of the English Land Commission on the one hand, and from Mr. W. E. Forster, addressing the co-operative societies of Bradford, on the other. Conservative organs, like the *Standard*, whilst recognising Mr. Goschen's honesty of purpose, doubted whether Liberalism of his type had not ceased to influence the party; and held that he and those who thought with him could only remain in the party as the obedient, even though unwilling instruments of more enterprising reformers. Sir Stafford Northcote, speaking at Crediton on the same day (Jan. 31), contrasted the speeches of the two members for Birmingham. Mr. Bright, he said, was constantly eulogising the measures passed by Liberal Governments since the first Reform Bill, and the blessing they had proved to the country; whilst Mr. Chamberlain declared that the enormous increase of wealth had done no good to labour, but had only profited capital. Sir S. Northcote deplored as much as anyone the absorption or disappearance of the yeoman class, but he contended that the cause was that they could not make small holdings pay. Their owners therefore sold them, and invested the proceeds in some more profitable business. Mr. Henry Chaplin, at the Lincolnshire Chamber of Agriculture, expressed even more strongly the views of a section of the Conservative party, and charged the leaders of the Radical party with being responsible more than other men in the world for the extinction of the yeoman class. Politically he believed that a peasant proprietary would be most advantageous to the interests of the country, but commercially it would be a disastrous failure, as the condition of the people of the island of Axholme testified. Mr. Chaplin was prepared to advocate a duty on all manufactured goods coming from countries which refused to take our manufactures duty free, and to re-impose the shilling duty on corn, believing that by such measures both commerce and agriculture would be alike benefited.

Meanwhile several things had happened which forced Irishmen and Irish affairs upon the somewhat flagging interest of the English public and politicians. Simultaneous attempts were made (Jan. 24) in broad daylight to blow up the Tower of London and the House of Commons by dynamite. At the first-named building a parcel was left in the old banqueting-room, where it exploded, doing but comparatively small damage beyond displacing and twisting many of the rifles stacked in the adjoining council-chamber, but injuring two young girls and two children. Thanks to the military discipline maintained within the precincts of the Tower, the outer gates were closed before the visitors could leave, and amongst them the police detained a man named Cunningham,

who was subsequently tried, together with an accomplice arrested some days later, and both were convicted and sentenced to penal servitude. The explosions at Westminster Palace were more destructive. One parcel of dynamite left just within the House itself, which on that day was open to the public, tore up Mr. Gladstone's seat, throwing large masses up into the gallery, and destroying large balks of timber and heavy pieces of masonry. Another packet was left on the steps leading to the crypt under Westminster Hall, and had it exploded there in so confined a place the destruction would probably have been appalling. As it was, however, the attention of a policeman named Cole was called to the suspicious bundle; and without hesitation he picked it up, and rushing past the visitors managed to reach the top of the steps, where, unable to bear the heat any longer, he threw it down. As he did so there was a tremendous explosion, blowing a hole in the pavement nearly six feet in length by about half that amount in width, through which both Cole and another constable named Cox, who had come to his assistance, fell. The next instant the Hall was filled with a cloud of dust, and pieces of broken glass flying in every direction. The party of ladies and gentlemen who had just come from the crypt, together with one or two others in the vicinity, were hit by the splinters and stunned by the report, while their clothes were cut to pieces. Beyond this, however, no person was seriously injured; even Cole and Cox, although stunned and severely shaken, escaping with their lives and limbs intact. To the perpetrators of this outrage no clue was obtained, and it was supposed that the bundle had been conveyed either by a woman, or by a man disguised in woman's clothes. Abroad the indignation expressed was as great as in this country, and the Senate of the United States passed, by 63 votes to 1, a resolution utterly condemning such crimes.

Mr. Parnell, however, speaking to the people of Clare only two days after its occurrence (Jan. 26), made absolutely no reference to the circumstance. After denouncing Mr. Clifford Lloyd, he went on to denounce those who were tempted by "the father of evil" to take possession of a farm from which another Irishman had been evicted; and assured the farmers of Clare that every penny spent by them in supporting evicted tenants would be worth thousands of pounds to them hereafter. He declared that the farmer who was tempted to take a farm from which another had been evicted by the landlord, ought to repent himself, and "put the bulk of his fellow-countrymen in the position to say that there is more joy in heaven over one lost sinner who repenteth than over ninety-nine just men who need no repentance."

On the following day (Jan. 27) Mr. Herbert Gladstone, speaking at Leeds, referred to this speech of Mr. Parnell's, and exhorted his hearers not to let their just wrath at such speeches relax their determination to put an end to the wrongs of Ireland, but rather confirm them still more in that determination. "Because some

Irishmen behaved detestably, because many of them did not rise up to their duty as they considered they ought, that is no reason why justice should not be done to those behind them." He hinted that on the renewal of the Crimes Act in the following session it might be expedient to extend its operation, at least in part, to England and Scotland, and to strengthen the existing law against secret perpetration of outrage.

Whatever may have been the feelings of Englishmen towards Mr. Parnell and his attitude of reserve, it was obviously not misunderstood in his own country, as the circumstances attendant on the choice of a member for the vacant seat for Tipperary abundantly proved. A convention was held at Thurles (Jan. 3) to choose a candidate, when the treasurer of the National League, Mr. John O'Connor, was rejected in favour of the local man, Mr. O'Ryan, as ardent a champion of the national cause as his rival, but not favoured by Archbishop Croke. Mr. Parnell, on receiving the news, directed the calling of a second convention, and announced his intention of attending it. Mr. O'Ryan stood his ground; the Town Commissioners of Cashel proposed a resolution to the effect that "they viewed with alarm the action in certain quarters of dictation," and cautioned those who were forcing a contest that "they did not yet know the spirit of Tipperary." Mr. Parnell arrived and met Mr. O'Ryan and the Archbishop, and subsequently addressed the meeting. He told them that there was no dictation on his part, but that the League claimed the right of consulting and advising with the Irish constituencies in the choice of representatives. Mr. O'Ryan withdrew, and a few days later Mr. O'Connor, chosen by acclamation, was elected without opposition. On the day following the election Mr. Parnell made another speech, in which he explained more fully the aims of the Nationalist party. "They were determined," he said, "to obtain for the Irish farmer the fruits of his toil, and the pretended fair rent of the Land Courts would have to give way to really fair rent before half the fifteen years expired. Bankruptcy would swallow up the tenant farmers long before fifteen years if they were compelled to pay the rent at present fixed. They had done their best for the labourer, and a Labourers' Act had been passed. It was maimed and mutilated of many of its enforced provisions, but was laid on correct lines, and had principles which he believed would cause as much further legislation as to give the labourer some fair chance of his rights and national heritage."

All interest, however, was speedily withdrawn from home affairs and questions of domestic policy by the disastrous news of the fall of Khartoum. On the very morning of the day on which Sir Charles Wilson's first telegram was published (Feb. 5) the *Daily News* had expressed its belief that the beginning of a peaceful settlement had at length been reached in Egypt, and that under Lord Wolseley's skilful management its results would be felt from Alexandria to the Soudan. When the full measure

of the disaster was at length realised, and the heroic efforts made by General Gordon to hold out until the arrival of the British troops became known, there was on all sides a loud and bitter cry raised against the Cabinet, the War Office, and Lord Wolseley. The Cabinet was accused of helpless indecision, or of being guided only by the expediency of the hour, putting off from day to day its consent to any relief expedition; the War Office had stinted men and materials; and at the last moment Lord Wolseley, goaded to make an effort to save Gordon from the treachery by which he was menaced, despatched an inadequate force across a trackless desert, swarming with hostile Arabs. From all sides the cry, "Too late!" arose. The *Times* declared that, "gambler fashion, we had staked everything upon desperate chances, and had lost." It was the *reductio ad absurdum* of a whole policy, a disaster not only pregnant with distant dangers to our scattered troops, but carrying into it dangerous possibilities of disturbance in the remotest corners of the empire. "It is for Lord Wolseley to say whether it is possible and in what way he proposes to extricate his forces after restoring the prestige now so seriously damaged. In either case he must not for an instant think they are to remain in the air. The Suakim-Berber road must be opened at any cost. General Gordon must be saved or avenged, and the honour of the country must be vindicated, no matter what the difficulties."

The *Standard* was no less strong in expressing the views of the Conservatives. "All party spirit must be dropped in view of a calamity which has to be borne, and a resolution taken by the whole country. . . . To attempt a retreat would be fatal. It must be remembered that behind as well as in front of us there is not one trustworthy friend either in the Soudan or the Delta. . . . The path of prudence, as it is certainly the path of honour, points to the recapture of Khartoum. If we shirk this duty, the lives of thousands of British soldiers will have to be risked hereafter in trying to retrieve the blunder."

The *Daily Telegraph* expressed its views in like sense. "We have a great misfortune to repair, but no disgrace to lament. And that is needed now is that our statesmen should rise to the heroic level of our soldiers." After suggesting that Lord Wolseley's safer plan would be to capture Berber, and open up communication through Abu Hamed and Korusko, and then await reinforcements from Suakim, it added, "If we have no British troops available for the purpose of pushing a powerful column as far as Berber, then it is the duty of her Majesty's Government to summon soldiers from India. It is a drastic measure, a harsh consequence of painful irresolution. The stress is sharp, but courage and conduct will set all straight, especially if we profit by the severe lesson reached by the fact that it is the political, not the military capacity of England which has failed."

The *Morning Post* declared emphatically, "We cannot turn our backs upon the Mahdi and his hordes without sacrificing

Egypt and shaking to its foundations our Indian Empire. Having entered on this struggle, we must go on with it; and having gone to the Soudan, we can only quit it as victors. There is one only course."

The *Daily News*, which endeavoured to moderate the storm gathering round the Ministry, urged, "This is a national calamity, and must be met by a national resolve. It has still to be remembered that far worse troubles have come upon States much less powerful than England, and have been easily, or with comparative ease, retrieved. General Gordon will be remembered always in our history as the noblest type of soldier, a hero who was to the full in his own person that ideal warrior whom the templar knights tried and failed to create."

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, the mouthpiece of a more robust Radicalism, was for more decisive action. It admitted the fact that Khartoum could not be relieved, and that the cry to advance thereon should be resisted *coûte que coûte*; nevertheless England dare not retreat. "First and foremost we must reinforce our garrisons everywhere—India included, raising men, if need be, for special service, and in the meantime press on without a moment's delay to the relief of Metamneh." General Earle's force, the *Pall Mall* argued, should advance on Berber, and from Berber to Metamneh. Simultaneously the reinforced garrison of Suakim should clear the road to Berber. "Every nerve should be strained to prove that the disaster has only stiffened our resolution to hold aloft the flag of England in the face of every foe. . . . The duty of to-day is to show no flinching, to prepare for all eventualities, and to relieve the garrison at Metamneh by water." The provincial papers were not less united in their appeal for something in the shape of energetic action.

The *Birmingham Post*, Mr. Chamberlain's unofficial organ, declared, "One thing we know by instinct—that whatever can be done by the power, the energy, and the wealth of England must be done and will be done without delay and without stint. If Gordon can be saved by human means, he must be saved, cost what it may."

The *Manchester Guardian* expressed its conviction that "the country will grudge no sacrifice which may be needed to save our military credit, to complete the necessary task of pushing back the tide of invasion, and, if it be possible, to rescue the great and gallant soldier and most noble man, the failure of whose efforts we deplore."

The *Leeds Mercury* wrote, "Ministers must not be left in doubt as to the resolve of the nation that there shall be no more half-measures in dealing with this Egyptian business. . . . Berber, and not Khartoum, will become the objective point of Lord Wolseley's operations. That it will be soon in his hands is hardly to be questioned. We, too, can show the world that we are made of the same stuff as the heroes of the Nile, and that having

undertaken a task which came to us in the path of duty, neither discouragements nor dangers nor any sordid consideration for self will induce us to turn back, leaving that task unaccomplished."

It will thus be seen that there was no lack of political and military counsellors to whom the Government might turn for advice. So that when Lord Wolseley, on receiving the tidings of the fall of Khartoum, telegraphed to know the decision of the Ministers as to whether he should follow up the Mahdi and destroy him, or should leave him alone, they replied that the overthrow of the Mahdi or of Khartoum was politically and otherwise essential. It is fair to say that when the news of the disaster arrived, the Cabinet did what was in its power to meet the emergency. The members in or near town assembled at once, Mr. Gladstone arrived immediately from Hawarden, and daily long sittings were held; the final result of which was that 7,000 men were at once ordered to prepare for embarkation for Suakim, and thence to march across the desert to Berber. This decision was generally approved by the public; and the cry "Smash the Mahdi!" was repeated by the Liberals and Conservatives in scarcely distinguishable tones—the Radicals merely protesting that the operation should involve no subsequent responsibilities in the Soudan, or indeed in Egypt itself. Lord Ripon gave the key-note to the Liberals in a speech at Ripon (Feb. 7), when he defined the duty of all men of all parties to give their support to the Government in every measure thought necessary to preserve our military prestige and maintain our honourable engagements. He, moreover, implored his hearers "to wait before they uttered one word of condemnation, or even hostile criticism, until they knew from the Government themselves what explanation they had to offer for the recent occurrences."

Almost alone, Mr. Leonard Courtney and Mr. John Morley, the former at Torpoint and the latter at Glasgow (Feb. 10), simultaneously protested against the whole policy. "Remember," said Mr. Courtney, "what Mr. Gladstone himself said—that these men are fighting for their liberties. If they are fighting for their liberties, are we, the lovers of freedom, we, the champions of free nationalities all the world over, we who have rejoiced as nation after nation in Europe has been able to assert for itself the dignity and privileges of self-government—are we to go on fighting these Arabs who are fighting for their liberties? Are we to try to put down this 'rebellion,' as it is called—a rebellion which is simply the assertion on their part of their right to be free as we are free? What justification is there, except the justification of the heathen notion that we must have force to rule all over the world and to enslave other people?—a justification which I shall be very slow to believe that any English Government will at all lay its hands upon, and which I should be the slowest of all to believe that an English Government, with Mr. Gladstone at its

head, could give any countenance to. If I stood alone, I would hold to it. If I stood alone, and everyone else in England were on the other side—though I rejoice to feel, from what I see and hear to-night, that such a thing is not possible—yet I say that if I stood alone, I would protest against the notion of waging war against the Mahdi, supposing Gordon to be dead, simply for the purpose of showing our might, as one wholly inconsistent with the duty of a nation, wholly inconsistent with even heathen morality, and wholly inconsistent with the lowest and basest measure of our own self-interest.”

Speaking in complete accord with Mr. Courtney, Mr. Morley, at the other end of the kingdom, said, “Suppose that these lamentable events have made it impossible to secure the object of the expedition, then we have to ask ourselves whether we are still of the mind that these instructions should hold good, or that no further offensive operations are to be undertaken. If that was a wise policy then, in what sense has the failure to rescue Gordon turned it into a foolish policy? Is there any great object of policy to establish? Is it any interest of ours to make ourselves responsible for the Soudan? Picture to yourselves what the Soudan means. Let us be under no delusions. Of that perilous diet we have had more than enough. If you once sanction extended operations for the purpose of revenge, if you send army after army, and at last—after vast effort and possibly an appalling destruction of human life—you finally break up the power of the Mahdi, your victory and your conquest will only end in saddling you with the burden of a permanent responsibility, of which I will only say that a more fruitless, thankless, and desperate responsibility was never imposed on the people of this country. If we remain in the Soudan one day or one hour longer than is necessary for the safety of the expedition we shall remain in the Soudan for ever; and I declare my solemn conviction that, though war in the Soudan be a great evil in itself, even without further responsibility, and though annexation even without war would be a greater evil still, yet to have a bloody war followed by a burdensome annexation would be the very direst accumulation of mischief that the mind and the imagination can picture. . . . We know what the advocates of a war of revenge will say. They will first say that honour demands the flying of the British flag in Khartoum. When that is over, honour will demand that it flies there for ever; when you have settled that Khartoum is to be British for ever, honour will demand, and most likely expediency will compel, the chastisement of Arabs on the southern frontier, and so we shall be drawn, as we have been drawn, inch by inch down the abyss.”

A somewhat different standard was adopted by Lord Rosebery. Speaking at Epsom (Feb. 9), on the eve of his acceptance of a seat in the Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal, he thought that an effort was required on the part of the entire nation to show once for all

that we were not disposed to shut ourselves up in this island, and pursue our own selfish interests without either a foreign or a colonial policy. Mr. Goschen, in like manner, speaking at Liverpool (Feb. 11), protested against the ideas put forward by Mr. Courtney and Mr. Morley. "We should not go forward," he said, "in a simple fanatical spirit, or with a haughty wish to win; but we should be inspired by a feeling that no great nation with subject races under it can, in the interests of those subject races themselves, retire beaten and foiled. We should remember that in the interests of Western civilisation we have a duty to perform to a country we have engaged to protect." Mr. Goschen went on to say that if we were to undertake such heavy duties for Egypt, Lord Wolseley was to have a free hand in Korti, the British Government ought to have a free hand in Cairo to govern Egypt as it ought to be governed, and ought not to submit to the petty interferences of an International Control. From the Conservative side the most telling speeches were those of Mr. Plunket and Mr. Gibson (Feb. 7), the former of whom summed up the sins of the Government in the words from Shakespeare's *Richard II.* :—

Discomfort guides my tongue,
And bids me speak of nothing but despair.
One day too late, I fear, my noble lord,
Hath clouded all thy happy days on earth.
O call back yesterday, bid time return,
And thou shalt have twelve thousand fighting men.
To-day, to-day, unhappy day too late,
O'erthrows thy joys, friends, fortunes, and thy state.

Sir M. Hicks-Beach, at Northleach (Feb. 11), passed a warm eulogium on General Gordon, whose parting words, "I will do what I can, but you must give me support if I want it," were speedily forgotten by his employers. No sooner had he gone than the Government commenced a course of policy which directly tended to the failure of his mission. They vetoed his proposals and declined to offer alternative ones. They undertook a war on their own account, which could not relieve Gordon, whilst it seriously embittered Arab feeling. They heard how dangers were closing around him, but they shut their eyes to his peril, and closed their ears to his appeals for help. They had lost the fruit of their previous successes in Egypt by their indecision and vacillation. Unless things were to go from bad to worse, they must make up their minds beforehand for what purpose the new expedition was being sent out, and what object it was to keep in view. Turning from foreign to home questions, Sir M. Hicks-Beach spoke of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme for peasant proprietors so far as it was limited to increasing the number of landholders as one in which he had always sympathised. It was, however, one thing to hold the opinion, and another to believe it possible, realisable by legislation. As for the so-called "nationalisation" of the land, he did not know what right Government had to appropriate land a bit more than any other kind of property.

Every labourer, he declared, ought to have a decent cottage and garden at a fair rent; and if in some parishes the gardens were not conveniently provided, the local authority might be empowered to step in and even to purchase land with authority from Parliament for that particular purpose, but without any idea of turning the labourer into a nondescript—partly labourer, partly farmer.

The remaining speeches of the recess were unimportant, serving only to mark the general feeling of anger or disappointment at the results of our Egyptian policy, according as the speakers were opponents or supporters of the Ministry. Shortly before Parliament reassembled a few changes were made in the arrangement of the Cabinet. Lord Carlingford, who for some time had held the post of Lord Privy Seal in conjunction with the Presidency of the Council, relinquished the former purely honorary office in favour of Lord Rosebery, who became at the same time Chief Commissioner of Works. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, who had succeeded Mr. Fawcett as Postmaster-General, was also admitted to a seat in the Cabinet, raising its members to the unusually large quota of sixteen. With reference to Lord Rosebery's entry, the *Times* thought that only his personal loyalty to the Prime Minister and a patriotic impulse, generous to the verge of Quixotism, could have induced him to join a Ministry whose reckoning with the country and with history would assuredly be no light one.

CHAPTER II.

Reassembling of Parliament—Egyptian Affairs—The Business of the Session—The Vote of Censure in the Commons and the Lords—Narrow Escape of the Government—Its Foreign Relations with Russia, Germany, and France—The Reserves called out—The Egyptian Indemnity Loan—The Redistribution Bill in Committee—The Revolt against Sir S. Northcote—The Representatives of Scotland and of London—Navy Estimates—Army Estimates.

A MORE unpropitious moment for the reassembling of Parliament could hardly have been chosen; and had it been possible to postpone the day, doubtless the Government would have been glad to allow the popular ferment to subside. Before the House met (Feb. 19) it was well understood that the Opposition would give notice of a vote of censure on the Government for its conduct of the Soudan campaign; and the chief interest was to see in what way its spokesmen would meet or minimise the blow.

In the House of Lords, Lord Granville, rising to present certain papers relating to Egyptian affairs, after a tribute of admiration and regret to General Gordon, expressed his hope that the financial difficulty in Egypt would be shortly settled in a manner satisfactory to all concerned. Only three weeks previously, he went on to say, the Government had been equally sanguine of a speedy practical settlement of the military difficulty. They had momen-

tarily looked forward to the meeting of Generals Wilson and Gordon, but an act of treachery had prevented its realisation. He defended the route chosen for our troops as that which had been approved by the highest military authorities, and expressed his belief that had the expedition reached Khartoum sooner it would still have failed to save Gordon, round whom an atmosphere of treachery had hovered for many months. The object of the Nile expedition had been from the first to rescue Gordon and to establish some form of local government. As regarded the future, Lord Granville held that there were overwhelming objections, military and political, against a retreat when the fall of Khartoum was known. It would not only have exposed Egypt, which we are bound in honour to defend, to great danger; it would have exposed us also to injury and insult, probably in different parts of the world. We rejected that course. With regard to negotiations, we never shut the door to negotiations, either through General Gordon or General Wolseley; but what overtures has the Mahdi ever made towards negotiation? And, even for the purpose of negotiation, could we have taken up a worse position than, notwithstanding our military successes, to have thrown ourselves into a position of collapse in consequence of one act of treachery far from our troops? My lords, the decision at which we arrived was that we were bound to tell General Wolseley what our political object was, and we told him it was to check the advance of the Mahdi, and for that purpose to destroy his power in Khartoum."

Lord Salisbury, in the absence of papers, forbore to criticise minutely Egyptian affairs, but denounced the general policy of the Government, which had left us isolated in Europe, was calling up doubts and threatening clouds in Asia, and had alienated our colonies. He declared that the people of the country would require a reckoning for the lives which had been sacrificed to the squabbles of the Cabinet and the exigencies of party.

In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone explained at greater length the intentions of the Government in a speech which bore evidence of the Prime Minister's hesitation and misgivings. He was not, however, less explicit in declaring that the instructions given to Lord Wolseley were to frame his military measures upon the policy of overthrowing the Mahdi at Khartoum. As a prelude Osman Digna was to be attacked from Suakim, the route to Berber opened, and a railroad constructed by which the road across the desert could be made practicable. The objects the Ministry had had in view in undertaking the expedition to the Soudan were fourfold—the rescue of Gordon and his companions, the establishment of some form of government in Khartoum, the suppression of the slave trade of which that city was the centre, and the relief of the Egyptian garrisons. Mr. Gladstone's assertion that "General Gordon contentedly and determinedly forbore to make use of the means of personal safety which were at all times open to him" was received

with loud protestations; and although he subsequently modified his words slightly, and afterwards offered to withdraw them in deference to the feelings of the House, yet they had the effect of conveying to the public that the Government appreciated but slightly Gordon's heroic defence. Nor was the anxiety of the public set at rest as to the state of the navy when Sir Thomas Brassey said that none of the ships for which a special vote had been taken before Christmas had been put in hand, and no contract for their construction accepted.

Before the House separated that evening Mr. Gladstone briefly sketched the intended course of business during the session. The first place, and—as subsequently appeared—to the exclusion of everything except Supply, was to be given to the Seats Bill; but in the House of Lords the Government would introduce a Bill to enable the Australian colonies to associate themselves for certain purposes, a Bill for the amendment of the Lunacy law, an Extradition Bill, and the Secretary for Scotland Bill. The omission of all reference to the Crimes Bill (Ireland) to replace the Act expiring in the course of the year called forth remark; but Mr. Gladstone contented himself by saying that he did not think the moment had arrived when it was necessary or would be convenient to make any declaration on that subject. In reply, however, to Mr. Parnell, the Irish Secretary (Mr. Campbell Bannerman) said that it was his intention to ask leave at once to amend the Labourers' Act (Ireland). Mr. Gladstone was unable to fix a day at once for the Vote of Censure, which could not advantageously be discussed until the papers were circulated. Its terms, of which Sir S. Northcote gave notice, were thought by many to be lame and impotent, since, instead of directly charging the Ministry with neglect or mismanagement, it merely declared that the course pursued rendered it necessary that they should distinctly recognise and take measures to fulfil the responsibility incumbent on them. This responsibility, however, the Government were not at the moment desirous to shirk. On the following day Lord Hartington, as Secretary of State for War, brought up two messages from the Crown—one ordering soldiers otherwise entitled to their discharge to continue for one year longer in the army service, and the other calling out the militia.

The Ministerial statements with regard to the Soudan, which fell so flat in Parliament, met with equally scant favour in the press. The Government had now indeed pledged itself "to smash the Mahdi" at Khartoum, whom when he was outside Khartoum, Mr. Gladstone had declared to be the "leader of a people struggling to be free;" but this resolution found but very half-hearted support even among the Liberals; whilst Mr. J. Morley, speaking on behalf of the section of the Radicals, deprecated any further expenditure of blood and treasure in an objectless expedition. Many provincial supporters of the Government also declared openly against any further prosecution of the war for vengeance,

prestige, or even for the sake of establishing good government in the Soudan. Sir S. Northcote's censure was pronounced to be vapid and nerveless, having for its aim not the forcing of the Government into an alternative policy, but the catching of as many nondescript malcontents on a division as possible. The Opposition was, however, eager for a trial of strength before the effect of the recent news had been allowed to calm down. In spite, therefore, of Mr. Gladstone's offer to postpone the debate until members had had fuller opportunity of mastering the Egyptian blue-book to be presented by the Government, it was agreed that its policy should be arraigned at once. On the opening night (Feb. 24) Sir S. Northcote at once declared that whatever other explanation might be placed upon the terms of his motion, it involved an entire condemnation of the policy of the Government, imposing upon him a serious responsibility which he accepted. Although the House had twice refused to condemn the Government, many members had supported them in the expectation that they would pursue a different course. But these expectations had been entirely disappointed, and there could be now no doubt that unless there was a complete change in the spirit of the Ministerial policy the country was doomed to further disappointment. No doubt the Government had now undertaken extensive military operations, but at the same time there was a voice proceeding from their councils which deprived the expedition of half its value, and there seemed to be an anxiety to create an impression that as soon as our military operations were over we should retire from the country and leave it to any consequences which might follow. Such an announcement, he contended, would infinitely increase the difficulties of the expedition. After drawing a vivid picture of General Gordon's position during the last few months, he dwelt on the special responsibility which rested on our Government from their action in Egypt, and especially by reason of their destruction of the power of the Egyptian Government. From this he drew the conclusion that throughout the conduct of the Government had been tainted by the fatal mistake of proclaiming that their mission was only temporary. He feared that the same blunder would be continued, and he desired, therefore, to extract from the Government some definite declaration of the end for which we were going to war. Until they got rid of this ingrained difficulty it was not possible to have any confidence in the Government. The Government was now compelled to do what it had declared to be impossible last year; and though he was not inclined to take a pessimist view of the military situation, he believed the greatest obstacle of all to be in the heads of the Ministry.

Mr. John Morley at once followed with his amendment, which, whilst he asked the House to refrain from giving an opinion on the policy of the Government in their conduct of Egyptian affairs, pledged it to an expression of regret that the forces of the

Crown were to be employed to overthrow the power of the Mahdi. He denounced the line taken by Sir S. Northcote as inconsistent with the views expressed by the Opposition a year previously, and maintained that the real issue to be considered was whether or not the speedy withdrawal of our troops was desirable. He ridiculed the idea that the slave trade could be put a stop to from the centre of Africa, and the possibility of ever establishing an English government at Khartoum; and in conclusion, after urging that friendly negotiations should be opened up with the Mahdi, he declared the actual policy of the Government to be a waste of national strength, unredeemed by any good to the inhabitants of the Soudan or to the people of this country. Mr. Gladstone's reply to these two attacks, coming from absolutely opposite sides, was in the highest degree ingenious, and gave him scope for a great rhetorical effort. But for the moment he seemed to have lost touch with the House, and even his most loyal supporters seemed dispirited and dissatisfied. Addressing himself first to the charge of not having helped General Gordon by refusing nearly every request, Zebehr was not permitted to leave Cairo because, said Mr. Gladstone, before forty-eight hours had passed the action of the Government would have been paralysed by an address to the Crown; the two squadrons of cavalry were not despatched to Berber because Gordon had before leaving England said that it was part of his policy to employ no British force. Passing next to the delay in sending out the relief expedition, Mr. Gladstone admitted that the Cabinet was in doubt whether Gordon was in danger, and by which route he could best be relieved, and that in the solution of this question much valuable time was lost. They had carried out every promise conveyed in the debate of May 12, 1884, and arrived at a decision on Aug. 5. Three days later full instructions for the approaching campaign were despatched from the War Office. Turning next to the words of the Vote of Censure, which he declared to impose upon this country the establishment of a Christian government over Mohammedans, Mr. Gladstone declined to accept such a task. "It means," he said, "committing your gallant army to a struggle from year to year in a tropical climate with peoples who are courageous by birth and courageous by fanaticism. It means a despotic government to be established and upheld by British hands against those who hate it. Well, sir, we can give no such pledge, and I trust that the House will give no such pledge. In the teeth of common prudence, in the teeth of every reasonable calculation that it is possible to make, in the teeth of all the forces of nature arrayed against you, I will say the right hon. gentleman might as well, when he speaks of thus placing a permanent yoke on the neck of these people, to be maintained by British authority and power—he might as well speak of chaining the sands of the desert when the tempest is howling over it." And a little later he added, in reply to Mr. Morley's objections to employ our troops to

overthrow the Mahdi at Khartoum, "But what we say is, that we are not prepared at the present moment to say there is no obligation upon us to use, according to circumstances, reasonable efforts, if we go there, to leave behind us an orderly government. With reference to the other military operations, he added that the necessity of an expedition to Suakim, and of making from Suakim provision that the route to Berber should be rendered safe against Osman Digna and his forces—"that demand, that necessity does not depend upon our adoption of the policy of destroying the Mahdi's power at Khartoum, but is inherent in the nature of the case. Therefore I should not be acting aboveboard with my hon. friend if I did not point out to him that, in order to secure the proper and safe retirement of the British army, if it were to retire, and if we adopted that policy, it would still be necessary that an expedition from Suakim should be made on military considerations." The conclusion, however, of the Prime Minister's speech suggested the thought that he was not sanguine as to the effect of his arguments, and therefore he based his appeal to his ordinary supporters on other grounds. "This," said Mr. Gladstone, amidst cheers from his opponents—"this is a serious crisis in the face of the world. It cannot be advantageous for any of us that we should present to the world at this moment nothing but a disparaged Government and a doubtful House of Commons. If the House, on reconsidering the issue of last May, or on any other ground, is prepared to condemn what we have done, by all means let it condemn it. But, even then, I would say, let the House, if it is prudent, eschew those entangling engagements which the right hon. gentleman has embodied in his motion, and which, if it adopts them, will be the seed and the beginning of a series of new difficulties still worse than any with which we have yet had to contend. If the House believes that we have palpably failed in our duty, by all means let it condemn us, and we shall cheerfully accept its decision; but if it believes that we have, upon the whole, not only with fair intention, but without palpable error or judgment on main considerations—if it believes that we have performed our obligations as Ministers of the Crown, then let it not withhold from us some distinct expression of its confidence, which will fortify, I will not say our hands—that is a small matter—but the hands of the country in the face of the world. If we have that confidence, we shall persevere in applying as we best can what are known to be our principles to a state of facts more difficult and entangled than any which has recently marked the history of this country. We shall endeavour, sir, to maintain the honour of the British name, to fulfil every engagement into which we have entered directly or constructively, and to discharge every duty, onerous though it may be, which is inseparable at a crisis of this kind from the possession of a great and a world-wide empire."

The precise view to be taken by commentators on the Prime Minister's speech was that, come what might, England would not

hold on to the Soudan. The Radicals were even partially conciliated by the conviction that after the Mahdi was "smashed" the British troops would retire. But before the debate was resumed on the following day Mr. Gladstone was asked a question by Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett with reference to a telegram in the *Standard* describing the alarm felt at Suakim "in consequence of the avowed intention of the Government to abandon the Soudan." Mr. Gladstone's reply considerably amazed the House. "The hon. gentleman," he said, "has been misled by the statement of a correspondent. He asks me to read a recantation in consequence of a statement of a correspondent of the *Standard*, that there has been an avowed determination on the part of the Government to abandon the Soudan after taking Khartoum. Who has expressed that determination? I have never said a word about it. I am speaking now of the state of the case since Parliament met. What I spoke of in the explanation I addressed to the House on Thursday last was not the abandonment of the Soudan after the taking of Khartoum. It was the evacuation of the Soudan by Egypt. I have never said a word on the subject of the withdrawal or the evacuation of the Soudan by her Majesty's forces. I explained myself, I think, with tolerable fulness on this subject last night; but I am endeavouring to correct what is evidently a gross misapprehension, which seems to consist of this—that I have stated that her Majesty's forces were to evacuate the Soudan immediately after they had succeeded in taking Khartoum. I have never entered on that subject in the form of any particular statement. What I have said is, that the evacuation of the Soudan by Egypt and its restoration to freedom constituted the original policy of the Government, and that that policy had not been altered, but that events had occurred which had prevented its immediate execution. And then, in dealing with the question of the taking of Khartoum, I pointed out that the effect of a negative decision on the question would have been the abandonment at one stroke of a variety of purposes, some of which I enumerated, and which consisted of matters of which I believe I said more than once that, in our view, any reasonable effort ought to be made to deal with them. Consequently there is no truth whatever in the statement referred to. I now say that my full statement last night is the explanation more at large of my views. But the reason why I dwell on the phrase 'evacuation of the Soudan by Egypt' is this, that on Thursday I was speaking, not as I usually do, but from a note made after careful consideration with my colleagues, and I find the phrase I used, 'evacuation of the Soudan by Egypt,' is carefully reported by the newspapers."

Mr. Trevelyan, who was the principal speaker on behalf of the Government during the evening, hardly made its policy clearer by dwelling at length upon the difficulties of a retreat down the valley of the Nile to Wady Halfa, and the necessity of opening up the Suakim-Berber route by a railway. He declared the main

policy of the Government was to conduct the war "with a broad, vigorous, energetic offensive." They respected the Mahdi, and believed that by a bold advance, negotiating whilst fighting, and fighting whilst negotiating, they would bring him to accept terms more quickly and effectually than if their course were checked. Mr. Trevelyan admitted that in leaving the Soudan they abandoned their allies to a fate which he did not like to contemplate—that mere temporising would not avert this, nor stop the onward course of the Mahdi down the fertile valley of the Nile.

Left in such complete doubt and darkness as to the real intentions of the Government, it was not surprising that Mr. Goschen on rising was greeted with general approval when he said that there was one thing for which all parties were anxious—namely, to thoroughly understand the policy of the Government. He implored them to take the House a little more into their confidence, and to let the House see the ultimate object at which they were aiming. Was it, he asked, one of their objects to assist in suppressing the slave trade? Was it to establish a Government at Khartoum? and if so, how, after having smashed the Mahdi at Khartoum, were we to utilise his power in the Soudan? The Prime Minister's declaration on the previous evening, Mr. Goschen pointed out, contained a double negative to these hypotheses. Upon that statement the House was asked to sanction an expedition to go forward to break the power of the Mahdi. The basis was far too shadowy for so important a conclusion. He therefore appealed to the members of the Cabinet who were to speak in the debate to say in no uncertain words whether or not they attached importance to the argument that the Mahdi's power must be crushed in order to influence the East generally with an idea of our omnipotence. To undertake this task without any more definite objects than those given in the very shadowy declarations of the Prime Minister was both too much and too little. Mr. Goschen fully endorsed the view of our responsibilities towards the friendly tribes taken by Mr. Trevelyan, and he should consider any scheme for the settlement of the Soudan which did not afford some security for our allies as most unsatisfactory. He pressed also for further information about the Suakim-Berber railway, and wished to know if ultimately it was to be broken up or handed over to wild hordes of Arabs. In his opinion the better policy would be to put a grip on the Nile by holding Berber and the railway to Suakim, than to march forward to break the power of the Mahdi at Khartoum. Berber, he thought, might be held, though not by British troops, as the outpost of Western civilisation on the Nile; and this, he urged, was a simpler and a more humane policy than the one which the Government seemed to have in view. "I am not prepared myself," concluded Mr. Goschen, "to support a policy to pledge ourselves absolutely to break the power of the Mahdi at Khartoum without any further pledges, or without any stricter declarations of policy

from her Majesty's Government than we have received up to this moment. If her Majesty's Government will say how far they really intend to go, if they can say that they will at least hold Berber even if they do not go to Khartoum; if they will say they will not leave the Soudan till they have insured the safety of those who have stood beside us—if they will make these declarations in clear and unmistakable language, and not surrounded by many contingencies, not put as that one declaration had been put, with a double negative and three 'ifs;' if they will put it clearly before us, then I shall be prepared to support her Majesty's Government; but if they will not pledge themselves to anything more than to break the power of the Mahdi at Khartoum—if they will not say that there is anything more to which we shall be able to point before they retire, then I could not see my way to support the Government, and I should feel bound to vote for the motion of the right hon. baronet opposite."

Whilst the Conservatives of the front Opposition bench, like Mr. Gibson, addressed themselves chiefly to showing that the Government had failed in their covenant with General Gordon, the more independent Liberals, like Sir John Lubbock, who recognised the difficulties of the Government and promised them his support, urged that the policy of retaking Khartoum and giving it up again could not possibly be defended. He was, however, quite willing to consider the question of retaining Khartoum under a settled government, and admitted, as did Mr. Arthur Arnold afterwards, that the construction of the railway from Suakim to Berber must import a new factor into the question.

After one day's interval, devoted to the consideration of Mr. Sellars' private bill legislation proposals, the debate on the vote of censure was resumed (Feb. 26) by Mr. Chaplin, who dwelt on the indecision of the Cabinet, and the evils arising therefrom. But it was the answer of the Home Secretary to Mr. Goschen which excited the more lively interest. Rightly or wrongly, Sir William Harcourt had been assumed to be the chief, perhaps the sole representative in the Cabinet of the policy of "scuttling" out of Egypt, and consequently would have been, it would be supposed, the last person chosen to give a satisfactory explanation. Declining to take notice of the charges of treachery or intentional neglect of Gordon, Sir William Harcourt at once repudiated the errors of judgment and waste of time with which the Cabinet had been charged. As to the future, he declared he never would have been a party to going to Khartoum for the sake of annexing the Soudan either to this country or Egypt, nor for revenge, but solely because it was the only mode in which an evacuation of the Soudan could be effected with safety to Egypt. Replying to Mr. Goschen's demand for stricter declarations of policy, he said it was impossible for a responsible Government to commit itself beforehand to a settlement which must depend greatly on the outcome of operations which could not yet be foreseen; and he criticised

severely the alternative plan of holding Berber, propounded by Mr. Goschen. As to the policy indefinitely shadowed out in the motion, if it meant the permanent occupation of Egypt it was the most dangerous policy that could be conceived. England could not administer Egypt, where several nations had interests, as she administered India; and the longer we remained in Egypt the greater would be the responsibilities we should incur. The Government, he said, did not go thither with the idea of remaining; and if the House wished them to do so, it must bear in mind that it would necessitate the annexation both of Egypt and the Soudan.

Later on in the evening, when the policy of the Government had been severely criticised by speakers of such divergent views as Sir R. A. Cross and Mr. Muntz, Sir F. Milner and Mr. Cartwright, Sir Charles Dilke came forward to defend the Cabinet, and related succinctly the various measures which had been taken to relieve General Gordon. Turning to the questions which had been addressed to the Government as to their policy in the future, he reviewed the relations of England with the various European Powers—laying stress on the close friendship which exists between this country and Italy. In answer to Mr. Goschen's appeal for the protection of the friendly tribes he gave an assurance that the Government would not abandon those who had been of service to this country in the Soudan, and would use all reasonable means to leave behind them in the Soudan a state of tranquillity, but beyond this the Government could not go.

The prospects of the Government had not brightened when the last night of the debate arrived, in spite of the dissatisfaction among the Conservatives which had found vent in a meeting of the party at the Carlton Club (Feb. 24), when the terms of Sir S. Northcote's motion were pronounced by many of his followers to be vague and weak. Lord Salisbury, however, succeeded in restoring unanimity to his party by assuring them that their leaders were prepared to accept the responsibilities of office should the occasion arrive. It was under these conditions that Sir M. Hicks-Beach resumed the debate, showing that the policy advocated by the Home Secretary must necessarily add to the responsibilities and difficulties of this country. As to the policy of the Opposition, he declared it to be dictated by the necessities of the case, and that we could not leave the Soudan, however much we might wish it, until some kind of organisation had grown up under our protection. He concluded a powerful and elaborate speech by affirming that while no men in their senses could possibly desire to succeed to the frightful confusion created by Mr. Gladstone's Government, still the Opposition would not shrink from the task if laid upon them by the will of the nation.

He was followed from below the gangway on the Liberal side by Mr. Courtney, who urged that whilst there had been no need for any expedition to the Soudan, there was still less reason for further military operations. After pointing out the inconsis-

tencies and contradictions involved in the various ministerial statements, he maintained that although the Government had determined to overthrow the Mahdi at Khartoum, it was clear that they were not agreed as to their subsequent policy. As to the present military operations, they were merely undertaken, he said, for political motives. They formed a new departure of an aggressive policy, and although he fully recognised the difficulties of retreat, he denied that the Moslem world would join the Mahdi, or that the Mahdi would follow us if we retired. The railway from Suakim to Berber, he maintained, meant a permanent English settlement in the Soudan; and dealing with the motion he dilated on the difficulties which a Conservative Government would have to meet in attempting to carry out the policy contained in it.

Another candid friend from the same side of the House was Mr. Forster, who followed very similar lines, and pressed the Government to say whether the delay in deciding upon the route was due to military or political reasons. Turning to the future policy of the Government, he asked what they intended to do in the event of success at Khartoum. The speeches of the various members of the Government were altogether inconsistent, and he complained that when we were asked to overthrow the Mahdi, no intimation was given of what was to follow. The cause of the present position of affairs, he remarked, was due to the fact that the Cabinet were divided in opinion; and as he believed that a doubting and divided policy would continue, he could not vote with the Government.

At length Lord Hartington rose to give a final reply on behalf of the ministry. He pointed out that the House had before it two issues—the policy of retreat recommended by Mr. Morley, and the transfer of responsibility to other hands, which was the object of Sir S. Northcote's motion. He declared that the Opposition, if in power, would be obliged to carry out the military policy of their predecessors; whilst their general policy, as indicated by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, foreshadowed the establishment of a New India, in the centre of Africa. Lord Hartington urged that the despatch of General Gordon and of the relief expedition were both in deference to public opinion, and that, until that opinion changed, the Government was obliged to persevere. In reply to the charges of hesitancy and delay, he admitted that their justification could only be found in the length of time which had elapsed before the Government was convinced of the necessity of a military expedition for Gordon's rescue, and repeated that, but for treachery, this expedition would have succeeded. He maintained that considerable results had already been secured by the expedition; and as for the future, he saw no necessity for adding to the explanations already given. The general aim of the Government coincided with the objects which General Gordon long ago went thither to attain—to establish orderly government, to check the slave trade, and to promote the permanent civilisation of those regions. But

he did not allow that the Government were called upon without competent means of information, and under circumstances difficult to be foreseen, to make declarations of policy which might involve the country in efforts and sacrifices not fairly to be demanded from it.

The debate was closed by Lord John Manners, instead of by the accredited leader of the Opposition ; and in this departure from ordinary usage some seemed to see the effects of the Conservative revolt. Lord J. Manners vigorously pressed upon the Government the results of their policy of delay, and saw in the death of Gordon and the fall of Khartoum the inevitable sequel to the neglect of the advice given by General Hicks.

A division was then taken, when Sir S. Northcote's motion was negatived by 302 to 288 votes—a majority of only 14 for the Government—just one-half of the majority they had obtained on the previous Vote of Censure (May 12, 1884). The Home Rulers, to the number of forty, and twelve well-known Liberals, including Mr. Goschen and Mr. Forster, voted with the Conservatives, whilst fourteen absented themselves altogether. The vote on Mr. Morley's motion was taken immediately afterwards, and it was defeated by 455 to 112.

Meanwhile, in the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury had moved his Vote of Censure, which was at once a condemnation of the Government policy in the past, and a definite programme for the future. The result of this division was, from the first, a foregone conclusion, and apart from the views which the conduct of Egyptian affairs might elicit from distinguished statesmen, the chief interest in the division list arose from a desire to see to what extent the Conservative peers resented the part forced upon them by Lord Salisbury's management of the Franchise and Seats Bills. The terms of the motion were as follows :—“ That this House, having taken into consideration the statements that have been made on behalf of her Majesty's Government, is of opinion that (1) the deplorable failure of the Soudan expedition to attain its object has been due to the undecided counsels of the Government, and to the culpable delay attending the commencement of operations ; (2) that the policy of abandoning the whole of the Soudan after the conclusion of military operations will be dangerous to Egypt, and inconsistent with the interests of the empire.”

There was, in addition, another matter which possibly had had some indirect influence upon the division on the Vote of Censure. On the second day after the recess Mr. Gladstone had given notice of a motion for putting the Seats Bill on the order of the day in precedence of all other business, thereby practically monopolising every day for Government business. This, in spite of the opposition of the Irish members, was conceded (Feb. 20) by a large majority. But on the next private members' night (Feb. 24), when precedence was asked for the adjourned debate on the Vote of Censure, the Irish Nationalist members again protested. At

length the Speaker, for the first time, proposed to apply the closure. "It is my duty," said Mr. Speaker, "to inform the House that in my opinion the question has now been adequately discussed, and I gather that it is the evident sense of the House that the question be now put." Mr. Gladstone proceeded to make the motion provided by the standing order, amid a scene of much uproar and excitement. The Parnellite members cheered derisively and uttered discordant cries, and Mr. O'Brien, calling out in an excited and menacing tone, "We'll remember this in Ireland," was named by the Speaker. The usual motion was made by Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. O'Brien's expulsion was carried by 244 to 20. This having been disposed of, and Mr. O'Brien having withdrawn, Mr. Gladstone moved—"That the question be now put." After some further confused controversy as to the precise form in which the opinion of the House should be taken, the motion, "That the question be now put," was carried by 207 to 46; member after member, chiefly Conservatives, who had consistently opposed at the closure resolutions when under discussion, taking this first opportunity of giving practical expression to their convictions. By this means, and the sudden withdrawal of many leading Conservatives from the House, Mr. Gladstone's motion was nearly lost. The minority being above forty, in a House of over 200 members, the closure was only carried by a bare majority of seven votes. According to the *Daily News*, the Speaker was so annoyed at the action of the Conservative leaders in not supporting the authority of the Chair, that he intimated that had the motion been rejected he should have resigned his office. The Irish members, on the other hand, showed their gratitude for the assistance on this occasion by following Sir S. Northcote into the lobby a few nights later.

In support of his indictment of the Ministry, Lord Salisbury admitted that he could not accuse them of entire inconsistency, because there was a rule of conduct, in the following of which they had been consistent—namely, an unwillingness to come to any decision until the last moment, and to decide on action when the time for action had already passed. Theirs was a from-hand-to-mouth policy. Their having taken action too late led to the bombardment of Alexandria. Then, while continually disclaiming responsibility, they advised Egypt to abandon the Soudan. It was impossible to conceive a more stupendous political blunder than that. From the moment that advice was given, the fate of the garrisons in the Soudan was sealed. Subsequently they sent troops to different points, and after having caused great slaughter at those places, they caused those troops to retire without any practical effect having been secured. He characterised the mission on which they had sent General Gordon as an impossible and hopeless errand; and to show, as he put it, that the laws of motion of even so eccentric a comet as the Government could be calculated beforehand, he read a passage from one of his own previous

speeches, in which he had warned Ministers that they would be found sending out an expedition to rescue General Gordon when it would be too late; the postponement of all action in the matter from April to August had verified his prophecy. Some persons attributed the delay to the entry of Lord Derby into the Cabinet. This was not his view. He believed the Cabinet was almost as bad before as it had been since the accession of the actual Colonial Secretary. He attributed the waiting to those who supported the apostle of absolute inactivity in foreign affairs throughout his Midlothian campaign. He quoted despatches from General Gordon to show that the delay had been fatal to him and those who were faithful to him at Khartoum. He repudiated the defence put forward by the Government, that treachery would have caused the fall of Khartoum whenever British troops arrived there to support General Gordon. He regarded such a theory as inconsistent with the straits to which the Mahdi had been reduced; but he argued that if it were sound it proved the folly of having sent General Gordon to Khartoum without troops to defend him. Coming to the future, he reminded their lordships that the press and the whole country by word of mouth were asking what the policy of the Government was, but they got no answer. They were told that the Mahdi must be smashed, but the smashing of the Mahdi would not meet the requirements of the case. The interests of England must be predominant in Egypt, and a good government in the Soudan was essential to that; but a good government, like any other being, must have an infancy. It must be watched over till it was able to protect itself. "I believe," he concluded, "that by the Suakim and Berber route we may obtain a hold over that portion of the Soudan which may enable us to perform our primary duty—namely, to repress the forces of barbarism and fanaticism; to encourage that civilisation which, if protected, will find such abundant root in that fertile country; and above all, to restrain, check, and ultimately to destroy the slave trade, which has been the curse of Africa. All those advantages can be obtained if England will lay down a definite policy, and will adhere to it; but consistency of policy is absolutely necessary. We have to assure our friends that we shall stand by them; we have to assure our enemies that we are permanently to be feared. . . . These great dangers now confronting us can only be faced by a consistent policy, which can only be conducted by a Ministry capable of unity of counsel and decision of purpose. From this Ministry we can expect no such results. They can only produce after their kind. They will only do what they have already done. You cannot look for unity of counsel from an Administration that is hopelessly divided. You cannot expect a resolute policy from those whose purpose is hopelessly halting. It is for this reason, my lords, that I ask you to record your opinion that from a Ministry in whom the first quality of all—the quality of decision of purpose—is wanting, you can hope no good in this crisis of our country's fate."

When Lord Salisbury had concluded his damaging indictment against the Ministers, Lord Wentworth, arguing for a policy of non-intervention, interposed an amendment expressing regret at the sacrifice of life in Egypt and the Soudan; but Lord Northbrook, who was the first to speak in defence of the Government, refused the proffered aid. His speech was principally composed of direct denials of Lord Salisbury's charges. He argued that throughout Ministers had acted with discretion and without unnecessary delay; and that when the leader of the Opposition urged them to action early in 1884 there was no good reason for supposing that General Gordon could not hold out. He maintained that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues had announced a policy, and he accused Lord Salisbury of having afforded them no aid in the solution of the Egyptian difficulty. What this policy of the Government was Lord Northbrook explained: "It was said that the Egyptian Government would be prepared to subsidise the principal chief or chiefs, who would be sufficiently powerful to maintain order, on condition of remaining at peace with Egypt and refraining from raids on the Egyptian garrisons. On those terms Lord Wolseley was authorised to conclude any arrangements he pleased. That appears to me to be a very clear expression of policy. A very able officer, Sir Charles Wilson, attached to Lord Wolseley's staff, had instructions to assist him in carrying out the Government policy with respect to the future government of the Soudan. It would, under certain circumstances, be his duty to find out what chiefs there are, and on the conditions I have stated to put them in positions of authority. The Mudir of Dongola, who has distinguished himself very much as a courageous man, and who has a great reputation among Mohammedans, might be placed in authority at Dongola, and possibly also at Khartoum. . . . I maintain that her Majesty's Government have explained that what they desire to see is a settled government established in the Soudan, the best that can be arranged; and are even prepared to go so far as this—that some aid may be given by the Egyptian Government by way of subsidy in order to keep some hold over the loyalty of those who may be appointed rulers. . . . It will be by the influence of commerce and trade against fanaticism that we shall succeed, and I know of no better remedy than that. There is a great amount of commerce in that country, and many of the tribes are engaged in carrying goods from one part of the country to another. They are to some extent consumers of English and other products, and I hope that when matters are put on a better footing the influence of trade may destroy and defeat any influence of fanaticism. As to trade, my own personal opinion and feeling is that it is probable that this railway, which we have commenced for military reasons, may have a beneficial result upon the difficulties that are now before us. As far as the Government are concerned our policy is a clear one; we should hold our own in that country, and conduct its affairs for the

benefit and advantage of the people, and in the best manner we can arrange with the people."

The Duke of Richmond ridiculed the extraordinary theory put forward by Lord Northbrook that it was part of the duty of an Opposition to provide a policy for the Government; its sole function being to point out where they went wrong. He contended that not only in Egypt, but abroad generally, in the colonies, and at home, the Government had failed because they were a divided Cabinet, no two of them thoroughly agreeing on any one point. He expressed his opinion that, whatever might be the fate of the motion of censure now before the other House, the time was near at hand when Ministers would be driven by the indignant voice of the country from the offices which they had discredited.

After speeches from the Marquess of Huntley, Lord Thurlow, and the Earl of Morley in defence of the Government, and from Lords Brabourne and Bury, the Earl of Jersey, and the Marquess of Waterford in support of the motion, Lord Derby delivered a closely reasoned defence of the various phases of the ministerial policy. Admitting Lord Salisbury's right to regard Gordon's errand as hopeless and impossible, he declared that such was not the view of the General himself; and he insisted again on the theory that treachery would have caused the fall of Khartoum at any time the British troops reached the neighbourhood of that place. He explained at length the reasons which had brought the Government to the view that the power of the Mahdi must be broken. "We are not dealing," said Lord Derby, "with a merely local disturbance. We are not fighting a chief whose only object is to restore independence to his own tribe or country. The Mahdi is the head of a religious war—a Mohammedan crusade; and it does not follow that if we leave him alone he will leave us or Egypt alone, or even that the fire he has lighted will stop there. The best proof is that when we were willing to withdraw from Khartoum, and when we might have reasonably supposed that he would have been glad to facilitate our retirement, he has not abated his hostility and has not accepted any offers of peace. Well, that fact alters the situation completely. We are not bound to defend or to attack Khartoum, but we are bound to protect Egypt. We have assumed that duty as a result of our occupation, and while the occupation lasts we cannot withdraw from it. If, therefore, you ask what we are now trying to do, I say exactly the same as last year. We have not varied as to the object, though we have been compelled to change the means. We tried negotiation while there seemed a chance that negotiation might succeed; it did not succeed, and only one alternative remains. . . . Once let us restore order in the Soudan, and I should have no fear as to the safety of the road if it continues. Nor do I believe that there is the slightest need for that policy of indefinite occupation which we have always disclaimed. Once break the power of this military fanatical leader, and the local tribes and chiefs will want very

little assistance and very little support, whether from England or Egypt, to enable them to hold their own."

On the second night of the debate in the Lords, after a protest against the Ministerial reticence from Lord Camperdown delivered from the Government benches, Lord Carnarvon, in a brilliant speech, reviewed the history of General Gordon's mission, dwelling with much earnestness on the despatches from the Foreign Office in which the General's requests were refused, and on Gordon's commentaries upon his being left without support. He regarded it as inconceivable folly on the part of the Government to announce their intention to abandon a country from which they were obliged to draw supplies for the army operating in the Soudan. He held that the Government by their action in the Soudan had been very destructive, and that they had incurred obligations to friendly tribes which it was their duty to fulfil; and he suggested that they ought at least to put an end to their miserable indecision, make up their mind to a policy, and, having done so, resolutely carry it out.

The chief burden of the defence during the evening was borne by Lord Kimberley, who, in a lengthy speech, dealt with the principal objections raised by previous speakers. He argued that, in justice to General Gordon as well as themselves, the Government were bound to refuse certain of his requests, because they were in possession of information which he, shut up in Khartoum, could not have had, and that information made such refusal imperative. General Gordon himself would have been justified in afterwards blaming them if they, without any exercise of their own judgment, had complied with a requisition made by him in ignorance of some of the circumstances of the case. Turning to the demand made on the Government for a decided policy, he observed that the decided policy demanded by their opponents out of doors was that they should hold Egypt altogether, and pledge themselves to remain in the Soudan for some indefinite period. A decided policy would involve the naming of a definite time, but the leader of the Opposition had not ventured to name a definite time for the occupation of the Eastern Soudan. Her Majesty's Government were pledged to Europe to leave Egypt when there was established there a native government, of the efficiency and permanency of which there would be reasonable hope. Therefore the policy of retaining Egypt might be dismissed at once as one to which the present Government never would consent. Then, as to the Soudan, the Government felt that, being in Egypt, they were bound to provide security for that country against a growing danger. They felt it was their duty to check the power of the Mahdi, and, if possible, to provide that the check to it should continue; but to secure the continuance of that check by holding the Eastern Soudan for an indefinite period was a policy which they could not adopt, for it would involve the maintenance of a large British army for an indefinite time in an unwholesome climate. He did not believe that any Government which might

he formed would adopt the policy which was required of her Majesty's present advisers, but at the same time he expected that the Vote of Censure would be carried in their lordships' House.

The other speakers during the evening were Lords Harris and Dunraven, the Earls Beauchamp and of Hardwicke, Denbigh, and Cadogan, and the Duke of Norfolk, all of whom supported the motion, Lord Dalhousie and Aberdare being its only opponent. Lord Napier of Magdala, dealing chiefly with the military side of the question, informed the House that so far back as April 4, 1884, he felt very anxious about General Gordon, and came to the House to ask whether an expedition was not to be sent out; but on reaching the House he learnt that the Prime Minister had announced in another place that the Government had no intention of sending one. He then addressed their lordships and suggested that the Government might see fit to change their opinion, and pointed out that measures might be taken by which Khartoum could be reached with less difficulty than the Government seemed to suppose.

Lord Granville, in summing up the case for the Ministry, at last succeeded in restoring to the House a calmness and pleasant feeling which on more than one occasion had been disturbed. He met the charge of divided counsels in the Cabinet by asking, with reference to the meeting at the Carlton Club, were there no divisions in the counsels of the Opposition? Coming to the question more immediately before the House, the Foreign Secretary observed that Lord Beaconsfield had said he would not take a gift of Egypt. This observation called forth from Lord Salisbury the interruption that he never heard before that Lord Beaconsfield had said so. Lord Granville retorted that he had made his statement on high authority (which he afterwards stated was not Prince Bismarck's), and should continue to believe that he was right as to Lord Beaconsfield until Lord Salisbury could contradict him on authority. Referring to the demand of Lord Camperdown for a full and frank statement of policy, he said that if that noble lord did him the honour of calling on him next morning he would tell him, as a faithful follower of the Government, what their intentions were. Continuing, however, in a more serious vein, he added, "Our action is directed towards destroying the power of the Mahdi; and when we have destroyed the Mahdi, and are masters of the situation, as I hope and believe we shall be, I think on most questions there can be very little difference of opinion. I imagine that when we are masters of the situation we shall desire, all of us equally, to form the best government that can be formed on the spot. I imagine that we shall be anxious to deal with the slave trade in a most effectual way. I may mention one thing on which we are all perfectly united—that the honour of this country is concerned in the defence of Egypt proper. The noble Earl says that he must have a definite pledge as to what we are going to do with the railway to Berber. Its primary object is that we believe

it to be the most efficient, and not only the most efficient, but also the most economical way of conveying troops, with their provisions and stores, to the places where they are to be employed. If we find the circumstances favourable, would it not be perfectly obvious to any Government which was at that time in power to make the best use and utilisation of that railway which can possibly be to the best advantage of that country in whose soever hands it was? I cannot conceive of anything more unstatesmanlike, or anything that would more betray the duty of an existing Government to the country itself, than to enter into those definite and clear pledges respecting circumstances of which we have not cognizance. There is the first great difference between the two sides of the House. The noble Marquess, in his great versatility of imagination, described our plan as an intention to lay an ostrich's egg in the sand and then run away. If we are victorious, as we hope and believe we shall be, and are masters of the situation in Egypt, it is impossible not to believe that one of the first objects of the Government would be to do all that is possible for the safety of those native tribes who have loyally and faithfully supported us during these disturbances. My own impression is this—when we do succeed in destroying the forces of the Mahdi the particular request of the natives will be that we ourselves should retire as soon as possible from their country, and let them govern themselves.” Lord Granville concluded by saying that he knew what the result of the debate in that House would be. What would be the result in the Commons he could not foretell; but if it resulted in placing Lord Salisbury in power, he very much doubted that he would propose the policy which he had sketched out the previous night. If he did, the people of this country would compel him to wriggle out of it at the earliest opportunity.

Lord Salisbury briefly replied to the charges which had been brought against his motion, and the argument by which it had been met. “The First Lord of the Admiralty,” he said, “undertook to meet the charge of indecision, and he met it in this way. He said there is nothing more untrue than that we showed indecision. From April to June we resolved upon the Suakim route; from June to August we changed our minds, and we resolved upon the Nile route; and then we did not act immediately because of the profound reluctance which induced us to wait and see whether something in the circumstances might not turn up; and that reluctance it was which caused delay. But he seemed to think that nothing was more unreasonable than to term such conduct as that indecision. These things are questions of definition. What do you mean by indecision? I take the most familiar example of indecision—an old woman crossing a street. She sees a hansom cab in front nearly upon her; she goes back from it, and comes upon an omnibus coming from behind, and she goes forward; she has a profound reluctance to pass either of them; and she waits to see whether something will not turn up to help her, with the

inevitable result that the old woman is run over, and an unsympathising world says that her fate is due to her indecision. If this is the most decided, the most persistent and resolute conduct, I only hope the Government will not give us such specimens of resolution for the future." In reply to the various policies with which he and his party had been credited, Lord Salisbury continued: "A noble lord imputes to me a wish to occupy the Soudan permanently, and to lock up a British force for an indefinite time. With respect to British troops I said nothing. I only wish it not to be understood that I lay it down as a *sine quâ non* that it must be British troops who are to do the work in the Soudan. As to the assertion that it is to be a permanent occupation, I do not know how long will be necessary to give to the government which you leave in the Soudan the elements of security. This, however, I am certain of, that if you do not retain the Soudan in your power for a sufficiently long time to give security to the government, so that it shall have a chance of existing and of acting, all the blood and the treasure you have expended will have been poured out in vain, and Egypt will be exposed in all their acuteness to all the dangers which you confess it is your duty to guard her against. I know not whether the task is heavy or light, but I know that if there had been a bold hand and a resolute will a little time ago the task would have been much lighter than it is now. If the task is heavy or light, the only chance upon which the government of the Soudan could act as a dyke which shall keep from Egypt a flood of barbarian fanaticism will be that you shall give the initial steps of that government your powerful support, so that it may be able to stand upright by its own strength, and to fulfil the intentions which you propose to assign them."

A division was then taken, when it appeared that 189 peers voted for the motion, whilst only 68 were found to support the Government. In addition to those who voted in person twenty-three peers paired, so that the relation of parties towards their respective leaders showed a change to the disadvantage of the Ministry, Lord Salisbury's Vote of Censure in the previous session having been carried by 181 to 81.

The effect of these debates and divisions outside the walls of Parliament was to lower very considerably the prestige of the Ministry. The feebleness of their defence was not less remarked upon than the want of unity in their views both of the past and of the future. Rumours of the resignation, or at least of the reconstruction of the Cabinet were freely circulated. According to the *Daily News*, Ministers had intended to resign if their majority in the Commons fell below fifteen. The *Times* held that had there been anything like a normal Opposition, the Ministers could not possibly have survived so long. The narrow majority might technically avert an immediate crisis, but could hardly be called a working majority. In domestic legislation, however, the strength of the Ministry was still unimpaired; but the *Times* thought that

the utmost they could expect would be to linger on until the general election; and to hurry on this event was the advice of the leading Liberal organs in the provinces. For some days the state of things remained extremely critical. Three if not four members of the Cabinet were credited with the wish to resign, Lord Derby and Sir William Harcourt on personal reasons, finding themselves outvoted by their colleagues; Lord Spencer and Mr. Chamberlain for public reasons more closely connected with Irish than Egyptian affairs.

Moreover, whilst the Vote of Censure had been under discussion, other matters had arisen, by which the situation was still further complicated. The joint Boundary Commission, accepted by both Russia and England to determine the Russo-Afghan frontier, had not begun its work before rumours of a serious misunderstanding were circulated. Sir Peter Lumsden and his escort had started for the proposed meeting-place before winter set in, but the Russian commissioner, from sickness or from some other cause, failed to appear. The Afghans, emboldened by the presence of the British, pushed forward their troops to a spot where, as the Russians alleged, they threatened the Russian outposts. The situation becoming daily more critical, M. Lessar was despatched from St. Petersburg to London to open up negotiations there as to the principles upon which the new frontier line should be drawn; the Russians agreeing to the principle that the line to be drawn should be a defensive one for the Afghans, so far as regarded the road to Herat, but that it should not be an offensive one as against Sarakhs. The line proposed by Russia was not the strategic one suggested by the mountain lines, but one which included certain pastures and salt-beds, which the Turcomans, on the Russian side of the frontier, declared to be absolutely necessary for their flocks and herds. Whilst this position was under discussion, information reached this country (Feb. 21) that the Russians were advancing upon Penjdeh, a place held in force by the Afghans. The danger of a collision between the outposts of the two armies seemed so inevitable, that Sir P. Lumsden at once withdrew from the spot, leaving only a couple of officers to report to him the progress of events. Questioned as to the state of affairs, the Ministers declined, on the ground of public policy, to give any information beyond admitting that an interview between the Ameer of Afghanistan and the Viceroy of India had been arranged.

The Ministry, however, decided to continue in office. After a protracted meeting of the Cabinet, preceded by an interview between the Queen's private secretary (Sir H. Ponsonby) and the Premier, its members came to the conclusion that the vote did not call for their resignation. It was, however, generally understood that they intended to push on the measures necessary for bringing on a general election at the earliest possible moment, and with that proposed to abandon all other legislative work. If, however, the Government hoped, and with reason, that the routine business of

the session would present but few difficulties, and offer little ground for hostile criticism, it was not so with foreign affairs. On every side and at every moment fresh annoyances and troubles started up; and forced to act towards foreign Governments with the utmost caution and vigilance, they found themselves night after night exposed to a shower of questions as to their acts and intentions, to which they could not reply with perfect frankness. This necessary reserve exercised a prejudicial effect on popular judgment, and, so far as public opinion could be gauged by its organs, discredited the Ministry in the eyes of impartial observers at home and abroad.

The misunderstanding with Russia arising out of the Penjdeh incident assumed each week greater importance. The position of affairs was described by Earl Granville (March 3) as follows: "The Russian Government, in reply to a remonstrance from her Majesty's Government, declined on Feb. 24 to withdraw from their advanced posts at Sari-yazi and the Zulfikar Pass, but gave assurances that their officers had been ordered carefully to avoid conflicts with the Afghans, and that complications were only to be feared in the event of the Afghans attacking the Russian posts. Sir Peter Lumsden, who has exerted himself to prevent any collision, has advised the Afghans to maintain themselves in the positions now occupied by them. This advice has been approved by her Majesty's Government, and he has been instructed to urge them at the same time not to advance beyond their present positions. Negotiations are proceeding with the Russian Government."

The outcome of these negotiations was an "agreement" made on March 5, and announced to the House (March 13) in answer to persistent questions from his own side as well as from the Opposition. This "agreement," Mr. Gladstone explained, was only intended for diplomatic use, and would last as long as there was an occasion for it, and that it had grown out of the then existing state of things; that consequently he was unable to assign to it any date. A few days later (March 17) Mr. Gladstone withdrew the word "agreement," substituting that of "arrangement," as more closely describing the position of affairs on the Afghan frontier; this being subsequently explained as referring rather to an understanding between the Russian commander and British commissioners than to any definite undertaking. Under it, by whatever name it was to be recognised, the Russian Government pledged themselves not to advance their troops, and the English Government pledged themselves not to sanction the advance of Afghan troops. Subsequent communications between the two Cabinets resulted in an addition by M. de Giers on the following day of a condition, "provided the Afghans do not advance or attack, or unless in case of some extraordinary reason—such, for instance, as Penjdeh." Regarded only as the means of averting or nullifying undesigned hostilities among half-civilised people,

the arrangement had everything in its favour, but it brought the fundamental question of the frontier no nearer to an issue. Sir Peter Lumsden awaited the arrival of the Russian commissioner in vain, and meanwhile Russian troops had occupied positions in anticipation of the commissioners' decision. The excuse given by the Russian Government was that it repented having acceded to the proposal of a Delimitation Commission on the spot, until the lines upon which the frontier should be settled had been fully discussed and agreed upon between the two Cabinets. Negotiations, however, still continued, and public feeling grew calmer in this country, although reports of military preparations and an increasing warlike feeling came from all parts of India. In moving the Army Estimates (March 19) Lord Hartington made no reference to any extra requirements beyond those necessitated by the Soudan campaign. A few days later (March 24) a hastily summoned meeting of the Cabinet was held in the Premier's room at the House of Commons, and the warlike preparations forthwith took larger proportions. Two army corps, of 25,000 men each, were ordered to be mobilised in India; and large quantities of supplies were ordered to be sent to the north. Scindiah, Holkar, and the Nizam gave proof of a generous rivalry in placing their military resources at the disposition of the Viceroy. In England ships were ordered to be got ready at once, and arsenals and dockyards showed unusual activity. To crown all, Lord Kimberley in the House of Lords and Lord Hartington in the Commons suddenly (March 26) brought down a message from the Queen announcing that "a time of emergency had arrived," and stating her intention to call out the first-class army reserves and militia reserves for service under the flag. The numbers available under this demand were about 40,000 of the former and 30,000 of the latter category. Orders were also issued to man the ships of the First Steam Reserve ready for sea; and other steps were taken which showed that the Government were preparing for any possible untoward solution of the negotiations. The discussion, however, on calling out the reserves and taking the necessary vote, after being put off once, was again postponed, and the House was allowed to separate for the Easter recess (March 31) without having learned the cause of the increased anxiety of the Ministry, or provided the means of meeting any unforeseen emergency, or whether any satisfactory reply had been given to the last British proposal for determining the frontier difficulty. Lord Hartington, however, in replying to Sir S. Northcote's request for information as to the state of the negotiations, read a carefully prepared written answer, in which he declined to give any information. He added that matters of fact as well as of policy were at issue, and that in presence of the highly roused feelings of both countries any unguarded word might strengthen the military opinion in Russia or help to precipitate a collision on the Afghan frontier. He further said that there was a third party to consider in these negotiations—the Ameer, whom

we were pledged to support, but on conditions strictly defined beforehand.

The misunderstanding with the German Government, though fraught with less serious results, and almost comic in some of its incidents, was none the less unfortunate. It showed how easy it was for a great statesman to make a quarrel between two countries about nothing (which could be openly avowed), and it also proved the hostility of Prince Bismarck to Mr. Gladstone or his Cabinet. The incident arose in a speech delivered by the German Chancellor to the Reichstag (March 2), in the course of which he alluded to the opposition to his colonial policy by both the German and English press. Prince Bismarck then went on to say that English official correspondence had become sharper and less friendly; documents of a confidential nature had been officially published; and that confidential conferences with the English representative had been summarised and printed. "This, then," continued the Chancellor, "is placed side by side with our attitude regarding other African territories, and it is presupposed that I personally had an unfavourable opinion of the Egyptian policy of England; the supposed reason thereof being my personal feeling, owing to England's not following the counsel I had once given concerning Egypt. I regret that my English colleague forces me to contradict his explanation. I never blamed him for the Egyptian policy of England. I am not in the habit of lightly allowing myself to criticise foreign policies, least of all owing to disregard of my counsel. But I never gave the advice attributed to me. Earl Granville, even if he believed that this advice concerning Egypt had been given, was in error to make it public."

After alluding to the English preference for diplomatic notes, of which, since the previous summer, Prince Bismarck said he had received 128 despatches, containing 700 or 800 pages of paper, he went on to say, "The allusions in English documents, published to my surprise, and the speech of Earl Granville concerning previous negotiations in Egypt, must be rectified. Thus, I never gave the English Government counsel as to its treatment of Egypt, but rather I was repeatedly asked about it by my late personal and political friend, Lord Ampthill, by order of his Government, and also by the intermediary of our agents in England and the verbal instructions. I was frequently asked whether I was inclined to give the English Government any advice, or a hint about what they were doing at the time in Egypt. In every instance I answered in the sense of the document of September 1882, which I have brought with me, that I, as Foreign Minister of Germany, must decline to advise English policy, because such counsel, given officially, involved certain responsibility towards other Cabinets, and therefore had possible consequences. I was further asked if I was not inclined to express an opinion as to what could be done. I answered that I was not an English Minister, but that as a dilettante in English politics, an amateur, perhaps a connoisseur

in the matter, I had my ideas; and if I were an English Minister I would, for the present, not advise to annex Egypt; but that I well understood the necessity of England having a certain secured position in this link between her European and Asiatic establishments. But, according to my opinion, they could gain such a position only by the help of the Sultan, unless they violated treaties. I therefore, if I were an English Minister, would seek the mediation of the Sultan, and obtain through him a position in Egypt securing English interests. I added that the English would thus avoid arousing the rivalry of France. If the English wished for annexation we would not prevent them, the friendship of England being to us of greater importance than the fate of Egypt. On the other hand, it is incorrect to say that my intentions were to turn Egypt from the path of virtue. I expressed my views at the request of England, in the expectation that by so doing I should preserve the peace of Europe. Had my views been acted upon by England she would, perhaps, now be in a better position." Prince Bismarck concluded by saying that he would continue to do all in his power to maintain the peaceful and amicable intercourse that had always existed between the two nations.

By a somewhat curious coincidence, on the day that this speech appeared, a despatch from Lord Granville to Sir E. Malet, dated Dec. 10, 1884, was published. In it Lord Granville said that he had just received a visit from Count Münster, who said that Prince Bismarck complained of the conduct of the British Government with regard to Samoa, the Cameroons, and Bechuanaland. In reply to the note that "England should show herself friendly to Germany on the colonial question, as Germany had shown herself friendly to England on former occasions in Egypt, Lord Granville wrote,—

"I stated that, with regard to Samoa, I had already given an assurance to Count Hatzfeldt, through your Excellency, that her Majesty's Government would take no steps, pending the settlement of the questions connected with the Pacific which are now being discussed between the two Governments, and that I was prepared to exchange reciprocal assurances for the maintenance of the independence of Samoa and Tonga.

"As to Bechuanaland and the Chancellor's complaint that Sir C. Warren has been appointed Commissioner over all the districts that may eventually enlase Angra Pequena, I explained to his Excellency that the object of the English expedition is to secure the observance of the treaty made last year with the Boers by removing the freebooters who have invaded the British protectorate from the Transvaal.

"I pointed out that Bechuanaland is separated from Angra Pequena by 700 miles, chiefly of desert land, and I repudiated any intention on the part of her Majesty's Government to connect this expedition in the slightest degree with the German colonial movement. . . .

“There is therefore no conflict of interest or of policy between her Majesty’s Government and the Government of South Africa in respect of these territories, and, in fact, her Majesty’s Government see no reason why Germany should not now extend the Angra Pequena coast protectorate over as much of Damaraland and Namaqualand as the German Government may think it convenient to have under their control ; and would have no objection to see the inland limit of that protectorate advanced even as far as to the 20th meridian of longitude.

“With respect to the Cameroons, I repeated the assurances given by your Excellency to the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the effect that her Majesty’s Government had from the first loyally accepted the position which had there been acquired by Germany ; that they viewed with no jealousy her presence in the neighbourhood of our recent acquisitions in the Old River district, nor the extension of her possessions to the upper waters of the old Calabar or Cross River.”

The arrival in this country of Count Herbert Bismarck at this moment was interpreted to mean a desire on the part of his father to smooth away any unpleasantness occasioned by his speech in the Reichstag. The first step towards this was taken by Lord Granville, who addressed a letter to his subordinate at the Foreign Office—Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice—which was read (March 5) by the latter in the House of Commons.

“I never received,” he wrote, “nor had I until lately any knowledge of Prince Bismarck’s despatch of May 5. Count Münster and Count Herbert Bismarck not long afterwards each told me that the German Government could not maintain a friendly attitude on Egyptian matters if we continued to be unfriendly on colonial questions. I denied that we had been unfriendly, and gave positive assurances on the part of my colleagues and myself of friendly action for the future. Both Count Herbert Bismarck and Prince Bismarck expressed at the time their satisfaction with these assurances. The tension which has since arisen resulted from the serious difference of opinion on the part of the two Governments as to whether those assurances have been kept or broken.”

This letter, whilst adding a fresh element of mystery and confusion to the negotiation, at all events paved the way for mutual concessions. On the following day (March 6) Lord Granville in the House of Lords referred to the matter. He said it would not be becoming in him to deliver a debating speech in reply to Prince Bismarck, but he hoped to make some counter-statements on a future occasion which would give a different colouring to what had happened. With regard to the words used in the debate on the Vote of Censure expressing the views of the German Chancellor, it was from his public declarations, not from private communications, that he had certainly gathered two years previously that it was the wish of the German Government that England

should take upon herself to represent the interests of Europe in Egypt. Not a word was here said about the mysterious despatch of May 5, 1884, in which Prince Bismarck, it seems, had unfolded his heart to the English Foreign Secretary, and shown how deep was his desire to give Germany a colonial empire. Why this despatch was never communicated to Lord Granville, and how it happened that neither Prince Bismarck nor his son was aware of its having been withheld, occasioned a diplomatic mystery, which it was not for the English Cabinet to unravel.

The concluding phase of the affair was Mr. Gladstone's statement in the House of Commons (March 12), that Prince Bismarck, in making his assertion to the Reichstag, had been "mistaken" with reference to the delivery of this famous despatch. Mr. Gladstone regretted its miscarriage, which he recognised as the origin of the misunderstanding; and though denying that "the friendship of any country in the world was necessary to England, or ever had been necessary," he declared his sincere pleasure in finding that Germany was entering upon a career of colonisation. England had no desire or right to make any opposition, though she was bound to consider her own rights, the rights of the aborigines, the rights of the colonists, so established in the Pacific for generations, and who had founded communities destined to become dominant in those parts of the world. The "friction" was stated to be at an end, and Count Herbert Bismarck was able to return with the assurance that the dividing line of English and German possessions might be settled by mutual concessions.

The relations between this country and France underwent but little change; but that little was for the better. There was no attempt at concealment, on the part of the French press at least, of the satisfaction with which they saw our misunderstandings with Russia and Germany assume serious proportions. In Egypt they secretly persevered in their policy of rendering the English task of government difficult, if not impossible; but in their more formal negotiations they were content with having carried their views on Egyptian finance, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet. The original proposals put forward by England early in the year were stated to have been as follows:—

1. A loan of 5,000,000*l.* to be issued at 3½ per cent., guaranteed by England, to provide for the floating debt, the irrigation, &c. &c.

2. The Alexandrian indemnities, 4,500,000*l.*, to be paid in Preference bonds at 5 per cent.; stock to be issued at 100*l.* for every 110*l.* nominal.

3. The revenues of the Daira and Domains to be paid in to the Bank of England as security for the payment of interest on the guaranteed loan.

4. The administration of the Daira and Domain lands to be controlled by England. The Domain to be added to the Preference and the Daira to the Unified.

5. The Unified, the Daira, and the Suez interest to be cut $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the Turkey Fund suspended.

In opposition to these the French Government put forward its proposals, which were even less in accordance with English ones than those rejected by England at the London conference. They were—

1. A new loan of 9,000,000*l.*, guaranteed by all the Powers, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., to meet all charges.

2. The Daira and Domains to remain as at present.

3. The Unified coupon to be taxed 5 per cent. temporarily.

4. The Caisse of the Debt to be converted into an International Multiple Control.

To these Germany, in her eagerness either to cultivate French good-will, or to encourage France in her hostility to England, gave a ready assent. Two months more were spent in negotiations, but at length Mr. Childers was able to announce (March 18) that the convention had been signed that day, and a practical agreement arrived at. According to this convention, the six great Powers—England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, and Russia—agreed to—

1. A loan of 9,000,000*l.*, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., guaranteed by all the Powers, Russia limiting her liability, in case of default by Egypt, to one-sixth of the sum.

2. The coupons of the Unified and Dominion debts to be taxed at the rate of 5 per cent. for two years.

3. The interest on the Suez Canal shares held by England to be reduced $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

4. Foreign residents to be subject to Egyptian taxation.

It was, however, stipulated that this international guarantee should carry with it no right of international control ; but that, at the end of two years, an international inquiry should decide whether the Egyptian land tax would be reduced, and the tax on the coupons abolished. During the two years England would receive 200,000*l.* per annum towards the expenses of the army of occupation. A very slight discussion followed, the ship-owners taking the opportunity of protesting most loudly against the neutralisation of the Suez Canal, as useless in time of peace, and certain to be disregarded in time of war.

The actual debate took place when (March 26) Mr. Gladstone moved the resolution authorising her Majesty to guarantee the payment of the interest of the loan, amounting to an annual sum of 315,000*l.* In urging upon the House that the guarantee was both necessary and safe he pointed out that the total liabilities of Egypt in April would amount to 1,676,000*l.*, of which 1,367,000*l.* consisted of bankers' advances ; and he assumed that the fears expressed arose either out of the commission which might be appointed two years hence, or out of the possibility of an international control springing out of the guarantee. With regard to the first, he reminded the House that the commission would only

be appointed in the event of Egypt not being able to restore the equilibrium of her own finances, and the powers to be given to the commission would be the subject of negotiations at the time. As to an international control arising out of the guarantee, while there was nothing in the convention or the agreement to confer a right of interference, he denied emphatically that, either by international law or by international usage, a pecuniary guarantee had ever been held to carry with it a right of interfering in the internal affairs of the country befriended. He admitted that if the interest were not paid a right of intervention arose; but, as this was to be the first charge on the Egyptian revenues, there was no chance of a default. While maintaining that no claim of internal control had ever been founded on such a guarantee, he dwelt on the unwisdom of inserting words in the agreement expressly barring any right of interference; and urged that the only true security was the harmonious co-operation of all the Powers. "We had now reached a point at which the Powers had the same views and the same interests as far as the purposes of this convention were concerned, and if the resolution were accepted, the finance of Egypt would be placed on its legs for a given time by an arrangement to which all the Powers were parties."

Mr. T. Bruce moved, as an amendment to the resolution, that the conditions of the agreement and convention did not justify the engagements into which the Government had entered. Why, he asked, had the Powers forced their guarantee on us if not to enable them to gain a right of interfering? and as a financial matter the international guarantee was a hardship to Egypt, as the loan could have been obtained more cheaply on a purely English guarantee. We should in future be unable to carry on the affairs of Egypt without advice being continually intruded upon us by Powers whose interest in the country was as nothing compared to ours.

After some debate, in which Mr. Labouchere, Mr. A. Balfour, and others took part, Mr. Bourke denied that there was any necessity for the guarantee, and contended that if the proposed Commission of Inquiry took place at the end of two years, all the Powers would stand between England and Egypt. He believed that the instant it was for their interest to interfere they would do so, and that the convention would give them a *locus standi*. The arrangement was financially imprudent, and politically dangerous and unwise. Lord E. Fitzmaurice contended that the arrangement concluded by the Government was the most advantageous for Egypt. He discussed also the international position of the Suez Canal, which at present he showed was so doubtful as to require to be definitely settled by the co-operation of the Great Powers.

The second night's (March 27) debate was resumed by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, who declined to regard the agreement solely from a financial point of view, but saw in it the first step in a course

which would lead to incalculable ills. At the best it was a mere postponement of the solution of the difficulty for a couple of years, and thus at variance with the previous declarations of the Government and Lord Northbrook's report. As a political arrangement it was still more unsatisfactory. It was not a compromise, but a surrender—the proposition, in fact, made by the French Government in the conference, and rejected by Mr. Childers as impracticable. Mr. Gladstone's suggestion that there was nothing involving international control in the proposed commission must have startled everybody ; and as for nobody grudging us our position, no other Power would lift a finger to help us. The position which the Government would be placed in was most undignified ; and while they were renewing a hateful and bloody war, which had no justification but the safety of Egypt, they were taking the first step towards a total surrender of our position in Egypt, and thereby destroying the only political reasons for their action. In a few words he happily described the situation in the remark that after a prolonged attempt to exercise power without responsibility, the Cabinet now seemed to aim at responsibility without power. He quoted the declaration made only a short time previously by the Prime Minister, “that the terms of the convention contemplate the exercise of free discretion on the part of the House of Commons,” and contrasted with this promise the feverish haste with which Mr. Gladstone was now pressing for its immediate ratification. Commenting in advance on the division, he recalled the action of Mr. Cobden and the independent Radicals of that day in opposing the Turkish guarantee of 1855, and contrasted it with the present fashion of the party to sacrifice their opinions to keep the party in office ; and exhorting the House to reject this humiliating convention at all hazards, he pointed out that it would thus recover its entire freedom in regard to Egypt, and would retain its power to secure good government and tranquillity for that country.

Replying on behalf of the Government, Mr. Chamberlain complained that the Opposition took no account of the fact that other Powers had equal rights with ourselves, and that we could not deal with them by laying down an ultimatum and refusing to depart from it. The difficulties which the Government had to encounter arose from the engagements which their predecessors had incurred, and though he did not put forward the agreement as being everything which could be desired, he maintained that it contained the most advantageous of all the alternatives open to us. In an exhaustive analysis of the *pros* and *cons* of the arrangement he asserted that it presented considerable substantial advantages to the Egyptian taxpayer, and it relieved England of a great difficulty and responsibility. The concessions we made to other Powers were fully balanced by their concessions to us. No new right to financial control, he maintained, had been established ; it was the best arrangement which it was possible to obtain, and,

if not accepted, must of necessity lead to the bankruptcy of Egypt or its annexation by this country.

After speeches on purely party lines from Baron de Worms, Mr. Leighton, Mr. Stuart Wortley, and others on the one side, and Mr. Sutherland, Mr. Arnold, and Mr. Slagg on the other, Mr. Goschen pointed out that the rejection of this agreement could only be followed by a suspension of the functions of the *Caisse*, and of the action of the International Tribunal; and he asked the House whether it was prepared to take the responsibility of this, especially in the present position of our diplomatic relations with other countries. Taking a diplomatic view of the agreement, he regarded it not as the first step, but as the last step towards the nationalisation of Egypt, and the Powers did not need anything which they might find in the agreement to sanction their interference in Egypt. Without laying too much stress on the disposition of foreign Powers, he regarded it as a symptom of their desire to be placed on an equality with us. If we had lost any of our position of preponderance in Egypt, it was not because of this agreement, but because the country was not entirely of one mind as to the maintenance of that predominance. That irresolution had been reflected in the action of the Government, and he therefore urged that the country should drift no longer, but should make up its mind whether it would maintain its position or not, so that if we gave up the idea of predominance we might be relieved from the sole responsibility of maintaining order and good government in Egypt.

Sir S. Northcote, in scanning the objections of the Opposition, commented on the silence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who he assumed was reserving himself to reconcile his own inconsistencies and the divergent utterances of his colleagues. Mr. Childers and Mr. Chamberlain, he pointed out, were hopelessly at variance as to the parentage of the guarantee and the rights of the Powers to an international control. The London Conference had been broken up because the Government would not then yield what they now accepted, and this in the face of their repeated assertion that a multiple financial control must be also political. In reply to the taunt that the Opposition had no policy, which he declared to be unfounded, he remarked that it was far more serious when the Government had none; and, as far as could be judged from what now appeared, it was doubtful whether they had ever had any.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers), in closing the debate, dealt *seriatim* with the charges of inconsistency. The policy of the Opposition, as far as it had been disclosed, meant the repudiation of international law and the legal restraints imposed by the dual control and by the law of liquidation. Reviewing the history of English interference in Egypt, he contended that the failure of the negotiations with France in 1882, although saddling this country with the financial responsibilities of Egypt, necessitated

the Conference in London, the failure of which left England virtually at the mercy of the Powers. Having dealt at some length with questions of future finance, he asserted that the convention had resulted in a considerable substantial advantage being obtained by this country.

The House then divided, and Mr. Gladstone's resolution was carried in a strictly party division by 294 to 246. Beyond the introduction and explanation of the Army and Navy estimates no other Government business was allowed to interfere with the progress of the Redistribution of Seats Bill in committee. The agreement come to between the leaders of both parties took all life and reality out of the debate, for it was known beforehand that no amendments of vital importance or alterations of principle would be permitted.

On going into committee (March 2) Sir John Lubbock brought forward the question of "proportional representation," in support of which Mr. Courtney had sacrificed his position as a member of the Government. Sir John Lubbock, in moving an instruction to the committee, supported it by an able speech of the usual kind, denying that in large constituencies the element of chance in the Hare scheme could have any appreciable effect, and urging the danger of representing the Irish Loyalists as less strong in Ireland than they really were. Mr. E. A. Leatham argued against the proposal expressly on the ground that the first quality necessary for a good electoral system was simplicity, and that to allow second and third preferences to determine elections would be introducing a non-political and fancy element into the matter, pregnant with the greatest possible dangers. Sir Charles Dilke, who had once favoured the system, also spoke against it, as also did Mr. Shaw-Lefevre. On the following evening Mr. Courtney resumed the debate, and, in an eloquent speech, appealed to the House to protect itself against the tyranny of mere numbers, and to vindicate its character by adopting a system which would ensure the election of not only the most popular, but of the best candidates. He failed, however, to move the House, and only 31 voted for Sir John Lubbock's motion, whilst 131 voted against it, the minority being almost equally composed of Liberals and Conservatives.

The question whether the separate representation of the universities should be maintained gave rise to a protracted debate. Mr. Bryce, a Fellow of Oriel College and the holder of a law professorship, urged the abolition of the seats, on the ground that it was injurious to the academical character of the universities to mix them up with politics; and that, whilst the universities were split up into rival political camps, the resident teachers were outvoted by the non-resident graduates, chiefly the county clergy. Sir John Mowbray promptly disposed of this assertion, showing by actual figures that the university vote—in Oxford, at all events—at every election became more and more a layman's vote. In 1845, of 3,000 voters, 2,195 were clerical and 803 laymen; in

1869, of 4,400 voters, 3,060 were clerical and 1,340 laymen ; and in 1883, of 5,300 voters, 3,008 were clerical and 2,292 were laymen. Mr. Albert Grey held that university representation was a slight concession in the direction of proportional representation, and gave intellect rather more weight than it would otherwise command, and he quoted Mr. John Stuart Mill and Mr. Bagehot in favour of university constituencies ; and Sir Lyon Playfair maintained that while so much less was spent on the higher education in England than is spent on it abroad, the university members were greatly needed in the House.

On the following night the Irish members expressed their views on the Irish university seats, the Parnellites being especially bitter against the University of Dublin as a Protestant, not a National university, returning two members representing the Irish minority. In the end Mr. Bryce's amendment was negatived by 260 to 79.

Mr. Arthur Arnold next proposed his scheme to gain the twelve additional seats required for Scotland without increasing the number of the House. This he proposed to effect by further merging in the counties all boroughs in England and Wales with a less population (in 1881) than 20,000, and all boroughs in Scotland and Ireland with a less population than 15,000. Sir Charles Dilke, in the name of the Government, opposed any further disfranchisement, on the ground that in many of the boroughs which Mr. Arnold proposed to disenfranchise there was now a rapidly increasing, instead of a stationary or diminishing, population, which is a strong reason against extinguishing them as boroughs. The amendment was rejected by 213 votes against 21 ; and a similar fate (105 against 48) awaited Viscount Crichton's amendment, which proposed to except from disfranchisement all the Irish boroughs with a population of 10,000 or over. The amendment was resisted by the Parnellites, who held themselves up as the supporters of the counties against the boroughs, and of the large populations against the small.

On the following day (March 11) Mr. Mulholland, on behalf of the Irish Conservatives, moved an amendment intended to introduce the grouping system into Ireland for the purpose of getting the requisite borough electorates out of groups of boroughs analogous to the Scotch and Welsh groups. Sir Charles Dilke replied that the Government, though anxious to respect prescriptive rights, did not think the grouping principle a sound one, holding that there was usually no sufficient community of interest among the different members of the groups to result in anything better than a political happy family. He could not approve of the development of the grouping principle, and was anxious rather to restrict it, and he certainly would not assent to its extension to Ireland. Eventually the amendment was rejected by 183 to 93.

Numerous verbal amendments on the clauses of the Bill

having been disposed of, and all attempts to interfere with its principle having been summarily defeated, the House passed to the consideration of the schedules. Over these the debates were protracted for many weeks, but without effecting any serious changes in the Bill as originally drafted. There were numerous plaintive appeals on behalf of the constituencies to be disfranchised, and comments over the sweeping away of historic associations, but such sentimental grievances were treated with scant courtesy.

The proposal to reduce the representatives of the City of London from four to two members gave rise to a warm debate. Mr. Fowler—the ex-Lord Mayor, who was shortly to be recalled to fill the chair—moved the retention of the original number, and was supported by his Liberal colleague, Alderman Lawrence, who claimed additional representation of the wealth and eminence of which the City of London was the centre. Mr. Gladstone in reply showed that the radius of twenty-five miles, within which any voter for the City might reside, gave them peculiar privileges; and on a division the number of members was fixed at two by 162 to 117. The principle of retaining the disabilities pronounced on certain boroughs was raised by Mr. Raikes (March 23) in the cases of Boston, Macclesfield, and Sandwich. The Attorney-General (Sir Henry James), after showing that in conjunction with Congleton the unscheduled voters of Macclesfield would still be represented, protested against the idea of whitewashing a constituency which on every possible occasion since 1832 had shown itself to be thoroughly corrupt. The other disfranchised boroughs would find similar compensation in the Bill; and the amendment was rejected by 136 to 37.

It is necessary to turn aside for a moment from the proceedings in the House of Commons to refer to an incident, which, although little importance was attached to it at the time, was destined to bear importantly upon subsequent events. In the interval between the debate on the Vote of Censure and that on the Egyptian loan a meeting of the Conservative party had been held at the Carlton Club (March 16), for the purpose of bringing its members into better discipline, Sir S. Northcote complaining that on every important division he had been deserted by his followers.

Thereupon a great outbreak against the Redistribution Bill seems to have occurred, the Ulster Conservatives denouncing it with special vehemence, as fatal to Irish Conservatism. Mr. Chaplin and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach declared that the position of Conservatives not being allowed to follow their natural instincts with regard to the Bill in committee had produced very great dissatisfaction in many minds. Lord Salisbury in vain attempted to bring the party to reason—his own attendance at a meeting of members of the House of Commons constituting apparently a new grievance. Two Conservatives were said to have remarked that before they were required to vote black white, Sir Stafford Northcote

should see that his late colleagues were doing their duty and giving him their support. The conference lasted a considerable time, but no official statement of the decision arrived at was made. On the following evening, however (March 17), a sharp debate arose on the question raised by Sir E. Wilmot of increasing the House of Commons by twelve members. The debate was more remarkable for the defection of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who refused to support Sir Stafford Northcote, and carried off a number of Conservatives into the Opposition lobby, than for any controversy between the official Liberals and the official Conservatives, who, indeed, acted together. The proposal was opposed by Sir C. Dilke and supported by Mr. Raikes, who pointed out various modes in which, by grouping boroughs, &c., the additional members for Scotland could be obtained. Sir S. Northcote said that he considered the question as to whether the number of members of the House should be increased was one that the House must deal with and decide upon. If they had to begin by reducing the number of members allotted to any particular part of the United Kingdom, they would raise the question of equal representation in a much more difficult form than by adding to the number of members of the House. He thought that the Government acted wisely, and he felt perfectly at one with them in meeting the difficulty by increasing the number of members. Sir M. Hicks-Beach regretted to say that he found himself entirely in disagreement with what had fallen from his leader. It could not be necessary to add members to the House for the better transaction of business. In reply Sir C. Dilke based his argument chiefly on the ground that the clause was in direct opposition to the compact, and it was negatived by 149 to 47, the majority being composed of the Government and the official opposition.

Two days later Mr. G. C. T. Bartley, who, up to the beginning of the session in November 1884, had been the principal agent of the Conservative party, published the reasons of his resignation. In a letter to the *Times* (March 19) he declared that the Conservative "leaders are not in harmony and touch with the great body of Conservatives" among the middle and working classes. "Simple criticism, obstruction, mild platitudes, and abuse, though they may pass in quiet times, will not now form an Opposition which can command the respect and confidence of the country. In critical times, such as these, the leaders should announce and publicly advocate the firm, decided, and patriotic policy they would substitute for the feebleness of the Government." Mr. Bartley went on to say that until some such policy were adopted by the Conservative leaders, the vast body of quiet persons who called themselves Liberals, but who were Conservatives at heart, would not vote for them. There was thus evidence enough before the world that both in Parliament and outside the tactics of Sir S. Northcote were not fully endorsed by his followers.

To return to the debate on the Redistribution Bill, an im-

portant discussion was raised (March 17) by Mr. Ritchie, who attacked the plan to leave twenty-three undivided boroughs to return two members in the old fashion, each elector having two votes. As an alternative he proposed to divide these boroughs also, giving one member to the half of the borough, instead of two members to the whole. Sir Charles Dilke, though himself favourable to the system of single seats, opposed the amendment as inconsistent with the settlement arrived at by the two parties; whereupon Sir S. Northcote explained that it was no part of the policy of the Opposition to retain these double-barrelled constituencies; that Lord Salisbury and himself were favourable to the single seats, but that the Government had made it a condition that the old borough constituencies entitled to two, and to not more than two members, should not be divided. Mr. Gladstone admitted that this was quite true. The Government, though favourable to the principle of single seats as a general rule, did not wish to make it universal all at once, thinking that in borough constituencies entitled to only two members it might operate to divide the constituency between the two parties, so as not to give the party which is in the majority in the constituency any effective party vote at all. In spite, however, of Sir S. Northcote's support, Mr. Ritchie's amendment was negatived by 253 votes against 44.

The general question of Scotch representation was next brought under discussion (March 20) upon a number of amendments placed on the papers by the Lord Advocate, who explained that the principle underlying nearly all the amendments was that boroughs with a population of less than 1,000 should be taken from the groups to which they at present belonged and merged in the counties. From communications that had been received by the Government, it appeared that some of the leaders of the party opposite considered that these amendments would not be in accordance with the spirit of the arrangement entered into, though the Government had certainly not considered that they in any way contravened that arrangement. The discussions and divisions which had taken place had also shown that there was a considerable difference of opinion in regard to merging the smaller boroughs. Moved by these considerations, the Government had resolved not to press the amendments, and would on the report stage endeavour to restore the Bill to its original form. Sir S. Northcote admitted the *bona fides* of the Government in placing the amendments on the paper; but thought that having regard to previous proceedings, and to the spirit of the arrangement with regard to this Bill, the Lord Advocate was right in withdrawing the amendments.

The wishes of Scotland having been thus met, Mr. Raikes moved (March 23) the first of a series of amendments dealing with the representation of London. His object was to retain, in fact, some at least of the old metropolitan constituencies, especially insisting upon Westminster, Southwark, Finsbury, and the Tower Hamlets. Sir Charles Dilke, admitting that a good case had been

made out for preserving the identity of some of the metropolitan constituencies, announced the intention of the Government to retain Westminster and Southwark, which would be partitioned into one-member divisions. After further debate it was also decided that Westminster should have an additional member, to be provided from the East End. Westminster would thus have four and Southwark three members. On the following day the Government made a further concession, Sir C. Dilke accepting, on the motion of Mr. Raikes, amendments to the effect that Finsbury, instead of being divided into the constituencies of Finsbury, Clerkenwell, and Holborn, returning one member each, should be constituted into one borough with three wards returning three members. At this point the consideration of the Bill was postponed until after Easter.

Among the other important topics brought before the House of Commons were the Army and Navy estimates, and in view of the disturbed state of foreign affairs great interest was evinced as to the way Government would meet the cry which had been raised against the insufficiency and inefficiency of the naval and military forces. The disadvantages arising from the First Lord of the Admiralty being a peer were seriously felt on many occasions, and never more so than when Lord Northbrook attempted somewhat tardily (March 6) to remove the unpleasant feeling of distrust created by Sir T. Brassey's statement that none of the ships for which a special vote had been passed in December were in hand. Lord Northbrook, in answer to various questions, said that contracts for six ships had been already signed, and tenders were asked for others. Ten torpedo-boats had been ordered, and five others were being built by contractors at their own risk. Four 43-ton and four 63-ton guns had been ordered, and would be finished by January; and three 110-ton guns had been contracted for with the Messrs. Armstrong, and would be ready at the same time as the ships in which they were to be fitted.

Ten days later (March 16) Sir Thomas Brassey moved the Navy estimates, but before the Speaker left the chair Dr. Cameron called attention to the system of chartering hired transports by the Admiralty, which he characterised as unbusinesslike, extravagant, and detrimental to the public service. He was answered by Mr. Caine, who, in an apologetic speech, suggested that the breakdown in transporting stores for the army in Egypt was due to the rapidity of Lord Wolseley's movements rather than to any negligence on the part of the shipowners. Although this excuse was received with general scepticism, Mr. Cameron's censure of the Admiralty was negatived without a division. He was followed by Mr. W. T. Marriott, Q.C., who moved that, in view of the acknowledged insufficiency of the British navy, it was advisable to apply the surplus revenue not to the redemption of the national debt, but to the building and repairing of ships in the national dockyards. Mr. Marriott, in supporting his resolution, referred to the common report that the amount recommended by the perma-

ment officials to be spent upon the navy was not less than eleven millions, but that the Government had reduced this sum by one-half. In reply, Sir Thomas Brassey said that he might correct the hon. member for Brighton on a matter of fact. It was not true, as surmised, that the Admiralty made a demand on the Cabinet to the extent of eleven millions. The Admiralty did put forward a proposal for increased shipbuilding, and the estimates which he was about to move made ample provision for this and other matters. When he made the statement on the part of the Government in December other matters besides shipbuilding were referred to. It was intended to make provision for accelerating the construction of steel guns for the navy. This item did not fall under these estimates, but if hon. gentlemen turned to the Army estimates they would find that a large addition was made in those estimates for strengthening the navy in the matter of guns.

The Secretary for the Admiralty then proceeded to explain the estimates for the ensuing year, which, with the appropriation, amounted to 13,090,440*l.*, as compared with 11,645,711*l.* in 1884-5, exclusive of the supplementary vote for Egypt. The principal increases were 1,154,000*l.* for shipbuilding; 76,000*l.* for pay, food, and clothing; and 173,000*l.* for works, &c. Passing to details, he stated that there would be an increase of 100 officers on full pay rendered necessary by the large squadrons to be kept employed on the China station and in the Red Sea, and there was also an increase in the service boys from 2,500 to 3,100. In addition to the normal estimates he proposed to ask for 500 officers and men and 500 marines for service in Egypt. Besides the force employed in foreign stations, Sir T. Brassey went on to show that in the home ports, gunnery, flag, and harbour ships, and in the Steam Reserve, there was a total available force of 13,000 men. To these were to be added—mariners on shore, 6,200; coastguard, 4,000; Pensioner Reserve, 1,950; Naval Reserve, 19,500; naval volunteers, 1,600. The total *personnel* of the navy thus constituted a force of 86,000, of which 57,000 were on the active list, and the complements of all the ships which could be made ready in twelve months were 68,000. In addition to this there was in the Mercantile Marine an inexhaustible reserve of skilled officers, artificers, &c., and in the fishing population we had a source from which the Second Reserve could be strengthened as might be desired. As to the dockyards, he pointed out that large additions had already been made to the number of men employed, and efforts would be concentrated on pushing forward ironclads in building. The *Colossus*, he said, was practically complete, and the *Collingwood*, *Warspite*, *Edinburgh*, and *Impérieuse* would be completed in the course of the ensuing financial year. In addition to these, three *Leanders*, the *Calliope*, two fast despatch-vessels, and two iron gun-vessels would be completed; and in 1886-7 the *Howe*, the *Rodney*, the *Hero*, the *Benbow* (probably), the *Mersey* and the *Severn*, nine scouts, the *Landrail*, and six gunboats, in all

twenty-two vessels, would be completed. Sir Thomas Brassey next explained the contracts which had been put out for the scouts and the belted cruisers, and protested warmly against the charges of undue delay which had been made against the Admiralty. The amount of contract work had been increased to 812,000*l.*, and the whole scheme of work for the year, dockyard and contract, comprised four ironclads of the first class, five belted cruisers, seven scouts, five gun-vessels, fifteen torpedo-boats, and one torpedo ram, or 14,423 tons of armoured vessels, 6,087 tons protected vessels, and 7,542 tons unarmoured vessels. Into the programme of torpedo-boats Sir Thomas Brassey went in some detail, mentioning that the expenditure under this head in the following year would be 400,000*l.*, and explained the measures which could be taken if necessary to utilise the steam launches and pinnaces. After some remarks on the size of the ironclads building, he passed to the programme of repairs, mentioning that the *Devastation*, *Ajax*, *Thunderer*, *Hotspur*, *Rupert*, *Orion*, and *Iron Duke* were ready for sea. The *Conqueror* was practically finished, and no repairs of consequence would be required for the *Inflexible*. As to guns, he said the War Office had undertaken to furnish the heavy guns in sufficient time to prevent any delay in the ships, and of lesser calibre, 101 six-inch, 43 five-inch, and 150 quick-firing guns, besides machine guns, would be provided, and the total provision for ordnance for the navy would be somewhat in excess of a million sterling.

Taken as a whole, and apart from the statistics it contained, Sir T. Brassey's speech was an indirect reply to the criticisms advanced outside the House of Commons, and an evidence that the Admiralty had been at last awakened from its lethargy by the loudly expressed alarm of the public. Towards the close of his speech he adopted a tone rather of apology than of confidence. He asked himself and the House the question, "Are the estimates we are now proposing to parliament sufficient?" and his answer was sufficiently important to be given *verbatim*:—"It is impossible for those who are responsible for the administration of the navy to say that any estimates fully provide for all the wants of a great sea service. There must be many things less perfect than we could wish. But if we test these estimates by another standard, and compare the amounts at our disposal with the sums voted in other countries, the provision we are making should be ample. . . . We are making a great step in advance in response to a strong popular demand. It will be for the parliaments of the future to provide for these continuous efforts by which alone a great navy can be maintained." In other words, the provision he asked to be made for the wants of the navy was, in his judgment, just enough for the moment, perhaps, but certainly not more than enough, and further efforts and sacrifices would have to be demanded of the country in the immediate future.

Mr. W. H. Smith, whilst declining to hamper the Administra-

tion by delaying the votes for the men and the wages, commented on the deficiencies of Lord Northbrook's shipbuilding programme. He showed in the case of each ship in course of construction by how many tons and by what amount of propelling power the actual work done had fallen short of the promises made at the beginning of the year. He dwelt also on the neglect of the Admiralty to push on the building of torpedo-boats. A war, even a sudden war, he thought was not impossible, and he believed that the navy was not adequate for all the services which would be required from it in case of war.

Lord Hartington's speech on moving the Army estimates (March 19) was deprived of much of its interest by his statement at the outset that they could only be regarded as provisional, and did not represent the full demand of the year. Before, however, his explanation was made, several preliminary discussions took place. Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett called attention to the reported "jamming" of the machine guns and the Martini rifles during the late Egyptian campaign. Sir G. Campbell moved a resolution condemning the employment of British soldiers in the deadly summer climate of the Soudan, and the taxation of the British people for the benefit of the Egyptian bondholders. Mr. W. H. Smith called attention to the inadequacy of the defences of our military ports, and touched specially on our deficiencies in the matter of submarine mines.

Lord Hartington, in reply, referred to the measures which were being taken in this department, and with regard to the general question he said that when a reasonable degree of finality had been attained, the Government would not shrink from making any demands on Parliament which might be necessary. But there was no need for panic or alarm, and he believed that the means of defence were equal to any attack likely to be made. The House then went into committee, and the Secretary for War moved the estimates for the ensuing year, explaining that further provision would be required when the materials for framing the vote of credit for the Suakim expedition, came in. In the estimates laid upon the table, however, in addition to the ordinary charges, provision had been made for an army of occupation in Egypt of 6,000 men, and 500,000*l.* for the Bechuanaland expedition; but nothing for the Nile or Suakim expedition, or for the railway to Berber. The expenditure of the preceding year had originally been estimated at 15,900,000*l.*, but had been increased by supplementary estimates and votes of credit on account of Egypt and Bechuanaland to the sum of 18,847,600*l.* The present estimates were for 17,820,700*l.*, which showed an apparent decrease of 1,269,900*l.*; but in reality, as Lord Hartington explained, there was an excess of over a million on ordinary services. After giving details of the variations in the votes Lord Hartington dwelt next at some length on the progress of recruiting, stating generally that during the year 1884 35,000 men had been raised, which provided

for the waste, leaving a gain of over 7,500 men. As to organisation, although it had been found impossible, owing to the emergencies of the service, to carry out Mr. Childers's scheme in its entirety, it had worked extremely well; and never before, he maintained, had it been possible to send out so large a force and maintain it for a considerable time without delay and without dislocating the service. Dealing with this point, he mentioned that we had in the Soudan eight battalions with Lord Wolseley, besides two on the line of communications—three battalions of the Guards and three of the line with General Graham, and four battalions and a half in Egypt; in all $20\frac{1}{2}$ battalions, with an establishment of 16,400 and an effective force present with the colours of 15,900. In addition to those we had four and a half battalions in South Africa, with an establishment of 3,700 and an effective force of 3,490. After referring in satisfactory terms to the militia and volunteers he dealt with the vote for stores, which, including war and ordinary service, showed an increase of 945,000*l.*, to which a considerable addition was necessary owing to the fact that the large demands for the navy had starved the army department. But the vote included 75,000*l.* for heavy naval guns and 350,000*l.* in addition to previous votes for naval ordnance generally. It also included 155,000*l.* for the armament of the colonial coaling stations, and (in addition to the sum of 67,000*l.* to be contributed by India and the colonies) 198,000*l.* would be taken for works, submarine mines, &c., for colonial defence. As to the defence of commercial harbours, he said he would state his views on the fortification vote. A very desultory conversation ensued, it having been arranged that the more formal discussion of both the army and navy estimates should be deferred until after Easter.

CHAPTER III.

State of Foreign Relations—Mr. Shaw-Lefevre and Mr. John Morley—The Story of the Negotiations with Russia—Mr. Gladstone's Statement—Military Preparations—General Komaroff's Version—The Vote of Credit—Lord Salisbury at Wrexham—Popular Opinion—Mr. Gladstone's Warlike Utterance—The Ray of Peace—The Attitude of the Conservatives—Abandonment of the Soudan—The House of Lords on the Central Asian Question—The Duke of Argyll on Indian and Egyptian Affairs—The Redistribution and Registration Bills—Mr. Childers's Budget—Colonial Legislation—Renewal of the Irish Crimes Act and the Cabinet Crisis.

WHEN Parliament separated for the short Easter recess the conviction prevailed that peace between this country and Russia would be maintained. The full powers given to the Indian Viceroy (Lord Dufferin) to treat with the Ameer would, it was stated by Lord Hartington, afford sufficient basis for a solid understanding with that prince, and of his and our reciprocal rights and duties. The departure of the Queen for the Continent was looked upon as a further official endorsement of these sanguine views, and the

stock markets reflected the revival of public confidence. Speaking at Reading (April 1), Mr. Shaw-Lefevre assured his constituents that nothing would be left undone which would tend to bring about a friendly arrangement with Russia, and to preserve peace without compromising the safety of our Indian empire. Another Cabinet Minister (Lord Rosebery), speaking the same evening at Manchester, declared that the policy of the Government was to carry out their treaty engagements with the Ameer, and to maintain an independent power between our frontier and Russia, and that in so doing he believed that they would be supported by the unanimous voice of the nation. He went on to say that it was no use patching up a hollow truce to meet the exigencies of the moment. What was wanted was to arrive at a permanent *modus vivendi* for the two civilising nations of Russia and England. In reply to those who urged the reference of the matter in dispute to arbitration, Lord Rosebery thought it might be difficult to make the Ameer of Afghanistan understand the advantages of that method; whilst he was forced to confess that the English experience of arbitration had not been fortunate, the award in all cases where it had been resorted to having been given against this country.

Mr. John Morley, however, speaking as an Independent Radical to the Newcastle Liberal Association, took a much less optimistic view of the situation, and expressed his fear that we might be once more on the eve of a conflagration, which would spread over the habitable globe and add ten millions a year for ever to our national taxation. He, however, declared himself prepared to make any sacrifices for the sake of honestly governing our Indian empire, and refused to entertain the thought of handing over our guardianship of it to any other nation. He repudiated with equal strength the suggestion that he was a "Muscovite sympathiser," holding that the popular coldness towards the Russian Government was justified by the sound instinct of a free people in face of a barbarous despotism. If, however, war were to ensue, he wished the English case to be good, strong, and unanswerable. If the only matter in dispute was a strip of sparsely inhabited steppe of which the rights of occupation were as vague as the frontier was ill-defined, he could see no reason for not referring the question to some neutral arbiter; it was only questions of national security and national honour which must be fought out by arms. Mr. Morley went on to protest against the doctrine of manifest destiny and inevitable conflicts, so common in the mouths of many—a stupid fatalism which he branded as "government by astrology." With or without war we should have in the end to answer for the behaviour of the Ameer, and consequently it was no interest of England to give Abdurrahman and his successors an extended frontier, and he hoped, therefore, that the Government would saddle itself with as few of the troublesome frontier districts as possible. "I do not say," he added, "that a war

can be avoided. If the Government once announce and show that Russia has asked for what, with our engagements and with the policy of both our political parties, we cannot concede, the cry would be practically unanimous that we must fight," thus agreeing almost verbally with what Lord Rosebery was saying at the same time elsewhere, that "the Government would not be in a position so much of leading as of being compelled to restrain the forces of the United Kingdom."

A somewhat different complexion was given to the question by the publication in the *Times* (April 4) of the story of our negotiations with Russia, which although anonymous was vouched for as authoritative. According to this version at the end of February 1884 the Russian seizure of Merv was an accomplished fact, although in 1882 Russia had renewed her declaration that she had no intention of attacking that place. Merv having been seized, Lord Granville wrote on the last day of February 1884 asking what the Russian Government proposed to do now that it was in actual contact with the frontiers of Afghanistan. There was no disclaimer of the assumption that at Merv Russia was in such contact; and on March 26 a Russian staff map, placing the boundary of Afghanistan south of Penjdeh, was explicitly repudiated by M. de Giers. A month later Lord Granville wrote saying that Her Majesty's Government accepted the Russian proposal of 1882, repeated by M. de Giers, for the delimitation of the frontier from Khoja Saleh westwards. It was moreover admitted that the proposal of 1882, made by the Russians themselves and accepted by Lord Granville, was a proposal to delimit a frontier from Sarakhs to Khoja Saleh. Thus, in 1882 and again in 1884, Russia herself proposed a frontier lying far north of Penjdeh, of Pul-i-Khatun, of Sari-Yazi, and of all the other places in what was now mistakenly called the debatable ground. But while things were in this stage M. Lessar went to inspect the country on behalf of the Russian Government. On March 24, 1884, he was at Pul-i-Khisti, and tried to get into Penjdeh. The inhabitants refused him admission, and on being asked for their reasons replied that they were "the subjects of Ameer Abdurrahman." A month later Lord Granville remonstrated against the despatch of Russian agents to Penjdeh and Maimena, within Afghan territory. On April 27 M. de Giers denied that these agents had any authority, and declared that "no project of annexation is to be attributed to their movements." In April the Russian Foreign Office repudiated M. Lessar, the suspicions aroused by his visit were lulled, and six months later (Nov.) Sir P. Lumsden was told by Gen. Alikhanoff that "Sari-Yazi is the boundary between Penjdeh and Yulatan." The visit of M. Lessar alarmed the Penjdeh people, and they applied to the Afghan commander at Bala-Murghab for protection, which they received on June 16, and it was a week later that the Russian Government for the first time raised any doubt as to

Penjdeh being Afghan territory. The Ameer did not at that time know that a Commission was contemplated; for it was not until two months and a half later that it was finally settled and confirmed by the appointment of the Commissioners. The basis of negotiation was the proposal to delimit a boundary from Sarakhs to Khoja Saleh. When the Ameer's troops entered Penjdeh there was no dispute, there never had been any; on the contrary, not only Penjdeh, but the country as far north as Sarakhs and Khoja Saleh was admitted to be Afghan, by the Russians in re-proposing, and by Lord Granville in accepting, the line between these places as the one to be marked out and definitely settled.

This view that Penjdeh was a portion of Afghanistan was almost unanimously accepted by the English press. The most noteworthy exception was the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which, throughout the critical period of the dispute took up a wholly independent line, and one so strongly in opposition to the English Government that the most reckless assertions of its being an organ of the Russian Government were sedulously circulated. According to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, there were several omissions in the *Times* statements which it recognised as semi-official or -officious. The *Pall Mall Gazette* declared that (1) the agreement to refer the frontier question to a Joint Commission was arrived at in May 1884; (2) that the Russian Government protested on June 21 against the proposal in the *Times* that the Afghans should seize Penjdeh; (3) that the Afghans seized Penjdeh in June; (4) that Penjdeh was included in Sir Peter Lumsden's instructions as part of the debatable land; and (5) that, subject to the veto of the Home Government, he had discretionary power to draw the frontier south of Penjdeh. It further declared that so far from M. Lessar being forbidden to enter Penjdeh, he was invited to go there by a deputation, which met half-way between Pul-i-Khisti and Penjdeh, escorted him to the Saryk, and that during his stay of two days he received visits from the notables, who expressed their desire to have the protection of the White Czar.

To resume, however, the course of current events, as detailed in the previous chapter, the Russian reply to English proposals reached this country during the recess, and whilst it apparently expressed a readiness to set the Joint Commission to work, it desired to circumscribe the field of their inquiries. It expressed the desire that the southern boundary of the zone of survey, instead of being drawn at what they regarded as the northern boundary of Afghanistan, an imaginary line across a desolate steppe, should be carried up the Borkhut spur of the Parapomissus. The receipt of this despatch was followed by a protracted Cabinet Council, which was interrupted by an interview between Earl Granville and the Russian Ambassador; and although complete secrecy was preserved, the impression left on the public mind was

that there was some fresh verbal difficulty, which would be removed by diplomatic action.

The Cabinet, suddenly summoned, met on the following day, by which time the worst rumours had obtained credence. The news, however, of the rout of the Afghan forces on the borders of the Kushk river, on reaching this country (April 8), rudely dispelled the hopes of those who believed that through the mediation of Germany or otherwise a speedy settlement might be reached. The Stock Exchange gave way to a complete panic. Consols fell nearly three per cent., Russian stocks nine per cent., and other securities in like proportion, and throughout the early part of the day a conviction prevailed that war was inevitable. Luckily the House of Commons were to reassemble that afternoon, and Mr. Gladstone at once, in reply to an invitation from Sir Stafford Northcote, made an official statement on the position of affairs. He declared at the outset that it would be impossible for him to say anything with reference to the negotiations then going on; he admitted that the despatch received a few days previously had not advanced the questions under discussion towards a satisfactory conclusion, but that a subsequent communication placed things in a more hopeful position. As to the grave events on the frontier, which seemed to imply a breach of faith on the part of the Russian Government, Mr. Gladstone said that Her Majesty's Government had been informed by a despatch from Sir Peter Lumsden (dated March 29) that, in spite of the Russian assurances of March 17, General Komaroff denied he had any orders not to advance, and that he had refused to give any assurances to that effect. "Every endeavour," he went on to say, "was being made by the Russians to induce the Afghans to begin the fight, and the Russian troops had attempted finally to pass through the Afghan pickets." In a second despatch on the following day he telegraphed that the Russians had on that day (March 30) attacked and defeated the Afghans, and had occupied Penjdeh. Mr. Gladstone further stated that the Russian Government had informed our Ambassador in St. Petersburg that they hoped that "the regrettable incident would not interrupt negotiations," but pending further explanations he added, "The House will not be surprised when I say, speaking with measured words in circumstances of great gravity, that to us, upon the statements I have recited, this attack bears the appearance of an unprovoked aggression." The tone of public opinion, although distinctly warlike, showed for the most part a willingness to await the Russian explanations. A "self-respecting" attitude on the part of this country was insisted upon, and the *Times* very probably expressed the wishes of the majority in insisting that "we are bound by every obligation of honour and every dictate of expediency to insist that justice shall be done to the Afghans, not in their interests only, but in those of the people of India and of the British Empire." The *Daily Telegraph* was less cautious in its demands, and could recognise but "one escape for Russia from the consequences of this

last step in her Asiatic progress, namely, the disavowal of her agents, their condign disgrace, and the recall of her troops to Sarakhs. In case of refusal there remained one course alone open to this country. The long-deferred conflict must be accepted." Even the *Daily News*, which had hitherto taken an optimist view of the situation, admitted that "war can now only be avoided by prompt disavowal on the part of Russia of the action of her commanders, by sufficient precautions against the recurrence of similar untoward incidents, and by a prompt and honourable action on the understanding in virtue of which Sir P. Lumsden's Commission was sent out, and which up to this time the Russian authorities have evaded and mocked at with scarcely disguised cynicism." The *Pall Mall Gazette* was still alone and unsupported in the hope, if not in the belief, that Sir P. Lumsden's despatches were written with an imperfect acquaintance with what had actually been going on along the frontier line. Without asserting that the danger of war was wholly chimerical, the *Pall Mall Gazette* found securities for peace in the determination of the German Emperor to prevent war if possible, in the strong pressure of the combined financial interests of Europe, and in the unwillingness of the Ameer to permit the passage of British troops through Afghanistan.

Nevertheless war preparations were rapidly pushed forward both in this country and in India. Fast cruisers, selected from amongst the finest ships of the merchant service, especially of the Trans-Atlantic lines, were chartered by the Government, to be armed with one or two heavy guns, either to attack convoys or to harass the enemy's trade. The troops which had been sent to Egypt for operations in the Soudan were stopped at Suakin or elsewhere on the main road to India, and orders for the rapid supply of arms and ammunition were issued to all the arsenals and military factories. The question had obviously entered upon a dangerous phase. It was no longer one of debatable frontiers, but of national honour; and it was not surprising to find the Ministry of Mr. Gladstone borne along, in spite of itself, and in spite of the well-known sympathies of its chief, on a road which had no other issue but the battlefield. The most favourable interpretation of General Komaroff was that he found it necessary to deal a blow on the Afghans which should restore the waning prestige of Russia amongst the Turcomans; and the principal, if not the only argument of those Radicals who wished the English Government to pause before taking an irrevocable step was, that we were running an unwarrantable risk in attacking Russia where we could do her but little injury, whilst we exposed ourselves to every risk and danger. The line for resisting Russia might, according to some authorities, be Herat or the Oxus; but, on the other hand, there were others equally competent who would have preferred the line of the Indus, and that the enemy should be met as they debouched on the plains, whilst the hostile Afghans harassed their advance and menaced their lines of communication.

When General Komaroff's account of the incidents which led to the attack on Penjdeh reached this country (April 13) it failed to convince English opinion. Broadly speaking, it purported to show that the constant advance of the Afghans along the left bank of the Murghab River had ended at a spot where that river was fordable. They then crossed to the right bank, where the Russians were entrenched, and completely surrounded them, leaving posts of observation, whilst the main body returned to their starting point by the bridge over the Kushk River, near Pul-i-Khisti. The great disparity in the respective forces—4,000 Afghans, as against 1,200 Russians—rendered these tactics possible, and it was argued that General Komaroff, in order to guard his troops from the dangers and risks of a night attack, where the superior armament of his troops would be of less importance, had no option but to break up the Afghan force without a day's delay. A long and weary time of waiting ensued, in the course of which public opinion did not sensibly cool down. The difficulties in the way of direct communication between the Cabinets of St. James and St. Petersburg and their respective officers on the Afghan frontier were overlooked, and whilst Russia was accused of intentional delay the British Government was urged to take steps which seemed to indicate war as inevitable. General Lumsden's notes on General Komaroff's excuses (April 21) wholly supported the Afghans in their line of action, who, according to it, did all in their power to avoid collision; and their forbearance was not exhausted until Colonel Alikhanoff and his cavalry pushed past Pul-i-Kisti and appeared four miles in the rear of the Russian position. Upon this further explanations were demanded at St. Petersburg, and Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone on the same day (April 21) informed Parliament that a Vote of Credit of 11,000,000*l.* would be asked for. In a carefully prepared and written speech, throughout which Russia was never once mentioned, Mr. Gladstone said that since February, when the requirements of the Government in connection with the military operations in Egypt were stated, the Government had found it necessary to review our military position, not only in reference to the Soudan, but also in reference to the general condition of public affairs and the probable demands on the military resources of the empire. They had come to the conclusion that all these resources, as far as possible, including the forces of the Soudan, should be available for service wherever they might be required. At this there were cheers on the Opposition side, but when Mr. Gladstone went on to state that the Vote would not include any provision for further offensive operations in the Soudan, nor for military preparations for an advance on Khartoum, there were cheers from below the gangway on the Ministerial side. At the same time he said that existing undertakings not intended for hostile purposes would not be interfered with. For instance, steamboats were being built for the Nile, and a railway was being made from Wady Halfa; but speaking generally, while the

Government reserved their entire discretion, subject to the control of Parliament, he repeated that the Vote would not provide for any further offensive operations, including an advance on Khartoum. With regard to the Suakin railway, though the cessation of the Nile operations would make any considerable extension of that railway unnecessary, it would be necessary to retain possession of Suakin for the present, and for that purpose one or two military posts would be established for health considerations, to which the railway would be extended. But while the troops in the Soudan would be available for service elsewhere, the demands made by the Indian authorities for reinforcements would be met entirely from home, and these reinforcements would be provided for in the Vote, as would also the preparation of a force at home, which, with the force in the Soudan, would amount to an entire Army Corps. After mentioning that the Vote of Credit would be considered on a subsequent occasion, Mr. Gladstone explained the composition of the Vote of eleven millions. Four millions and a half were for the Soudan—namely, four millions for the army, including 750,000*l.* for the Suakin railway, and 400,000*l.* for the Wady Halfa railway, and half a million for the navy, including the removal of troops. The remaining six millions and a half would be required for special preparations—namely, four millions for the army and two and a half millions for the navy. Finally, Mr. Gladstone said that the Government were sensible of the gravity of the proposal they had to make, and, while relying on the liberality and patriotism of Parliament, they would continue in all their relations with foreign Powers to endeavour by peaceable means to obtain an honourable settlement of every complication in which we were or might be engaged.

Up to this moment no indication of any change of policy in Egypt had been given by the Government; in fact, the course of events in that country had been overlooked in the greater excitement caused by the Afghan Boundary Question. The new departure of the Government was consequently regarded on all sides as fresh evidence of divided counsels. The abandonment of offensive operations in the Soudan was supposed to be a concession to the Radical section, whilst the demand for increased military expenditure was in deference to the Whigs. The outburst of feeling in the House of Commons, which found an echo in the country, must have shown Mr. Gladstone that at the present juncture he might reckon upon the support of the Opposition. Although no discussion took place in either House upon the statements made by Ministers, two leading statesmen on the same evening found an opportunity of alluding to the state of affairs. The ex-Viceroy of India (the Marquess of Ripon) at the City Liberal Club said he would not abandon the hope that the difficulties which had arisen between this country and the Government of Russia might be brought to a peaceful solution. In view of the evils which a war between England and Russia would cause, he desired with all his heart

that such a settlement of the difficulties might be found, provided only that it were a solution which was consistent with the honour of the country and the engagements of the Crown. He had known—he had always felt—that the time was not far distant when a close approximation of the British frontiers with the frontiers of one of the great military nations of the world would be accomplished; and he had felt it to be his duty when at the head of the Government of India to look forward to that period and to endeavour to strengthen the feelings of attachment between Her Majesty's subjects in India and our beloved Sovereign. They had seen what had happened in that country within the last few weeks, and the manifestations of loyalty which had burst forth, as it were, from the hearts of princes and people alike. If this cloud should pass away, and the danger of war should be removed from us, our duties to these people would remain the same, and our obligations ought not to be forgotten by those who were entrusted with our administration in India. No doubt when quiet times returned, the question of the defences of that country and of our military organisation there would be likely to occupy largely the attention of the Government and the country. He could assure them that our military organisation needed improving, and that a great deal might be done in that matter without the expenditure of an extra rupee, and even with no inconsiderable economies.

The Marquess of Salisbury at Wrexham, probably speaking without knowledge of what had taken place that evening in Parliament, criticised sharply the foreign policy of the Government, whom he accused of having blundered and bungled the policy of their predecessors. As to the Russian advance, he said:—"My idea of the manner of dealing with Russia is not to extract from her promises which she will not keep, but to say to her, 'There is a point to which you shall not go, and if you go we will spare neither men nor money until you go back.' I do not say what that point should be. I say that that is a matter for strategists to decide. I have doubts whether I should have selected Penjdeh as the place to fight, because it is so inaccessible. That is a point upon which certainly no one who has not access to military advice can venture to give an opinion. But what I would wish to insist upon is, that if you desire to keep that empire over the natives which is the secret of your power in India, and to retain that trust of princes upon which your power reposes; if you wish to keep alive in their minds the belief that the English rule is permanent, and that it is to their interest to keep and sustain that rule—if you wish these things, you must not allow yourselves to be driven from point to point; you must not allow yourselves to be deceived by cunningly contrived assurances. You must make it not only clear to your own minds, but clear to them and to the world, that there is a point where you mean permanently to resist, and that beyond that point it will be impossible for Russia to go. Now the difficulty of our present position is not only the inacces-

sibility of the place where General Komaroff is stationed, but it also lies in our singular skill in uniting all the nations of the world against us, so that the Dardanelles will be closed, and we should be unable to strike Russia in that point where she will feel. Therefore I fear that the probability is that General Komaroff will score a very serious advantage. I am sure that every man in this room earnestly wishes for peace; but the peace may be bought too dearly, and I cannot but feel apprehensive lest if, after the act of unprovoked aggression which General Komaroff has perpetrated at Penjdeh, it is allowed to remain unrepelled and unavenged, and no effort is made to wipe out the stain which has fallen on the arms of our allies, and through them in some degree, upon us—excuses will be forthcoming in cartloads no doubt; but General Komaroff turned out the Afghans from Penjdeh; who are under the countenance and advice of two British officers, and England has been unable to prevent it.”

The Government policy, Lord Salisbury added, had been characterised by the improvidence of seeking positions of difficulty and by perfect recklessness in running away from them the moment danger declared itself. He instanced the sending out of General Graham, the bombardment of Alexandria, and the policy pursued by the Government, when General Hicks started for the Soudan, in announcing their intention to withdraw. Then came the necessity of sending General Gordon and the lamentable sacrifice of that splendid hero, and of the blood and treasure which England had poured out like water upon the sands of Africa merely to rescue the hero whom she should not have sent, because he was sent in order, if possible, to obviate the result of the Government's premature announcement that they intended to abandon the Soudan before they provided for the safety of the garrisons it contained. The hesitating policy of the Government arose from conflicting elements in the Cabinet. What they wanted was clearness of purpose and resolution to carry the purpose out. As to the accusation of the want of policy on the part of the Conservatives, he said with respect to details in opposition they had no policy; it was not their business to furnish the Government with a policy upon which to draw their bills and write their despatches.

On the following day, however, when speaking at Welshpool, Lord Salisbury did not in any way alter the tone of his criticism, though he expressed his incredulity at the rumour that all that had been done in Egypt was either to be abandoned or seriously mutilated. Conservatives, he said, would support any measures which Government said were necessary for the honour of the country, but they would at the same time condemn the want of foresight which had led this country into her present difficulties. Turning to matters at home, he referred to the depression of trade, and strongly advocated an inquiry into the operation of free trade; not that he thought a duty could ever be imposed on corn, but something should be done to resist the bounties of foreign Govern-

ments, and the products of the colonies should be admitted into this country free. The incidence of our local burdens should be reformed, so that those who invested in foreign securities, consols, and banks should bear a share of the burden, as well as householders and landowners.

In other parts of the country the Conservatives carried on a lively criticism upon the various mishaps of the Government. Lord Carnarvon at Oldham (April 17) and Lord Randolph Churchill at St. James's Hall (April 18) insisted upon the dangers to which our Indian Empire would be exposed if any submission to Russian pretensions was even hinted. Sir R. Cross at Bury St. Edmunds (April 22) congratulated the Government of which economy was one of the watchwords, on having to impose 100,000,000*l.* upon the people for the taxation of a single year; a feat hitherto unparalleled in the annals of the country.

But in presence of the dangers which seemed to threaten the peace of the world, all other questions dropped into insignificance. As time went on and no satisfactory explanations were received from St. Petersburg alarm deepened; the plea for arbitration put forth in the first instance by Mr. R. B. Brett met with but slight response from public opinion, which was steadily drifting towards war; and nothing short of a disavowal of General Komaroff's action seemed likely to smooth the path to a pacific settlement. The Government, however, showed itself for the moment in advance of popular opinion, and allowed it to transpire that it might be prepared to submit for arbitration the question whether General Komaroff should or should not be disavowed. The difficulty of choosing an umpire at once presented itself; as well as that of making the award effective. There was, moreover, little in Mr. Gladstone's speech in moving the Vote of Credit (April 27) to support the belief that the Government had much ground for hoping to maintain peace. In this most brilliant and successful speech, the Prime Minister began by declaring—"It is not a case of war. There is no war before us, actual or I may even perhaps say proximate, though I am slow to deal with epithets which are, of course, liable to some latitude of interpretation. I am not called upon to define—and I would find great difficulty in doing so, since it does not stand upon any choice of mine, or of my colleagues—the degree of danger that may be before us. We have laboured and we continue to labour for an honourable settlement by pacific means; but one thing I will venture to say with regard to that sad contingency of an outbreak of war, a rupture of relations between two great powers like Russia and England—one thing I will say, with great strength of conviction and great earnestness in my endeavour to impress it upon the committee, that we will strive to conduct ourselves to the end of this diplomatic controversy in such a way as that, if, unhappily, it is to end in violence or rupture, we may at least be able to challenge the verdict of civilised mankind upon a review of the correspondence, upon a review of the demands and refusals, to

say whether we have or whether we have not done all that men could do, by every just and honourable effort, to prevent the plunging of two such countries, with all the millions that own their sway, into bloodshed and strife. In my opinion, the question before the committee at this moment is a simple and a very narrow one. What we present to you is a case for preparation. Is there or is there not any case for preparation?"

Mr. Gladstone then went on to explain the reasons which prevented the Government laying before the House information on which it could form a conclusive judgment. The evidence was not complete, and for that reason the House was warned not to look too sanguinely forward to a favourable issue, nor to despair that reason and justice on both sides might not prevail over narrower and more unworthy feelings. Rapidly sketching the outline of notorious facts, Mr. Gladstone declared that the starting point of England was an obligation of honour to the Ameer of Afghanistan, who stood "between us and any other consideration of policy." Our obligations to him were not absolute, but contingent, and in no way implied a duty to defend him against his own subjects; but that so long as his conduct was such as could be honestly approved, our obligation should be fulfilled in no stinted manner. Mr. Gladstone then added that the Ameer's language "and the principles which he announces are those which absolutely entitle him to call upon us in concert and in council with him, acting for him and as far as we can with him, to protect him in the possession of his just rights." The plan originally formed was to delimit the frontier between Afghanistan and the Turcoman country, but the latter had rapidly been transformed into Russian territory. Thereupon the Government set themselves to bring about an agreement with the Russian Government, by which the dangers arising from military advances on debated ground might in a great degree be neutralised. Mr. Gladstone continued: "That agreement was concluded on March 16, although it has passed by the date of March 17, inasmuch as I think that that was the date on which it was telegraphed to Sir Peter Lumsden. The House will perhaps recollect the substance of that agreement and my statement in this House. The agreement consisted of a covenant and a consideration. The covenant was that the Russian troops should not advance or attack provided the Afghan troops did not advance or attack. That was the covenant. There followed a reservation, and the reservation was 'unless in the case of some extraordinary accident, such as a disturbance in Penjdeh.' I well recollect the feeling the mention of that reservation created in the House. The same feeling had been created in our own minds. It was obvious that we were just as much entitled to insert reservations on our side. I only now refer to this matter in order to describe as well as I can the spirit in which we have endeavoured to proceed—a spirit of liberal construction and interpretation wherever we thought we could apply

it without sacrifice of honour or duty. Exceptions might have been taken to that reservation as covering large contingencies, had we been inclined to examine it in a spirit of cavilling and criticism. But we determined to give credit, and we thought it our duty to give credit, to the parties to that agreement, and we acted upon that duty, and I did not in this House say one word to impute an evil colour to that reservation. We thought it our duty to give that construction to the reservation, and I do not say that the construction is shown to have been wrong, come what may. I am bound to say that, although the House was somewhat startled by the reservation, I believe the agreement was accepted by the House as a binding covenant. Sir, it was a very solemn covenant, involving great issues. There were thousands of men, on the one side standing for their country and on the other side for what they thought their patriotic duty, placed in a position of dangerous contiguity and in danger of bloody collision. This engagement came between the danger and the people exposed to it, and we believed that it would be recognised as one of the most sacred covenants ever made between two great nations, and that there would be a rivalry between the two Powers to sift the incident that followed to the end, and how it had come about, and who, and where, were the persons upon whom the responsibility rested. All this, sir, remains in suspense.

“What happened? The bloody engagement of March 30 followed the covenant. I shall overstate nothing—I shall not purposely overstate anything. All I say is this—that that woe-ful engagement of March 30 distinctly showed that one party or both had, either through ill-will or through unfortunate mishap, failed to fulfil the conditions of the engagement. We considered it, and we consider it still, to be the duty of both countries—and, above all, I will say for the honour of both countries—to examine how and by whose fault this calamity came about. I will have no foregone conclusion. I will not anticipate that we are in the right, and although I have perfect confidence in the honour and intelligence of our officers, I will not now assume that they may not have been misled. I will prepare myself for the issue, and I will abide by it as far as I can in a spirit of impartiality. What I say is that those who have caused such an engagement to fail ought to become known to their own Government and to every contracting party. I will not say that we are even now in possession of all the facts of the case, but we are in possession of facts which create in our minds impressions unfavourable to the conduct of some of those who form the other party to these negotiations. But I will not deviate from the strictest principle of justice in anticipating anything of the ultimate issue of that fair inquiry which we desire to prosecute, and are endeavouring to prosecute. The cause of that deplorable collision may be uncertain.

“Whose was the provocation is a matter of the utmost conse-

quence. We know that the attack was a Russian attack; we know that the Afghans suffered in life, in spirit, and in repute; we know that a blow was struck at the credit and authority of a sovereign, our protected ally, who had committed no offence. All I say, sir, is that we cannot, in that state of things, close this book and say—We will look into it no more. We must do our best to have right done in the matter. Under these circumstances there is a case for preparation, and I hope that the House will feel with me, after what I have said about the necessity we are under of holding Soudanese funds available for services elsewhere—I hope the House will not press upon us a demand for time, which can have no other effect than that of propagating here and elsewhere a belief that there is some indecision in the mind of Parliament; whereas I believe that with one heart, and one soul, and one purpose only, while reserving the absolute liberty of judging the conduct of the Government and visiting them with its consequences, they will go forward to perform and meet the demands of justice and the calls of honour, and will, subject only to justice and to honour, labour for the purposes of peace.”

Mr. Gladstone resumed his seat amid cheers so loud and general from all quarters that it was impossible to mistake the feelings of the House. The notices of amendment or reduction disappeared, and the Vote was agreed to without a protest, and amid loud and continued cheering. The Conservatives had intended to raise a debate on the affairs in the Soudan and the application of Votes taken for Africa to the needs of Asia, and Mr. Labouchere on behalf of some of the advanced Radicals desired to reduce the Vote by four millions, and but for a misunderstanding would have done so in spite of the strongly expressed feelings of the House; but in neither case was any action taken, and on the next occasion (April 30) Mr. Gladstone recognised “the patriotic and forbearing” action of the Opposition, and apologised for having introduced controversial matter into his speech. Mr. Chamberlain, however, took the earliest opportunity of dissociating himself at once from the war policy of his chief and from the latter’s appreciation of Conservative “patriotism.” At a dinner of the Eighty Club (April 29) he suggested that a war which interfered with and delayed internal reforms was not altogether unpalatable to the reactionaries of the day; but to him it was a matter of pain and grief, and he congratulated his hearers that they need not abandon all hopes of a peaceable and honourable settlement for both countries. This forecast proved to be correct, for only a few nights later, at the Royal Academy Dinner (May 2), Lord Granville, in the presence of the Russian Ambassador, expressed his belief that the peace of Europe and Asia would not be disturbed. A more formal and official statement was made by Mr. Gladstone on the earliest opportunity (May 4). “The British Government agree,” he said, “with the Government of Russia, that they do not desire to see gallant officers on either side put upon their

trial. For this purpose they are ready to refer to the judgment of the sovereign of a friendly State any difference which may be found to exist in regard to the interpretation of the agreement between the two Cabinets of March 16, with a view to the settlement of the matter in a mode consistent with the honour of both States. The two Governments are prepared, under these circumstances, to resume at once their communications in London on the main points of the line for the delimitation of the Afghan frontier—the details of the line to be examined and traced upon the spot. I may also say, on another point of interest, that the Russian Government have expressed their willingness to consider the question as to the removal of the Russian outposts when the Commissioners meet.”

The satisfaction, however, which this announcement might have otherwise given was somewhat disturbed when it transpired that pending the arbitration Russia was to hold the territories in dispute, of which General Komaroff had violently taken possession; and that Sir Peter Lumsden, on the plea of his presence being needed in this country, had been ordered to leave Afghanistan at once. This announcement was followed by a rumour, traced back to India, that Lord Dufferin himself had threatened to resign; but this was shortly denied, and there was nothing in the subsequent course of events which showed that the Indian Viceroy at any time advocated a line of policy in opposition to that favoured by the Home Government. The change of feeling which came over the House of Commons, though not at first widespread, was strongly marked, and of those who dissented from the Ministerial policy of “surrender” cloaked under the name of arbitration Lord R. Churchill constituted himself the spokesman. His argument, however, was mainly based upon the danger to India which underlay any surrender to Russia. It was therefore scarcely a logical ground on which to refuse a Vote of Credit for the protection of our frontier. Mr. Labouchere’s motion to reduce the Vote by four millions, the amount previously required for the Soudan, having been rejected by 79 to 29, the Vote of Credit was agreed to by 130 to 20, the minority being composed of the Home Rulers. Outside the walls of Parliament the Conservative leaders spoke more freely. Lord Salisbury at Hackney (May 5) and Lord R. Churchill at Paddington (May 6) insisted that the chief result of the foreign policy of the Liberals was loss of prestige, which to a nation was what loss of credit was to a merchant. It was a matter of comparatively small amount, in Lord Salisbury’s eyes, whether or not the Russians had rightly understood their agreement; but he denied that they had “a natural right to attack our allies and to hunt our officers like hares.” What we had to do was to inspire confidence in the multitudes on whom our position in the East depends; and we could not effect that by teaching them that Russia was a power that promises and always advances, and England a power that apologises and always retreats. “The Government go into every

danger with a light heart, and then they make up by escaping from it with a light foot." "I do not," said Lord Salisbury, "attribute to the Russian Government an intention to deceive. It is not necessary for my purpose to make any such disagreeable suggestion." But, "if a man does not keep his promise in commercial matters, if he does it intentionally, you say that he is a swindler; if he fails to keep his promise, because he cannot keep it, you say he is a bankrupt. But whether swindler or bankrupt you are very careful about trusting him the next time."

Lord Randolph Churchill spoke even more bitterly, declaring that the people of India had pledged their loyalty to a Government "which is resolved to betray them." "These Ministers, who are really not Ministers—they are not statesmen, they are simply electioneering agents, and electioneering agents of a very low order—I believe myself that Mr. Schnadhorst would be a greater statesman than some of the Ministers of the Crown"—these Ministers, said Lord Randolph, trifle away the interests of the nation to get the Nonconformist vote. After alluding to the commercial importance to us of unrestricted commerce with India, he concluded by urging the necessity for a great effort to turn out the Government by refusing supplies in the House of Commons.

The position of the Government, in truth, was not enviable—and, to add to its embarrassments, the Arabs swarming round Suakin were showing themselves dangerous adversaries, full of energy and resource, at the very moment that the general in command of the English troops, Lord Wolseley, was impressing upon the Government the necessity of carrying out the forward policy to which they were pledged, and showing how the advance to Khartoum might be effected and a government established at Dongola and Berber which would afford protection to the tribes which had been friendly to us. The publication of Lord Wolseley's despatch not unnaturally provoked criticism and remark, and, in spite of his urgent reasoning, it was easy to see that the peace party was daily receiving fresh accessions of strength. The practical impossibility of constructing the Suakin-Berber Railway in less than two years, and only at enormous risk, was forcing itself upon the public mind; the value of the "lesson" to the Mahdi, even if delivered under the walls at Khartoum, was questioned; and the theory that our duty was limited to the defence of Egypt against invasion was openly advocated. When, however, it became apparent, from Lord Hartington's statement (May 11), that the Government had already anticipated public feeling, and had determined on the abandonment of the Soudan, the outcry against this sudden change of front was not the less loud; and instead of the unanimity which prevailed when the Vote had been originally proposed, the Ministry, after having to submit to the severest censure, narrowly escaped defeat on a critical issue. The latest policy of the Government, as then explained by the Secretary for

War, was that the march to Khartoum was to be abandoned, and the troops withdrawn from Dongola to Assouan and Wady Halfa, which would be regarded as the frontier line between Egypt and the Soudan. This withdrawal, for military and political reasons, could not, however, be carried out immediately. The river was at its lowest, and would not begin to rise for three weeks, and there was a considerable amount of stores to be removed, and arrangements would have to be made to protect the native troops and other natives. Some time must elapse before the troops could leave Dongola, and in the meantime Sir E. Baring would be instructed to consult the Egyptian Government as to the possibility of establishing a settled Government, and how far the railway could be carried on for commercial purposes. If the frontier line was established at Assouan, Lord Wolseley was of opinion that it would be necessary to keep a strong brigade of all arms of at least 2,500 to guard it and the outposts, and to maintain a certain number of steamboats on the river. As to Suakim, as Lord Wolseley had only been a week on the spot, it had not been possible to come to any precise decision at present, but it would not be given up until arrangements had been made for its occupation by some civilised Power. The advance to Khartoum having been abandoned, it became no longer necessary that the railway should be pressed forward as a military measure; but they would consider and inquire whether it could be continued as a civilising influence, which would also check the slave trade.

Such a complete reversal of the previously announced intentions of the Government could not but fail to encourage their opponents; and Mr. Gladstone, apparently anxious to avoid a debate which was obviously inconvenient, and might prove damaging, endeavoured to put aside Lord George Hamilton's amendment on the ground that it was contrary to the practice of Parliament to raise objections to policy when it was asked to pass a Vote of Credit. No notice, however, was taken of the objection, and Lord Hamilton at once proceeded to move his amendment, the object of which was to obtain more information with respect to the policy of the Government in relation to the Afghan frontier difficulty and the Soudan expedition. The information given respecting the Afghan difficulty, he contended, was altogether too meagre, and his motion was made, he said, in the hope of extracting from the Government some clear understanding as to how they proposed to spend the money they asked for. In dealing with the policy of the Government with respect to their negotiations with Russia, he charged them with being willing to hand over to Russia territory which had been admitted by English officers to belong to our ally, the Ameer of Afghanistan, and declared that the arbitration was a sham. Having severely criticised the action of the Government in the Soudan, which he described as extravagant and murderous, he charged the Prime Minister with adopting a policy in view of an impending general

election, and totally regardless of the security and honour of the empire.

Mr. Chamberlain justified the course pursued by the Government in respect to the proposed arbitration, and severely criticised the conduct of those who described it as a sham when they had no information as to its terms. As regards the policy of the Government in relation to the Soudan, he pointed out that the Government had declared their policy at the time when Khartoum fell. Since then the magnitude of the task of going to Khartoum had increased, the Mahdi was not so formidable as was expected, the difficulties of withdrawing the army from the Soudan were not now so great as they were, and, as the circumstances had changed, he admitted that the policy of the Government had changed.

Baron H. De Worms, Mr. F. Buxton, Mr. A. Arnold, Sir H. Wolff, and others followed. Mr. J. Morley expressed satisfaction that the Government had adopted in relation to the Soudan a policy which the Radical party advocated three months before. He regretted that they had not decided to abandon Suakim, but he approved the course taken in regard to Afghanistan. Lord R. Churchill contended that if the amendment were carried it would ensure peace with Russia, whereas a continuance of the policy of the Government would inevitably result, sooner or later, in war.

Lord Hartington, in reply to criticism on the military position in the Soudan, defended General Graham's operations as perfectly legitimate. As to the Afghan question, he denied that Sir P. Lumsden had been recalled in deference to Russian misrepresentations, and pointed out that until the papers were produced it was impossible for the Opposition adequately to criticise the conduct of the Government; and their only object, therefore, must be to damage the Government at a time when it was desirable to present a united front.

Sir S. Northcote asserted that the object of the amendment was clear on the face of it—that before granting extraordinary supplies the House should have further information as to the present policy of the Government. Considering how often the Government had changed its policy this was not an unreasonable demand, and even after the declarations of the Government nobody could feel the least confidence as to what would happen next, or how soon another change of policy would be sprung upon them. Mr. Gladstone pointed out that Sir S. Northcote had repudiated the principal grounds upon which the amendment had been moved—namely, that no supplies should be voted while the present Government were in office. He deprecated the language which had been employed by the Opposition, throwing doubt on their trustworthiness, and reproached them with changing their attitude towards the Government the moment there was a chance of a peaceful settlement. The division was then taken shortly after two o'clock, and Lord G. Hamilton's amendment was negatived by 290 to 260.

On the same night in the House of Lords a debate on the

Central Asian Question raised by the Duke of Argyll was interrupted by the sudden illness of Lord Dormer, and its effect thereby somewhat marred. The Duke of Argyll, however, returned to the point on the following day (May 12), and in a forcible speech argued that the Russian advance in Central Asia was as inevitable and as irresistible as British advance in India; that, whether treaties were made or not, they must be dissolved by war; that, therefore, the British frontier should be made impregnable. This frontier, however, should not, the Duke contended, be the frontier of Afghanistan, for unless we had subjugated that country our forces and first line of defence might at any moment be outflanked by clans over whom we had no control. "We are now," he added, "in the position of having lost our insularity in India. We are there now in the geographical position of a Continental Power, and what I want to point out is this—that we must now submit to all the burdens which fall upon other Continental Powers. All other Powers are compelled to look after their own frontiers and to contemplate the possibility of war and invasion, and we must do the same thing. We ought not, of course, to depend upon the promises of Russia; we ought not to depend upon the treaties of Russia, because in the event of war treaties are of little worth; but we ought to depend upon our own resources and upon the foresight with which we can make our preparations as a great military Power."

This view of Russia's comparative helplessness to restrain the advance of her troops was distinctly admitted by the Conservative leader. Lord Cranbrook, who had held office as Secretary for India, said "it was foreseen by those writers who were in favour of arresting the progress of Russia at an early period without war, that Russia was driven forward by an absolute necessity, and would very soon be brought into contact with us. No one believes that Russia has rushed blindly forward; but certainly she has taken occasion for advancing when our hands were full, and perhaps if the necessity was upon her it was only natural that she should do so. What hindered us from taking steps was not from ignorance of the opinions of our statesmen, but I believe very much from the necessities of our Indian finance, and from the belief that the day was far distant when the expense of making preparations would be called for."

Lord Kimberley, speaking on behalf of the Government, said that Lord Cranbrook was quite correct in saying that it was an entire mistake to suppose that the Government of this country contemplated for one moment, or at any time, that Afghanistan was to be a neutral zone. "It has always been, and still is, a cardinal point of our policy that Afghanistan is to be outside the sphere of Russian influence, and within the sphere of our influence. The question of the neutral zone which is now entirely put aside referred to territories farther north. I wish to point out that it is essential for our safety in India that our defensive position should not be too far from our base. It is impossible that we can

any longer believe, or have the satisfaction of knowing, that we are in an insular position in India. I have always thought there was too much indifference to the fact that Russia was approaching India, and of the change in the position of our Indian empire, which would gradually make us a Continental nation, with all the dangers and difficulties inseparable from the situation. To deal with the new situation it was necessary to make a beginning, and I requested the Marquess of Ripon, when in office, to prepare a plan, on the best military authority in India, relating to the frontier, with an estimate of the probable expense. Such a plan has been prepared, and has been submitted to my council, which has cognisance of matters of finance. The project has been approved, and authority has been given for the expenditure of a sum of 5,000,000*l.* on frontier railways and military roads, including the Quetta Railway, which will cost something like 2,000,000*l.* of that sum. I must not be understood as limiting the expenditure to 5,000,000*l.*; but that, it is estimated, will at least be required for the railway and the military road which the best military authorities have declared to be essential, and it may be found on further examination that further works will have to be undertaken. I think it is a matter, and I know that Lord Dufferin thinks it is a matter, for serious consideration, whether there should not be strong fortresses on that line so as to give our army support. We ought to be in such a position that we are prepared not only for the most favourable, but also for the least favourable circumstances, and base our plans of defence upon that. One thing is certain—that we ought not to found our policy on the notion that we should construct a frontier line in Central Asia, for which this country would be entirely responsible, several hundreds of miles distant from our base. Of course, by an alliance with the Afghans we must undertake a considerable responsibility for that frontier; and we hope that a satisfactory frontier line will be drawn between Russian and Afghan territory. That would render it necessary that some of our officers should be actually on that frontier; and at the present moment two British officers are actually in Herat with the full consent of the Ameer. That shows that on his part no obstacles will be interposed in the way of any arrangement which may be desirable. I trust that this discussion will not be without advantage, when it is seen that, notwithstanding our political contests and differences on other points, on the question of the defence of India against all comers and the maintenance of our Indian empire, there is an entire and absolute agreement among all parties in this country.”

The Marquess of Salisbury said that the promises which Russia made on the subject of Khiva, on the subject of Merv, on the subject of the advance on the Caspian shore were not promises of that categorical character that you could say that an absolute convention or treaty had been broken, but they were, he thought, promises by which a man in private life would hold himself bound ;

and if Russia had not held herself bound it was not that the promises were not in themselves important, but that Russia had found herself overborne by forces of necessity. "I hope we shall do all we can to conciliate and keep the Ameer of Afghanistan with us, and to help him to the utmost of our power to defend his country; but do not let the desire of his friendship lead us into either of those two mistakes, either in making ourselves responsible for any of the excesses which the wild tribes under his control may commit upon his western frontier, nor, on the other hand, can we make any susceptibilities which any Afghan ruler may feel a reason for abstaining from defending, and defending adequately, those positions we may consider absolutely necessary for the strength of our own position."

After a further assurance from Lord Kimberley that the Pishin Valley and Quetta were by no means outside the scope of our military consideration, the debate was brought to a close.

It thus appeared almost for the first time that the leaders of both parties were absolutely agreed as to their Indian frontier policy; but the Liberals, whilst for a time ceasing to charge the Tories with magnifying the dangers of the Russian "spectre" in Asia, found consolation in declaring the new arrangement would prove merely temporary. The neutral zone and the buffer-State had been often tried and found powerless to arrest the Russian advance; and the real aim of English policy in Asia should be, they maintained, to discover a *modus vivendi* for two empires which seemed destined to overshadow the whole continent up to the limits of the Chinese power.

The Government, having thus adopted a new policy, set itself to work with commendable diligence to carry it into effect. Authority was given for the expenditure of 5,000,000*l.* on the new line of frontier defence, of which a portion, it was stated by Mr. Cross in an empty House (May 21), would be met by loan, and the remainder be defrayed out of the Indian Revenue. Of this amount, which did not represent the total sum likely to be required, two millions would be devoted to the completion of the Quetta Railway, the work on which had been suspended by the Liberal Government on coming into office. Much of the criticism, moreover, bestowed upon them for having recklessly undone a work which they afterwards admitted to be necessary was proved to be baseless. The work on the Quetta line, although suspended, had, however, not been destroyed, and the Government engineers were able to start at once under exceedingly favourable auspices.

Meanwhile, if the Duke of Argyll had succeeded in showing that in regard to their duties to India both parties were practically agreed, he was not so fortunate in endorsing for himself, or in obtaining any general consent to the aims of the Government policy in Egypt, or approval of the means employed. A debate was raised by the Earl of Wemyss (May 18), and seconded by Lord Napier of Magdala, on the determination of the Government to abandon

the Soudan. For a long time all the speakers rose from the Government side of the House, but, with the exception of Lord Wentworth, all found more to condemn than to excuse in the course which had been taken. In fact, their solitary defender chiefly based his argument on the expediency of leaving the tribes alone and "wiping out a bad debt." The Duke of Argyll at once followed, and in an eloquent speech attacked the whole course of the ministerial action in Egypt. He maintained that the root of their error had been their inability or unwillingness to see that after the suppression of Arabi's revolt they were the complete masters of Egypt, and that power had brought responsibility with it. Their duty was to stay in Egypt until they had created a firm and settled government to take their place. Instead of this their one object had been to get out of the country as fast as they could, whether their work there was done or not. Their position as absolute rulers of Egypt involved the further obligation of saving the garrisons, and this duty the Government left unfulfilled. They did indeed send Gordon to do what he could in that way, but even then they would not recognise until it was too late that they were bound to rescue him by force of arms; and now the Soudan was once more to be abandoned to anarchy, unless some other civilised Power undertook the task of reducing it to order. The Government was paralysed in all its doings by the belief that the empire was overweighted, and the Duke concluded his heavy indictment by drawing a striking parallel between the feebleness of Mr. Gladstone and the moral grandeur of Abraham Lincoln when placed in a position of greater difficulty. Lord Salisbury abstained from following up the matter, and declined to support the resolution on the twofold ground that it would produce no good results with the then Ministry in office, and secondly because he might have to propose a direct Vote of Censure at a later period. Outside the House, also, Lord Salisbury showed similar reticence, taking advantage of a dinner given at Knightsbridge (May 20) only to explain away the impression to which his remarks about Russia had given rise. "We have," he said, "ascertained by experience that the Russian Government is animated by the most sincere desire to fulfil all its pledges, but is, nevertheless, the victim of a terrible necessity, and this necessity we are bound to study. It is very unpleasant having a neighbour with a necessity, and when we study this necessity we see that it operates in two ways. It operates to induce the Russian Government to give a series of assurances; it also operates to induce the Russian Government to advance steadily in the direction of India, and the curious part of the matter is that the assurances which are dictated by that necessity are directly opposite in direction to the steps which that necessity imposes. Well, while rendering the most absolute homage to the high-minded motives by which the Russian Government is guided, it is evident that we have to look upon the action of this necessity just as if we were looking upon the action of

some natural law." In his attack upon the Government for its constant vacillations in Egypt, he repeated with even more than usual vehemence his charges, and he claimed for the Opposition their share in passing the new Reform Bill. On the same evening at the St. Stephen's Club, Lord R. Churchill gave an indication of the policy he was prepared to adopt with regard to the Parnellite members. He argued that it would be actually unconstitutional to renew any portion of the Crimes Act (Ireland) without direct evidence of the treasonable condition of that country; Irish politics would always be turbulent, and the administration of Irish affairs would always be attended with difficulty and anxiety, but for the present there was nothing abnormal in the state of the country.

The Redistribution Bill had been meanwhile steadily pushed onwards by the Government, giving rise to considerable discussion, but resulting in little more than verbal alterations. Long hours were spent upon the terms to be employed for denoting the divisions of boroughs (April 10) and of counties (April 13–21). Amongst the principal suggestions which were made during the debates the following may be enumerated: Mr. T. O'Connor's proposal to give representation to the Irish minority of Liverpool (April 10 and 29); Dr. Webster's to leave Aberdeen an undivided constituency (April 11); Sir Robert Peel's request to give the name of Tamworth to one of the divisions of Warwickshire (April 15); the controversy on the representation of the City of London (April 28); the dispute on whether the number of members for Westminster should be increased from three to four, at the expense of the Tower Hamlets (April 29), a matter on which the Government showed considerable vacillation of purpose. The Bill was finally disposed of in the House of Commons by 116 to 33 after a speech from Mr. Courtney (May 11), in which he expressed his conviction that the single-seat system would seriously injure the character of the House of Commons. The Redistribution Bill, however, was accompanied to the House of Lords by three registration bills, on which some keen debates and exciting divisions took place. The Government, in order to meet the wishes of the Conservatives, proposed that towards meeting the expenses of the registration of new voters a sum of 20,000*l.* should be allowed out of the Consolidated Fund; but Sir Massey Lopes insisted (May 5) that no part of the charge incurred (which he estimated at 100,000*l.*) should be defrayed out of the local rates, and after a warm debate the Government narrowly escaped defeat by two votes (239 against 237); but, in spite of the closeness of the division, Mr. Gladstone refused at first to make further concessions.

On the following day (May 6) the cause of the University residents and the recipients of medical relief came under discussion. Mr. Marum moved a clause to place the members of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge on an equal footing with

those of Trinity College, Dublin, in the right to be placed on the borough register. The Attorney-General, on behalf of the Government, opposed the alteration of the existing law, but it was supported by Professors Stuart and Bryce, so far as concerned members of their Universities no longer *in statu pupillari*; and finally the Attorney-General gave way, and the clause was added to the bill. Mr. Horace Davey's proposal that the receipt of parochial medical relief should not disqualify a voter was also opposed by the Attorney-General, as well as by Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Pell, and others, and, although supported by Sir H. D. Wolff and Mr. Jesse Collings, was negatived by 170 to 102. A week later (May 12) all these questions were again brought before the House. Sir M. Lopes again moved that the whole expense of registration should be thrown upon imperial taxation. Mr. Gladstone, in order to carry out the concession already made, offered a further grant on the basis of 2*d.* per name, which in England would amount to about 20,000*l.*, whilst to Ireland a specific grant of 15,000*l.* would be made. Sir M. Hicks Beach objected to the compromise on the ground that the proposal did not concede the principle of the amendment: he was defeated by 280 to 258. Mr. Horace Davey then again brought up the question of medical relief, and moved a clause to remove its disqualifying effects. The amendment was again opposed by the Attorney-General and Mr. Stanhope, representing the two front benches, but it was nevertheless agreed to by 87 to 50, whereupon Mr. Stanhope proposed and carried a clause entitling every registered parliamentary voter of a parish to obtain from the clerk of the guardians a list of all persons who had received parochial relief within a specified time. Professor Stuart then made an addition to the general clause relating to University voters, by which all undergraduates were to be disqualified from voting in elections for Oxford city and Cambridge borough. He was supported in his contention as to the danger to discipline arising from such a right by Professor Bryce and a number of Irish Home Rulers; and opposed by the Attorney-General, Sir J. Mowbray and Mr. Raikes (representing Oxford and Cambridge Universities respectively), Mr. J. Lowther and Mr. Gibson. The amendment was nevertheless carried by 84 to 81; and a consequential amendment repealing the Cambridge Award Act of 1856, after a warm discussion, was passed by 87 to 24. The bill was then read a third time. In the discussion of the Registration Bill (Ireland) the question of medical poor relief occupied a comparatively short time. In the original draft of the bill no disqualification was to ensue for the receipt of medical relief; and Mr. Gibson's motion to omit the clause was negatived (April 24) by 76 to 20, and no further effort was made to reverse this vote. Mr. Healey's attempt to disfranchise all students occupying rooms in Trinity College, Dublin, on the ground that they were placed on a more favourable footing than students of the Catholic University, was negatived (May 1) by 127 to 34. In like manner

a similar endeavour to prevent anyone *in statu pupillari* from being registered as a voter or to vote in respect of his college rooms was defeated (May 13) by 190 to 87.

The Redistribution Bill was formally read a first time in the House of Lords (May 12) within a few hours of its coming up from the Commons, and read a second time without discussion (May 15), and the three registration bills following a few days later passed rapidly through their various stages, but not without some important alterations. On the motion of Lord Salisbury, an amendment was carried against the Government (May 19), restoring to undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge the full right to be placed on the borough registers, if otherwise qualified; and on the motion of Lord Balfour the peers, by 72 to 47, struck out the clause providing that the receipt of parochial medical relief should not be a disqualification for the franchise. When these amendments reached the House of Commons on the following day the former was accepted with little demur, but the latter gave rise to a somewhat bitter debate, in the course of which the Attorney-General and Sir C. Dilke abandoned Mr. H. Davey, on the ground that the immediate passing of the bill was imperative for the purposes of registration; and in the end the motion for agreeing with the Lords' amendments was carried by 107 to 66, and on the following day (May 21) it received Royal assent. The committee stage (June 12) on the Redistribution Bill, although leading to little more than verbal alterations, gave rise to some warm debates; but they referred rather to the policy of the two parties than to the objects of the bill, which, without any important alteration, became law, but not until the Ministry which had introduced it had ceased to exist.

We must now turn to the financial arrangements. At an exceptionally late date (April 30) Mr. Childers brought forward his budget, which, as he somewhat plaintively explained, would but for "unforeseen circumstances" have presented a surplus of above 100,000*l.*, instead of which he was left to face a deficit of over a million, but originally estimated at twice that amount. The actual figures were as follows:—

REVENUE.—1884-85.		EXPENDITURE.—1884-85.	
Customs	£20,321,000	Permanent Charge of Debt	£28,884,000
Excise	26,600,000	Interest on Local Loans	465,000
Stamps	11,925,000	Interest on Suez Bonds	200,000
Land Tax	1,065,000	Other Charges on Consolidated Fund	1,479,000
Inhabited House Duty	1,885,000	Army	18,955,000
Income Tax	12,000,000	Navy	11,427,000
Total of Taxes	£73,796,000	Grant to India	250,000
Post Office	£7,905,000	Civil Service	17,562,000
Telegraph Service	1,760,000	Customs & Inland Revenue	2,745,000
Crown Lands	380,000	Post Office	4,666,000
Miscellaneous	3,175,000	Telegraphs	1,731,000
Interest on Advances	1,027,000	Packet Service	729,000
Non-tax Revenue	£14,247,000		
Total Revenue	£88,043,000	Total Expenditure	£89,093,000

As compared with the budget estimate the expenditure showed an excess of 3,801,000*l.*, and was 3,323,000*l.* more than that of the previous year. On the other hand, the receipts from taxation had exceeded the budget estimate of the previous year by 1,493,000*l.* The funded debt had during the year been reduced by the operation of the Funding Act, including conversion, by 2,080,587*l.*, making a total reduction since 1880 of 70,294,000*l.*

For the current year Mr. Childers estimated the expenditure and revenue, before making any change of taxation, and reckoning the income tax at only 5*d.* in the pound, as follows:—

ESTIMATE OF EXPENDITURE.—1885–86.		ESTIMATE OF REVENUE.—1885–86.	
Permanent Charge of Debt	£28,037,000	Customs	£20,000,000
Interest on Local Loans	552,000	Excise	26,350,000
Interest on Suez Bonds	200,000	Stamps	11,200,000
Other Charges on Consolida-		Land Tax	1,050,000
dated Debt	1,760,000	House Duty	1,880,000
Army	17,751,000	Income Tax at 5 <i>d.</i> . .	10,000,000
Navy	12,386,000	Post Office	8,000,000
Grant to India	250,000	Telegraphs	1,760,000
Civil Services	17,687,000	Crown Lands	380,000
Customs & Inland Revenue	2,800,000	Interest on Advances .	1,360,000
Post Office	4,855,000	Miscellaneous	3,200,000
Telegraphs	1,840,000		
Packet Service	754,000		
Total	£88,872,000	Total	£85,180,000

—showing a deficit, without providing for the Vote of Credit of 11,000,000*l.*, of 3,692,000*l.*

But to this would also have to be added an estimated loss of 40,000*l.* on the reduction of inland telegrams to sixpence, and at least 200,000*l.* for the supplementary estimates; so that the total deficit to be provided for was not less than 14,932,000*l.* To meet this Mr. Childers proposed to raise the income-tax from 5*d.* to 8*d.* in the pound; to equalise the death duties on real and personal property; to increase both the spirit duty and the beer tax; to impose a tax upon corporation property, and a stamp duty of 10 per cent. on bonds and foreign securities payable to bearer. From these sources he hoped to raise the following sums:—

Increase of Income Tax	£5,400,000
Alteration of Death Duties	200,000
Tax on Corporation Property	150,000
Increased Spirit Duty	900,000
Increased Beer Tax	750,000
Minor Charges	100,000
Total	£7,500,000

By a suspension of the Sinking Fund for the year he would realise a further sum of 4,600,000*l.*, and the still remaining deficit of 2,832,000*l.* he proposed to meet in a similar way out of the sinking fund of 1886–87.

A discursive conversation followed, but nothing was said which suggested that there was any great damage to the Ministry

likely to result from any of the proposals. The fundamental idea that all classes should bear their share of the increased burdens was recognised as just; but it was doubtful whether it was wise to make so large a demand upon classes which were both suffering from the badness of the times: on the landed gentry by an alteration of the rates of succession duty, and on the working classes when business was so slack. The increase of the spirit and beer duties was nevertheless agreed to at once by 109 to 27; and an extension of the limit of the shilling duty on imported wines was accepted by 98 to 26. Further discussion and consideration of Mr. Childers' proposals were then deferred until after Whitsuntide.

Outside the House, however, a cry arose from Ireland against the proposed addition to the spirit duties, involving as it would a serious blow to the whisky trade of that country; and the landowners protested against an additional burden being placed upon the land at a moment when that form of property was practically unsaleable. But above these and other class cries was heard the general murmur of dissatisfaction that it was in a time of peace, under a Liberal Ministry pledged to entrenchment and economy, that for the first time was proposed a budget of one hundred millions, and a deficit of fifteen millions, which was only to be made good by suspending the Sinking Fund for two years.

Colonial affairs had on more than one occasion occupied the attention of Parliament. In the early part of the session, Lord Derby, in answer to Lord Carnarvon, had pledged himself to introduce a bill for the confederation of the Australian colonies; adding that he had consulted the Governments of the various colonies, and that on receiving their replies he would be in a better position to proceed with his measure. The sudden extension of the war in the Soudan, and the difficulties which seemed to be gathering on all sides, called out the feelings of sympathy and patriotism with which the colonies were animated towards the mother country. From Canada as well as from Australia offers of military service were spontaneously made; and although taken advantage of in one case only, yet the Queen, in answer to the address from the House of Lords (March 23) thanking her Majesty for having accepted "the loyal offer of military service from New South Wales," said, "I trust that it will be found practicable to despatch contingents from several colonies for service with my army during the present year." The views of the Government on the federation of the Australian colonies were embodied in a bill brought in by the Secretary of State (Earl of Derby) and formally explained (April 23) as being practically a permissive measure, emanating from the colonies themselves. Victoria, Queensland, South and West Australia, and Tasmania had expressed their willingness to send delegates to the Federal Council and to be bound by its decision; but New South Wales and New Zealand held aloof—at all events at the outset. The colony of Victoria, however, as Lord Carnarvon pointed out, had objected to the

power given by clause 31 of the bill to any colony to retire at pleasure from the federation, while New South Wales feared to be outvoted in the Federal Council by four colonies which had more interests in common than with her. The bill, however, was passed without amendments (May 1) and sent to the Commons, but not before the Agents-General of the principal colonies had expressed the views of their respective Governments. Mr. Murray Smith (Victoria) declared that Victoria had never expressed any desire for clause 31, but, on the contrary, had said that its enactment would in no way remove her disinclination to join the federation. Sir Saul Samuel (the New South Wales Agent) was instructed to take no part in the discussion of a bill to which his Government did not accede. It was moreover urged that, whilst the proposed clause offered no real inducement to New South Wales and New Zealand to join the Federal Council, it would enable any one of the four colonies to leave it at will, and thereby to reduce it below the number necessary for its legal existence.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which was destined to play an important part in the legislation of the session, was originally introduced into the House of Lords (March 26) by Lord Dalhousie, and its second reading was agreed to (April 13) without debate; the questions involved having been thoroughly discussed in previous sessions, when the bill, having passed the Lords, had been dropped on two occasions in the Commons. In the committee stage (April 28) certain amendments, designed to extend the scope of the bill by raising the age of consent from 15 to 16, to give increased powers to the police, and to render it more stringent, were defeated in spite of the strong appeals of the bishops in favour of the higher age.

The usual dowry of 6,000*l.* a year was voted by the House of Commons (May 14) to the Princess Beatrice on the occasion of her marriage with Prince Henry of Battenberg. Mr. Labouchere led the opposition to the grant on the ground that the Queen had saved sufficient money out of her civil list to endow her daughter; and he was supported by the Irish and a few English Radicals, the former pleading the wrongs of Ireland, and the latter the sufferings of the London poor. Mr. Gladstone in the course of his speech took occasion to say that the next Parliament would be asked to appoint a committee to consider the best method for making "permanent secondary provisions" for the younger members of the royal family, and the vote was agreed to by 337 to 38.

This vote having then been agreed to, and the Redistribution Bill read a second time in the House of Lords, Mr. Gladstone took the first opportunity (May 15) of stating that the course of business during the remainder of the session would, in addition to the bills already before the House, be limited to the Secretary of State's Bill and the Crofters' Bill, both referring to Scotland; for Wales an Intermediate Education Bill, and for Ireland a Coercion

Bill. With regard to the last, after much hesitation the Government had determined to embody in a bill various provisions of the Crimes Act, which they deemed to be both valuable and equitable, and in so acting they were carrying out the strongly regarded representations of the Viceroy, Earl Spencer. A very short time sufficed to show that such a programme was distasteful to a section of the Cabinet and still more in opposition to the feelings of a large body of the Liberals. Mr. Villiers Stuart in the course of a few days obtained the signatures of eighty-one Liberals sitting below the gangway to a request that an Irish Land Bill should be introduced and if possible carried before the dissolution, and in deference to this expression Mr. Gladstone promised to reconsider his decision.

Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain were openly credited with being ready to sacrifice their seats in the Cabinet rather than be connected with an Irish Coercion Bill on the eve of a dissolution, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's name was soon afterwards added as a third opponent to any renewal of the Crimes Act, even in part. Whatever may have been the differences of opinion within the Cabinet, the sudden announcement made by Mr. Gladstone (May 20) that the Government would after Whitsuntide introduce an Irish Land Purchase Bill, far from changing the situation, seemed rather to precipitate a crisis. Expressions made use of by Mr. Gladstone were seized upon as indications of his own wish to retire from the leadership of his party; Mr. Childers, dissatisfied with the reception accorded to his only constructive budget, was credited with a desire to resign; and Lord Selborne, unable to accept the principle of the still unexplained Irish Land Bill, was to hand over the seals to Sir Vernon Harcourt, whom many of his own colleagues desired to see removed from the House of Commons. A communication made to the *Birmingham Daily Post* was regarded on all sides as at least a semi-official expression of Mr. Chamberlain's views on Mr. J. Morley's announcement of his intention to oppose the renewal of the Crimes Act in any form. According to this version, Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke had persistently opposed all attempts to govern Ireland by coercion; they were outvoted by the majority of their colleagues, and if they did not immediately resign it was supposed that a compromise had been found in the Land Bill so hurriedly and unexpectedly announced. But whilst neither Sir Charles Dilke nor Mr. Chamberlain objected to a measure dealing with land purchase, they did not approve of its introduction at so critical a moment; they could not bring themselves to believe that such a bill was any compensation for coercion and no extension of local government. As a sequel to such a scheme it would be natural and useful; as a precursor it would be weak and dangerous. The utmost to which they would go in order to meet the views of Lord Spencer was the renewal of the Crimes Act, or portions of it, for one year, leaving the question at large to be

dealt with by the new Parliament. Failing concession on this point, Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke would, it was asserted, quit the Cabinet, and would be followed by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre and possibly by one or two others.

It was under the shadow of these difficulties that Parliament separated for the Whitsuntide recess, Sir Charles Dilke going to Dublin to talk over Irish affairs with Earl Spencer; Lord Rosebery starting for Berlin to remove from Prince Bismarck's mind the prejudices he seemed to entertain against Mr. Gladstone's foreign and colonial policy; and Mr. Chamberlain returning to discuss with his leading constituents how long he could remain in the Cabinet without fettering his freedom of action in the coming electoral campaign.

The burning question of the Housing of the Working Classes had been happily placed outside party politics; and the Royal Commission, on which all shades of opinion were represented, had devoted much time to the collection of evidence. The first Report, when published (May 9), was limited to the condition of the working classes in England and Wales, and the recommendations appended to it were issued separately on account of the great urgency of the subject, and because in Scotland and Ireland the question was surrounded by features peculiar to each country. After summarising the existing laws, the Report described the state of overcrowding in certain parts of London and other large towns, and the sanitary and structural defects of the dwellings. It then traced the causes which produce overcrowding and the lamentable condition of the houses of the poor. The first and cardinal point upon which the Commissioners unanimously agreed was that a better administration of existing acts was more required than further legislation, although the law was doubtless capable of improvement. The Commissioners, however, recommended that the vestries and local boards should at once enforce the provisions of the Sanitary Act of 1866, which, in many cases, had been allowed to become inoperative, adding, however, "that it is not likely that in all cases such action will be taken until the people show a more active interest in the management of their own affairs." Outside the metropolis, where (under section 90 of the Public Health Act) the Local Government Board could intervene, the Commissioners recommended that the local authorities should be empowered to make by-laws with regard to sanitation without any previous action on the part of the central authority. They urged further the consolidation of all the legislation on sanitary matters which had been spread over the previous thirty years, especially with regard to the metropolis; that mortuaries should be established in every parish, to which should be removed any dead body lying in a room used by other persons. The Commissioners, in view of the nature of "cellar dwellings," proposed that the existing laws requiring an open space before or behind a dwelling should be extended; that the metropolitan sanitary

authorities should increase the staff of their inspectors, and in all cases select persons acquainted with the principles of sanitation and building construction; that the residence of the parish medical officers should be within a mile of the boundaries of the districts assigned to them; that in view of the difficulty of obtaining further accommodation in certain neighbourhoods the sites of three of Her Majesty's prisons—Coldbath Fields, Pentonville, and Millbank—should be conveyed to the Metropolitan Board of Works, in trust, for the benefit of those portions of the town which were most overcrowded; that public money should, under careful economic principles, be advanced for providing artisans' dwellings; and that a prolongation of the mode of repayment should be duly considered. The Committee then went on to recommend that Lord Shaftesbury's Act, enabling the vestries to borrow money on the security of the rates for the erection of lodging-houses (which, if properly put in operation, would meet almost everything required), should be amended so as to be made effective; that the High Court of Justice should have power to enforce upon local authorities "improvement schemes," under Sir Richard Cross's Acts, as well as the removal of dangerous and unhealthy habitations, under Mr. M'C. Torrens' Act. It having been shown that Sir Richard Cross's Acts were not unfrequently impeded by the exorbitant demands for compensation put forward by persons interested in property condemned to be demolished, the Commissioners supported the principle that in a purchase of this nature the terms ought to be those of the fair market value of the land, and no more. A number of minor recommendations and suggestions appeared with the Report, the majority of which, however, received only a partial or modified support from the general body of the Commissioners. Of these the most important was one condemnatory of the system of building on leasehold land as the great cause of overcrowding, unsanitary buildings, and excessive rents, and pointing to the acquisition of the freehold interest by the leaseholder as a necessary step towards the improvement of the dwellings of the poor. From this view, however, the Prince of Wales, Lord Salisbury, Mr. Goschen, Sir Charles Dilke, and others dissented.

CHAPTER IV.

The state of parties—The renewal of the Crimes Act—Speeches of the recess—Lord R. Churchill's manifesto—Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham—The Budget—Defeat of the Government—The Interregnum—The revolt of the new Conservatives—Lord Salisbury's difficulties—The new Administration—The intervention of the Queen—Honours and rewards—The Archbishop of Canterbury on the State Church—The policy of the new Cabinet—Blunders in Admiralty Finance—Housing of the working classes—The Irish legislation of the Government—Foreign affairs—Position of the Ministry—Close of the Session.

WHEN Parliament separated for the Whitsuntide recess the position of the Ministry, although weakened by attacks from without and dissension from within, was regarded as probably secure for the few remaining weeks of the session. Every measure which was likely to give rise to prolonged discussion or serious opposition had been abandoned; and both parties seemed desirous to bring rapidly to a close a session in which neither could hope to obtain credit or advantage. The effects, however, of the strain put upon the supporters of the Government became more sensible when, in closer communication with their constituents, they found that their votes had not, in many instances, represented their constituents' wishes. Party discipline had, indeed, on various occasions triumphed over personal convictions; and, although Mr. Gladstone's policy in Egypt and India, as in Ireland and at home, may have been marked by that unity of purpose and consistency which he claimed for it, the mass of the public seemed unable to follow the mental process by which the results were evolved. The attitude, moreover, of an important section of the Cabinet filled the minds of many of its supporters with misgiving, since its organs distinctly announced that they believed in the "squeezability" of the Whigs, and in the tactical advantages of making the earliest overtures to the new electorate. The election of Mr. Sinclair, the Liberal candidate, in Antrim, over his Conservative opponent, was due to his pledge, tardily given, to vote against the removal of the Coercion Act in any form; and it was an open secret that Mr. Parnell was prepared to cast a solid vote with any party which would make a stand against "exceptional legislation." So far as the "voice of the country" could be gathered from the London and provincial journals, the policy of the Radical leaders was generally condemned; they were accused of sacrificing the cause of order in Ireland to their election prospects and to their ambitious dreams of the future. Another explanation, too, was given of the differences which had arisen in the Cabinet. The two sections, it was said, were not at issue so much about the relation which the Land Act should hold to the Crimes Act as about the relation the scheme for the purchase of Irish land should hold to the scheme of Irish local government. Lord Spencer, upholding the views and offering himself as the mouthpiece in the Cabinet of the Irish

Liberals, desired to see the land question disposed of at once; and that the Parliament which had passed the abortive or at least inoperative Land Act of 1881 should so amend it that the tenants might become purchasers at fair prices, and the system of "dual ownership" be forthwith abolished. With Mr. Parnell and the Irish Nationalists, for many reasons, this arrangement of business did not find favour. They desired, above all things, an extended form of local self-government, in anticipation of the overwhelming majority of their own party they hoped to return under an extended franchise. With these two weapons they looked forward to moulding the Irish Land Bill in the new Parliament according to their wishes. Two Cabinet Ministers were, it was said, found to press their views upon the Prime Minister, and the first stage of the crisis was reached when Mr. Gladstone, in announcing the subsequent course of business for the session, omitted all reference to either a Land Bill or a Local Government Bill. Although in form this seemed a compromise, the loyal Irish Liberals regarded it as a defeat, and they were able by the aid of Lord Spencer to bring such pressure to bear on Mr. Gladstone that he suddenly, and without previous consultation with the Cabinet, announced that a Land Bill would form one of the Government measures of that session. The supporters of local government, however, were not daunted, and at once threatened secession unless concessions were made to them, if not by bringing forward the question of local government, at least by a very appreciable modification of the Crimes Bill, for the renewal of which Lord Spencer was understood to have warmly pressed. Whatever may have been the causes which threatened for a moment to shipwreck the Ministry when almost in sight of port and the end of the session, they were discreetly kept out of sight; and when Parliament re-assembled after the Whitsuntide holidays it seemed as if all dangers had been averted or avoided.

Sir S. Northcote meanwhile had had the opportunity (May 27) of explaining to his constituents at Barnstaple the attitude which the Conservatives were prepared to adopt in the ensuing elections. Contenting himself with a mild criticism of their opponents' blunders in the past, he declared the one distinction between the two parties to be the difference of their treatment of local taxation. "Whilst the Liberals," he said, "were constantly promising a great measure of local self-government, the Conservatives had already given relief to local burdens to the extent of two millions sterling, and were prepared to do more if the opportunity presented itself." Continuing his tour through North Devon, Sir S. Northcote displayed increased vigour in his criticism of the Government and its conduct of affairs, and concluded his series of addresses by a warning to the agricultural labourers recently enfranchised to reject with scorn the advice of Radicals and theorists who preached that one class could improve its position by plundering another. At Barrow-in-Furness Sir Richard Cross and Col. Stanley (May 29)

directed their speeches chiefly against the foreign policy of the Government, and Mr. E. Stanhope at Gomersal followed in the same strain. The apologists of the Government were Sir Thomas Brassey and Lord Ripon; the former of whom at Plymouth dealt at considerable length with the state of the Navy, which he asserted to be in a most satisfactory condition with regard to ships, and declared that the hesitancy in the matter of armaments was due to the desire of the Government to obtain guns superior to those of any other nation. Lord Ripon at Sleaford, after expressing his satisfaction at the prospect of seeing many actual working men in the new Parliament, defended the foreign policy of the Government, and claimed for it the patience of the country for having successfully steered the ship of State through very difficult waters, and for securing for us the great and inestimable blessing of peace. Lord Randolph Churchill, addressing a meeting in the Tower Hamlets (June 3), was naturally more incisive in his criticism and, it must be admitted, more definite in his forecast of Conservative policy. He ingeniously dissected the ten Irish, the eighteen Egyptian, and the nine Central Asian policies of the Liberal Government, and then asked what was the result of this studied inconsistency. In Ireland, he declared, the whole people, with one small exception, were determined to send to Parliament representatives who would be pledged to refrain from no act which might secure the total repeal of the Union. In Egypt the whole people, without any exception, were praying for our departure and cursing our presence, whilst the European Powers were openly combined together to make our position in Egypt impossible. In India the general opinion was that the White Czar was triumphant; that he had delimited the frontier he wished to obtain at the point of the sword, with the result of throwing upon the people of India an immensely increased military charge. As to what the Conservative policy would be, if they returned to power, he felt certain that its domestic policy would follow the lines of Pitt, Canning, Peel, and Beaconsfield. The policy of Lord Beaconsfield in regard to Ireland was one of firm, consistent, but by no means irritating administration, relying almost entirely on the ordinary law; and, but for the Irish famine and the change of Government, there was no doubt that the state of Ireland now would have been in the highest degree bright and promising. The Tory party would very closely inquire into the nature and causes of the present unexampled depression of trade, and would comprehensively revise the present fiscal and revenue arrangements. They would no doubt set on foot an exhaustive investigation of the expenditure and management of the Government Departments. Further reform of parliamentary procedure was also required. He imagined the Tory party would propose a very large scheme of reform for the local government of Ireland, of England, and of the metropolis; a reform based upon a genuinely popular foundation, which should give to local bodies considerable financial resources, and devolve

on them much of the work now fruitlessly attempted by the House of Commons. As to Egypt, he regretted this country had gone to Egypt, or that, having gone, she had not fostered a national movement. But what might have been possible once was not possible now, and he imagined the policy of the Tory party would be to accentuate the British position, and confirm the British predominance in Egypt, and at the same time to re-establish the most friendly and intimate relations with the Sultan of Turkey. It might be taken as perfectly certain that if the Tory party were placed in power Russia would advance no more. The Tory party would neither be cajoled nor frightened. He spoke with no official authority, but he had exceptional opportunities for gathering the mind of the party in Parliament on the great questions of imperial and domestic policy, and he did not believe he had said a single word which would be seriously disagreed with or disavowed. In conclusion he said he had every reasonable hope of the results of the general election. The Tory party were the real peace party, the real reform party, and the real retrenchment party, and their opponents were nothing more than shams, and impostors, and humbugs.

On behalf of the Government the case was stated with almost equal frankness, but perhaps with some slight misgiving, by Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, who said to his constituents at Selkirk (June 2) that "if the electors wanted a strong Government which would legislate for Ireland, not for the purpose of securing momentary support in the lobby, but for the purpose of giving the Irish nation what in justice and wisdom it ought to have, let them send the Liberal party back to Westminster at least 380 strong. There would then be a much better-founded hope of getting through our difficulties at home and abroad than if we had Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill in office with a following of 270 Conservatives and eighty Parnellites. One of the main causes of our difficulties abroad was the tone of swagger and defiance that had been prevalent in and out of Parliament ever since Mr. Gladstone left office in 1874.

"When Conservatives assemble to greet Lord Salisbury they come together in order to hear, for the space of an hour and a quarter, the Russian Government and their own cleverly and roundly abused in alternate sentences. All this talk about 'bankrupts' and 'swindlers' would be undignified and unbecoming in the mouth of a leading statesman if we were at war with Russia already. Lord Salisbury employs this language, not against a nation with which we are engaged in hostilities, but against a Government with which we were involved in a negotiation as critical and momentous as this country has ever embarked upon. It must not be supposed that this choice language is reserved for those whom Lord Salisbury regards as enemies of our country. The principle of the school of which he is the head is to deal contemptuous and irritating rhetoric on every foreigner—friends,

neutrals, and adversaries alike. Lord Salisbury appears to think that the one method by which this country can win the loyalty and fidelity of people is by invading and conquering them, and knocking them about. Happily, Lord Ripon went on a very different system in his treatment of our Indian fellow-subjects, and Lord Dufferin is going on a very different system in his treatment of our Asiatic allies ; but if the Government is changed in November, and we go back to Lord Salisbury's system of armed coercion of Afghanistan, and wholesale insult to European Powers, I venture to say that five more years will see Great Britain regarded as a public enemy in every quarter of the world. The new electors would give emphatic contradiction to those violent expressions of Jingo sentiment which were now erroneously put forth as representing public opinion. If our people had wisdom and tolerance and self-control, if they knew how to sink themselves in the furtherance of a great cause, I have little fear for the result of the next general election."

The same speaker on the following evening, at Galashiels, repeated this line of argument ; and in answer to questions whether he would vote for the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, gave a somewhat uncertain sound. It was impossible, he said, for a member of the Government to pledge himself to vote for any private member's bill, but he might say that ever since he had been in public life he had been a strong advocate for religious equality ; that he had never failed to vote in favour of it. On the same day (June 3) Mr. Chamberlain, accepting the offer to contest the western division of Birmingham at the general election, took the opportunity of showing to the deputation that his fealty to Mr. Gladstone was unimpaired, whilst at the same time he expressed his disbelief in coercive legislation. Coercion was for an emergency, but the emergency once over, it was the duty of wise statesmen to seek out the causes of discontent and to remedy them. Mr. Chamberlain continued :—" Mr. Gladstone has removed two of the greatest grievances of Ireland. He has disestablished an alien Church, and he has reformed the land laws ; but there remains a question as important—possibly more important—than both these two, and that is to give, in Mr. Gladstone's own words, ' the widest possible self-government to Ireland which is consistent with the maintenance of the integrity of the empire.' While we have to conciliate the national sentiment of Ireland, we have to find a safe means between separation on the one hand, which would be disastrous to Ireland and dangerous to England, and on the other that excessive centralisation which throws upon the English Parliament and upon English officials the duty and burden of supervising every petty detail of Irish local affairs, which stifles the national life, which destroys the sense of responsibility, which keeps the people in ignorance of the duties and functions of government, and which produces a perpetual feeling of irritation, while it obstructs all necessary legislation. That is the problem

and I do not believe that the resources of statesmanship are exhausted, or that it will be impossible to find a solution."

Dealing with the foreign policy of the Government, Mr. Chamberlain denied that it had failed, and claimed that in the negotiations with Russia we had obtained everything that the Government of India had thought necessary for the security, order, and credit of the empire. But on the subject of the French alliance, he spoke with an earnestness which suggested that he had personally taken part in recent negotiations. He appealed to France not to hamper our action in Egypt as, he was constrained to admit, she had hampered it for the previous three years. He declared that the more she interfered with our administrative and financial control, the longer would, of necessity, our occupation continue. But the most important part of Mr. Chamberlain's speech was his re-statement of his views on "the ransom" of property and the aid to be given to the poor. Whilst refusing to recant any of his previous expressions, he explained in clearer terms his real intentions. "I do not believe," he said, "that any Liberal policy, mine or any other, will ever take away the security which property rightly enjoys; that it will ever destroy the certainty that industry and thrift will meet their due reward; but I do think that something ought to be done to enlarge the obligation and responsibility of the whole community towards its poorer and less fortunate members."

From these speeches and other symptoms it was assumed that all danger of any parliamentary crisis had passed away, and that the Ministry would present an unbroken line for the remainder of the session. Neither Sir Charles Dilke nor Mr. Chamberlain would, it was said, face the responsibility of a dissolution of the Ministry; and Lord Spencer would be satisfied if he obtained the powers he needed continued for twelve months. Although by this means the crisis would only have been transferred from the Cabinet to the House of Commons, it was believed that some issue might be found. The announcement, moreover, made by Mr. Gladstone of a bill to replace the Crimes Act pointed in the same direction. This confidence, however, was short-lived, for within a few hours it was rumoured that the Budget proposals of Mr. Childers had met with severe criticism from Mr. Chamberlain, who wished to substitute an extra duty on spirits for the proposed increase of the tax on beer. Mr. Childers, nevertheless, must have carried his point, for shortly afterwards he informed the House that the increased duty on spirits would be one shilling per gallon, instead of two, as originally proposed. Presuming that, in consequence of the sudden stoppage of warlike preparations, there would be a saving of two millions on the Vote of Credit, the Chancellor of the Exchequer went on to explain that no change would be made in the direct taxation already proposed. The increased beer duties, however, would only remain in force to May 31, 1886, whilst the change in the spirit duties would reduce

the ultimate receipts from that source by about 300,000*l*. In moving the second reading of the Budget Bill the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the increased duty on spirits would fall upon England in the proportion of 5½ to 1 as compared with Scotland, and 4½ to 1 as compared with Ireland. Sir M. Hicks-Beach then proposed his fateful amendment condemning the proposed increase of the beer and spirit duties in the absence of any corresponding increase of the wine duties, and declining to increase the duty on real property while the resolutions in regard to local taxation passed in 1883 and 1884 remain unfulfilled. Dealing with the first branch of the amendment, he preferred some article of more general consumption, such as tea, and dissented altogether from the suggestion that wine could be substituted for beer as a popular beverage. If a reduction of the wine duties were to be proposed as part of a bargain, he complained that the Government had taken altogether the wrong course, for both Spain and France knew they had nothing to fear, and the best course to compel Spain to grant us commercial facilities would have been to make a change disadvantageous to her wines. As to the second branch of the resolution, he argued that the proposal to increase the succession duties did not take into account the capacity of real property to bear them, and that if the taxation on real property was to be dealt with at all, it should be by way of a complete equalisation.

Sir C. Dilke animadverted in a sarcastic vein on the predilection shown by Sir M. Hicks-Beach for an increased duty on tea, remarking that, however unpopular the present Budget might be, the Opposition Budget would be more disliked. As to an increase in the wine duties adverse to Spain, he pointed out that it would interfere with a growing colonial trade, and he characterised as claptrap the argument founded on a comparison of the beer duties with the duty on wine regarded as a beverage of the rich. As to the succession duty, it was an act of justice as between landed and personal property, and there was no reason why it should be delayed. The Government, he said in conclusion, regarded the Budget as a whole as a matter of life and death, and if the amendment were carried its supporters would have to form a Government of their own to carry out their own financial policy.

Mr. Arnold contended that there was a decided unreality in the amendment, which, he maintained, was in effect playing the working-man argument for the advantage of the wealthier classes.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the course of a general reply, maintained that if duties on consumption were to be selected, articles such as beer and spirits could afford it better than articles of general consumption, such as tea and sugar. As to the succession duty, he asserted that ample allowance had been made for the existing burdens on land, for if it had been otherwise, land would have been saddled with the same probate duties

as personal property, and the amount raised would have been considerably larger.

Sir S. Northcote complained that the Budget was framed, not so much on fiscal considerations, as on sentimental and election-eering motives.

Mr. Gladstone replied by twitting Sir S. Northcote with his habitual deficits. This, he said, was not a Vote of Censure, but it was a matter of life and death to the Government, and the point for the House to decide was whether a certain charge having been sanctioned by the House, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had submitted a method of meeting it which was not extravagant, and was fair to all the interests of the country. An amendment on the second reading of the Budget Bill was a most unusual proceeding, and in this case it must strike a heavy blow at the principle of dividing the charge of additional taxation between direct and indirect taxation. The secret of this attack he believed was to be found in the death duties, but these he showed did not bear as hard on landed property as was represented, and much of the charge would be levied on personal property. As to the wine duties he dwelt on the risk to trade in general of meddling with them, and also that they could not be made to yield any large additional sum. The necessity for those warlike preparations out of which this charge had arisen could not be said to have passed away yet, and under such circumstances it was unprecedented that the Opposition should refuse the Government the taxation which it asked for. He hoped that the country would understand this departure from ancient practice. The choice lay between a taxation of alcoholic liquors, and that of tea and sugar, and he did not envy the Opposition if they gained the victory.

The House then divided, and Sir M. Hicks-Beach's amendment was agreed to by 264 against 252—a majority of 12 against the Government. Six Liberals only voted with the Conservatives, three of whom represented Irish constituencies, but they were reinforced by no fewer than 39 Home Rulers, who, led by Mr. Parnell, went into the Opposition lobby. There were, however, 76 Liberals absent, many of whom had not paired, and to their supineness or dislike to Mr. Childers' proposals the catastrophe was primarily due. Whether a different result might have been obtained had the debate been adjourned, or whether the Cabinet was not ready to accept a solution of its intestine difficulties, were questions put on all sides, but never satisfactorily answered. When, however, the catastrophe became known excuses were put forward by many of the habitual supporters of the Government, the majority of whom alleged that no intimation had been given to them that the division to be taken that evening would be a critical one. A good deal of mutual recrimination was ventilated in the press, but nothing that led Mr. Gladstone to reconsider his decision to resign. An authoritative denial was given to a state-

ment made by the *Standard* that an agreement had been arrived at among the Liberals with regard to the Crimes Bill; but beyond this there was little or nothing to guide political soothsayers. When Parliament met on the following day (June 9) Mr. Gladstone simply announced that the Government had felt it to be their duty to submit a dutiful communication to Her Majesty; and as some days must elapse before the result could be known (the Queen being then at Balmoral) he moved the adjournment of the House until the following Friday (June 12). The interval was briefly employed in discussing the situation. On the morrow of the defeat of the Government the tone of the public press seemed to indicate that the Government would retire from office. The *Times*, indeed, wrote:—"We cannot but feel that resignation ought not, in the present position of public affairs, to be hastily decided upon. A financial *modus vivendi* might be found without difficulty. A general election is close at hand, and in any case the existence of the Ministry can only be regarded as provisional. . . . The Opposition can hardly be very proud or very happy in their success. The Ministry have been defeated on ground far more defensible than any they have held against much more formidable attacks. If their opponents are forced to take office, they will inherit not only the financial difficulties which Mr. Childers made a manful though unsuccessful attempt to overcome, but the Afghan question, the Irish question, and all the other troubles of which the fruit has been ripening during the past five years." The *Daily News*, on the other hand, said:—"The vote is undoubtedly one which will be received in the country with general regret. The Ministry will probably resign, and the Opposition come in and make the best they can of the circumstances in which their obstructive policy has placed the country." The *Standard* took the opposite line. "Will Ministers," it asked, "not only tender their resignations, but go out of office? We cannot believe that they will. They have received a mortal stroke, but whether they like it or not they must linger on till the general election. Their very blunders render them indispensable." The *Daily Telegraph* regarded the nailing of their colours to the mast in a mere Budget Bill as one of those outcomes of a mysterious law under which Ministers, weakened by a series of narrow escapes, meet their fate on some comparatively trifling question. "Mr. Gladstone himself reaffirmed Sir Charles Dilke's 'life or death' declaration, and it is hardly in his character, if it be in his power, to escape its consequences." In the provinces opinion was equally divided, some admitting that whilst the concession of one-half of the spirit duties showed weakness and satisfied no one, the Opposition would rue the day when it relieved pothouse politicians, at the expense of Radical teetotalers; others urging that the "Government should clear up its own mess."

The *Newcastle Chronicle* (Mr. J. Cowen's paper) said:—

“The Government was fast breaking up, and to wait for the rupture would have been disastrous; therefore they have resigned, to gain as much time as will enable fresh counsellors to incur all the odium attaching to the badly navigated and sinking ship. Moreover, the Irish group will in the near future be the master of the British Parliament; and because they have awakened to this truth Ministers dared not remain to renew the Coercion Act.” Whilst the *Birmingham Post*, which was assumed to frequently represent Mr. Chamberlain’s personal views, declared:—“If prudent counsels prevail, the Tories will decline the formation of a Ministry. All that Liberals desire and hope is that before retiring the present Ministers will be able to settle the Russian difficulty; and this fairly out of the way, then, as a matter of party tactics, and probably in the higher interest of the national welfare, there could be no better preparation for a Liberal triumph at the elections than a few months of Tory government. That is the most ominous intimation Lord Salisbury and his friends could receive on their entrance into office.”

In a word, it may be said that no Liberal journal seemed genuinely grieved by the resignation, which some of them admitted to be inevitable; and amongst the more advanced Radicals there was at first an ill-disguised feeling of exultation, either because it would give them greater freedom during the electoral period, or else because the attempt to unravel the tangled skein of foreign and Irish politics left by the retiring Government would prove beyond the power of the Tories.

Sir Charles Dilke was the only Cabinet Minister who found an opportunity of expressing his views during the interval of suspense, and the tone of his speech at the City Liberal Club (June 9) was rather that of one who would like to see his opponents face to face with the difficulties of the situation, but somewhat doubtful if they would accept the responsibility. Referring to the Prime Minister’s position, he said Mr. Gladstone was popular as the leader of the party on a former occasion, and the popularity, though great, of other Ministers, fell far short of that enjoyed by him at the present time.

“Those who judged with calm foresight the probable effect and the probable results of the general elections of 1868, 1874, and 1880, and who judged them rightly, tell us now with a unanimity of opinion that the result of the next general election under the reformed constituencies is likely to be a triumph of Liberal principles such as has never been seen before. These men of foresight and experience tell us that Liberal opinions will sweep the English counties—the English Tory counties—from Devonshire to Cheshire, and carry an enormous number of Liberal members of a new stamp of Liberalism on an enormous wave of public opinion. That triumph of November next, of which I believe no one can rob us—that triumph will be, if Mr. Gladstone still leads us, an even greater and more complete triumph than if we only fought with

his great name, and not under his actual leadership. But I believe that it will be a triumph even if he, by his own act, should cease to lead us, which we should all deplore. I don't believe he is likely to leave us—I cannot but believe that if he is relieved for a short time from the immediate pressure and cares of office the old vigour will return upon him.”

Sir Charles Dilke's pointed allusion to Mr. Gladstone's possible withdrawal from political life was only the expression of a widespread feeling of the moment. There was, however, a belief that even should Mr. Gladstone persist in his wish to retire at that time it would still be possible for his Ministry to be reconstructed and to carry on the remaining business of the session. Others, however, anticipated that the Queen might not be so ready to accept a resignation tendered upon so small an issue, and that an appeal would be made to the Prime Minister, who still led a large majority in the House of Commons, to remain in office until the popular verdict had been pronounced. The *Times* pointed out that it was quite in the power of the Ministry to obtain a reversal of the adverse vote, and a distinct assertion of the unabated confidence of the Liberal party. If they deliberately preferred not to take that course, in what way, asked the *Times*, are they to justify their resignation to the Queen, or to defend themselves against the charge of having availed themselves of an incident, which they took no trouble to avert, to escape from their responsibilities, and to involve their rivals in difficulties, without caring what might be the consequences to the empire?

Some of these rumours were dispelled when the House re-assembled, and Mr. Gladstone announced that he had tendered (June 12) to Her Majesty the resignation of the offices which he and his colleagues held by favour of the Crown. On the following day the Queen accepted their resignations by telegraph, and summoned the Marquess of Salisbury to Balmoral. In his communication to the Queen, Mr. Gladstone had said that the resignation of the Government arose out of the vote of Monday (June 8), and was founded on no other reason. Lord Salisbury had left town at once, but beyond that Mr. Gladstone could say nothing. This announcement was regarded as final as to the intentions of the Ministry, and for some days the public amused itself in framing forecasts of the *personnel* of the new Administration; the chief interest being upon the part which the Tory Democrats, as represented by Lord Randolph Churchill, would play; and how far a fusion between them and the old Conservatives could be effected. On the one hand, it was said that, as a “Cabinet of caretakers,” it should include none but tried officials, whose experience of administration would be a guarantee for orderly government. On the other hand, a “Cabinet of compromise” was strongly insisted upon as the best means for organising the electoral campaign of the autumn; and in this case Lord R. Churchill, whose opinions on Irish questions were far in advance of the bulk

of the Conservative party, was designated as the Irish Secretary, who would attract the largest share of support from Mr. Parnell and his colleagues. Lord Salisbury, on his return to town (June 15) at once set about forming his Cabinet. A conference of the Conservative leaders, from which Lord R. Churchill was absent, was held at Lord Salisbury's house, when it was understood that a general expression of feeling that the party should, under certain conditions, take office prevailed. According to the *Times*, however, nothing was settled, except that Sir S. Northcote's co-operation in some capacity was assured. But an unforeseen event was to precipitate the solution of the difficulties of the Conservatives. The same evening Mr. Gladstone proposed that after disposing of the Lords' Amendments on the Seats Bill, and the Princess Beatrice's Annuity Bill, the House should again adjourn. The former apparently harmless proposal, however, produced a result which was scarcely anticipated, and indicated significantly what was happening within the Tory party.

On the question being put Sir H. Wolff moved the adjournment of the debate, pointing out that the Lords had introduced certain new clauses accelerating the period of the registration, appointing additional revising barristers, &c. which would impose a charge on the people, and insisting that these questions ought not to be discussed in the absence of a responsible Government. Sir C. Dilke replied that these new clauses had been inserted at the instance of Lord Salisbury with the view of obviating the inconvenience which it had been shown to him would occur from prolonged delay; and the Government, which had intended to bring them in as a separate bill, had acquiesced in this mode of dealing with the matter. Sir S. Northcote confirmed this, but Mr. Gorst argued that there was no necessity for haste in the matter. Lord R. Churchill, arguing in favour of delay, maintained that the Government were responsible for any inconvenience which might arise, inasmuch as they had prepared the defeat which had led to the present emergency. Mr. Gladstone pointed out that an adjournment to Friday would be of no use, as it must be a fortnight before a responsible Government could take the lead of business. Sir M. Hicks-Beach, to the astonishment of all, at once dissociated himself from his recognised leader, maintaining that in the difficult position in which the House was placed it should not be asked to take any contentious point. Upon this the House divided, and the amendment was rejected by 333 to 35, the minority being composed almost exclusively of members of the "Fourth Party" and the progressive Conservatives, who put forward Sir M. Hicks-Beach as their leader. On the following day it was asserted that Lord R. Churchill had made it a condition of his alliance that the Conservative Administration should be thoroughly re-organised, that Sir Stafford Northcote should be transferred to the Upper House, and that the leadership of the Commons should be entrusted to Sir M. Hicks-Beach. The idea that Lord Salisbury would withdraw from the task of

forming an Administration was not realised. Lord R. Churchill carried his point. Four-and-twenty hours later it was known that Sir S. Northcote, accepting the almost sinecure office of First Lord of the Treasury apart from the Premiership, had passed into the House of Lords as Earl of Iddesleigh, leaving the Premiership with the seals of the Foreign Office in the hands of Lord Salisbury. Lord R. Churchill was forthwith named Secretary of State for India; and when the distribution of minor offices took place, it was clear that he had insisted upon the introduction of a large number of his personal adherents into the Government. From this point there was no hitch in the progress of affairs, although some time elapsed before all the appointments were made. Sir Balliol Brett, the Master of the Rolls, was first named for the Chancery, but in view of a very strong representation from an important section of the older Conservatives the claims of Sir Hardinge Giffard were recognised, and he was raised to the woolsack, and Sir B. Brett was consoled with a peerage. Apart from a slight shuffling of their departments, most of the survivors of Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet returned to office; the most important change being the appointment of Lord Carnarvon as Viceroy of Ireland, with a distinct disavowal of wishing to renew the Crimes Act in any form or part. The history of the negotiations which had preceded the advent to office of the Conservatives, whilst representing a minority in the House of Commons, was briefly explained by Mr. Gladstone (June 24), who then read the letters which had passed in reference to the amount of support to be afforded by the outgoing Ministry in bringing the business of the session to a close. The initiative came from Lord Salisbury, who in a letter (June 17) informed Her Majesty of the abnormal position in which the Executive found itself placed; for in consequence of the Redistribution Bill having passed both Houses the Sovereign would not have the power of dissolving Parliament before November. "A Government which has not a majority in that House (of Commons) will have no means of securing that the indispensable business of the country shall be completed. It is therefore in the opinion of the leaders of the Conservative party indispensable that, before accepting office, they should obtain from the leaders of the majority of that House an undertaking to support them in the measures which are absolutely necessary in order to bring the session to a close." The two points on which Lord Salisbury wished to bind the majority were, 1st, an undisputed right for the precedence of Government business whenever Supply or Ways and Means or the Appropriation Bills should be put down, and, 2nd, the authority to issue Exchequer bonds for the requirements of the Estimates if no other provisions were made. This letter was at once sent to Mr. Gladstone by the Queen with the request for a prompt reply. Mr. Gladstone replied in the course of the day, stating he did not share Lord Salisbury's view as to the impossibility of a dissolution, but assuring Her Majesty that "in the conduct of the

necessary business of the country during the remainder of the session, he believes there will be no disposition to embarrass the Government serving Your Majesty." At the same time he declined to enter into specific pledges on points of parliamentary action with respect to which he was not in possession of all the facts bearing upon them. In a supplemental letter Mr. Gladstone on the following day expressed his concurrence with Lord Salisbury's view that an immediate dissolution was impossible. In the afternoon of the same day (June 18) Mr. Gladstone went to Windsor and had his first interview with the Queen subsequent to his defeat and resignation; but in his speech no allusion was made to what passed between the Sovereign and her Ministers. Mr. Gladstone's letters were at once forwarded to Lord Salisbury, who in conjunction with his colleagues came to the conclusion that they contained no pledge that Mr. Gladstone and friends would give to a new Government the support necessary for completing the business of the session; and without such a pledge they felt they would not be justified in assuming office. This communication was in its turn forwarded to Mr. Gladstone, who on the same day returned it with a memorandum asking if Lord Salisbury could suggest any amendment of his (Mr. Gladstone's) words which would make them more satisfactory; reiterating his belief that there was no intention on the part of his friends to make an extreme or illegitimate use of the power of a majority, and expressing his belief that it would be easy to convince Lord Salisbury that it was beyond his power to give the specific pledges he required. To this Lord Salisbury replied (June 19) by stating his view of the precise engagements for which he asked: (*a*) that Mr. Gladstone and his friends would support a motion to give the new Government precedence for financial business on all days on which it was set down, offering in return not to bring forward on those days any business to which Mr. Gladstone might object; and (*b*) that in the absence of any other provision Mr. Gladstone would support an Income Tax of 8*d.*, and a proposal to meet the other requirements of the estimates by an issue of Exchequer bonds or other temporary loan. To this Mr. Gladstone replied, after consultation with his colleagues, that "it would be contrary to their public duty to compromise their liberty by giving the specific pledges which Lord Salisbury required," and he complained of Lord Salisbury as having "put aside without a word" the spirit of his previous declaration. In a somewhat lengthy analysis of Mr. Gladstone's complaint, Lord Salisbury declared that the "spirit which declines all specific pledges is certainly not the spirit in which Mr. Gladstone and his friends entered on the conferences on the Seats Bill." In a final letter Mr. Gladstone, with whom was left the last word of this somewhat irregular correspondence, stated after a laboured preface that "he feels sure there is no idea of withholding Ways and Means, required for the public service, and he apprehends no danger on this score." He declined,

however, to give the specific form of pledge required by Lord Salisbury, but the latter, having obtained a definite promise on the only point which was of vital importance, felt no longer any scruple in completing the arrangement, for his Administration. This correspondence was supplemented by a statement made (June 25) by Lord Salisbury on the re-assembling of the House of Lords. He said when summoned by the Queen to Balmoral he represented to Her Majesty that in consequence of the Redistribution Bill having practically passed, the present House of Commons was without that direct responsibility which was an essential part of the Constitution, and he expressed his opinion that it would be advisable for the retiring Government to reconsider their resignation. By telegram Mr. Gladstone intimated that they could not do so. Then followed his acceptance of office subject to his obtaining certain specific pledges. Further correspondence ensued, and those pledges had not been given; but the last letter written by Mr. Gladstone on the subject somewhat modified the position the ex-Premier had previously taken up. Finally Her Majesty represented to him the serious injury done to some of the highest interests of the country by the protracted delay in the formation of a Government, and graciously expressed an opinion that he might accept the assurances he had received. He saw that if in such circumstances he did not undertake to form a Government Her Majesty would have to resort to new leaders or new combinations; and, with the concurrence of his political friends, he resolved to act. He trusted the experience of the next four or five weeks would show that the balance of advantage to the country was on the side of the course he had adopted.

Lord Granville bore testimony to the claim which Lord Salisbury had for fair treatment, founded on the forbearance which, when leader of the Opposition, he had shown to the leader of the House. He suggested that the apology offered by the Prime Minister for accepting office was not necessary, but explained that the late Government had not refused to reconsider their resignation in the event of Lord Salisbury declining to form an Administration or not being able to form one.

This dilatory procedure, which brought back matters after a week's delay to their starting point, was interpreted as the result of a change of feeling on the part of the Liberal leaders. Their first idea after their defeat was that it might be good strategy to place their opponents in office, but as time went on without any Conservative Cabinet being formed, it seems to have occurred to the Liberals that their great difficulty, the renewal of the Coercion Bill, had become impossible for want of time to pass a fresh measure. Consequently, although Earl Spencer might withdraw, the difficulties presented by the threatened secession of the Radicals disappeared likewise. Throughout a week (June 15-22) the idea gained ground daily that the return of the Liberals was inevitable, and on the day on which the chances of the Conserva-

tives were thought to be most overcast it was announced that an agreement had been arrived at between the chiefs, and that the crisis was at an end. At a meeting of his constituents (June 22) Sir Charles Dilke expressed the hope that the Tories would take office, not only because he needed a rest, but because he wished to study in Ireland a plan for the devolution by Parliament to Welsh, Scotch, and Irish bodies of much business which Parliament is incompetent to discharge; and he further announced that it was the intention of himself and Mr. Chamberlain to give up the earliest holiday which they could make to inquiring in Ireland of those who knew Ireland best as to the details of the decentralisation to be applied to that kingdom.

The formal transfer of the seals and other insignia of office was, however, delayed a day or two longer (June 24), but in anticipation of the other honours and dignities incident upon a change of Administration, the Queen, simultaneously with the advancement of Sir Stafford Northcote, had intimated her wish to confer an earldom on Mr. Gladstone in recognition of his services to the State. This proffered dignity and honour Mr. Gladstone asked leave to forego, and his example was at a subsequent period followed by two of his staunchest followers, the Right Hon. C. Villiers and Mr. Samuel Morley, to whom baronies were offered. The number of promotions, in fact, was very much smaller than on similar previous occasions. The Marquess of Northampton and the Earls of Kimberley and Sefton obtained the vacant Garters, Viscounts Eversley and Sherbrooke the Grand Cross of the Bath. Peerages were conferred upon Sir Edward Baring, Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, Sir Ralph Lingen, the Permanent Secretary of the Treasury; Sir Robert Collier, and Sir Arthur Hobhouse, two Judicial Members of the Privy Council; the Earldom of Breadalbane was raised to a marquise; and the Earl of Fife, Viscount Powerscourt, and Lord Henly were created Peers of the United Kingdom.

The re-election consequent upon the change of Government passed off without excitement. No opposition was offered to the newly appointed Ministers, except in the cases of Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Ashmead Bartlett (Junior Lord of the Admiralty), and Mr. Webster (Attorney-General); but in every instance the Conservative candidate was re-elected. During the pause in parliamentary affairs, however, Mr. Gladstone wrote a letter (June 29) to the chairman of the Mid Lothian Liberal Association, in which he said that "although a vote of the representative Chamber had put an end to the late Cabinet he wished to record his deep and grateful sense of the fidelity of the Liberal majority of 1880 to its trust. It had to encounter unexampled difficulties, and he could no more forget than he could repay its confidence and kindness." Mr. Gladstone then went on to say that he had never expected to seek re-election in Mid Lothian, but "I am not at this moment released from my duties to the party which has trusted

me, and the first of these duties is to use my strongest and most sedulous efforts to prevent anything that can mar the unity and efficiency of the great instrument which under Providence has chiefly and almost wholly made our history for the last half-century." In a subsequent passage Mr. Gladstone explained his intentions towards the new Ministry:—"Whatever we may think of the conduct and course of the late Opposition, it has become the Queen's Government, and the interests of the empire are primarily in its hands. I now look to its future, and not its past. My duty is to support and assist it, as far as I have the power, in doing right, and not to anticipate that it will do wrong." This letter was read at a meeting presided over by Lord Rosebery, who, on this occasion, put forward a comprehensive definition of the Liberal party, of which he maintained that Mr. Gladstone was the only possible leader. "As for Lord Hartington, he is a Whig; Mr. Chamberlain is a Radical; and I, gentlemen, am satisfied to be a Liberal; yet we are all content to stand under Mr. Gladstone's umbrella." From this he passed on to discuss the future government of Ireland, where, as in England and Scotland, he wished to see national councils, chosen from elective county councils, endowed with very extensive powers. Mr. A. J. Balfour, although not ostensibly replying to Lord Rosebery, took an immediate opportunity offered by his re-election, at Hertford (July 1), to throw out for consideration the alternative policy of the Conservative party with reference to the future government of Ireland. Insisting upon the essential differences among the Liberals as to the solution of that question, he added:—"It appears to me that in that very word 'foreign' we have the key of the whole difference which separates Mr. Chamberlain's Irish policy from that which I, at all events, should be disposed to pursue. Mr. Chamberlain regards England and Ireland as two nations unhappily united; I regard them as one nation unhappily divided. In that difference lies the whole difference between the Irish policy which Mr. Chamberlain desires to pursue and that which I desire to pursue. I desire not less than Mr. Chamberlain to see Ireland governed by equal laws with England. I desire not less than Mr. Chamberlain to see the time when all exceptional legislation may for ever be abolished in the sister island. But Mr. Chamberlain desires to attain that end by dividing the two countries; I desire to attain it by uniting them."

Another speech delivered away from Westminster, and under very different circumstances, should not be passed over without notice. The Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking at the opening of the Diocesan Conference (June 30) at Lambeth, dwelt upon the duties which the times imposed upon the clergy as Englishmen and Churchmen, the first of which was to strengthen the English Church. He declined to repeat the old cry of the Church in danger, asserting that even if it were so the fault would lie with the clergy; but that to maintain her former position in the country the Church

he declared, must become stronger, and that she might be easily adapted, if compelled, to party purposes.

"It will not be," said Archbishop Benson, "by her own act, her spontaneity, that the Church will be formed into a political party. The once familiar term, 'Church party,' is almost unheard, and that when the Church is stronger than ever. The truest Churchman would most shrink from reviving the word. Yet, in spite of herself, she may find herself suddenly *transformed* into the most powerful party in the State. A certain kind of attack, or even pressure, pushed to a head, would (if there are any lessons in history) create her inevitably, though unintentionally into a vast political power. . . . We are now in touch with sections of every class. That touch is rather a firm, unbreakable grip. It is not from within that the present balance will be disturbed; but let the clergy, under any pressure, be compelled to assume a political attitude, and you have a propaganda of opinion with which no organisation in any country can compare.

"At the present moment there is but one point which it is necessary to secure, and that is essential—namely, that suitable legislation for the reformation of abuses shall not be impeded any more on the ground that to reform ourselves is an undue advantage for us."

The re-elections having been completed, the new Ministry met Parliament (July 6) with a general explanation of their views and intentions. In the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury premised that it was the first business of any Cabinet to see that the pledges which the English Government as the English Government had given should be observed. The first matters of grave importance with which they had to deal were the negotiations with the Court of Russia in respect to the frontier of Afghanistan. As far as he had been able to observe, Russia as well as England was desirous that both countries should arrive at a settlement. He, however, held that it was not on settlements or treaties that we ought mainly to rely, but on having our own frontiers effectively defended, so that we should always be prepared to prevent the tide of war from rolling into British possessions. In Egypt Her Majesty's Government had to deal with one of the most complicated and entangled of problems, and before they came to any determination as to it they must take counsel with those who had knowledge and experience regarding that territory. The first difficulty in connection with it was that in the Mahdi they had a triumphant enemy on the frontier. Next, there was the political question how much of the Soudan ought to remain under the actual government of Egypt, and over how much territory beyond that Egypt ought to have a power of control. Then there was the question of finances. Between a settlement of this all-important question and abandoning Egypt, which would be a shame to England, there was no choice. There was one consolation in the Egyptian difficulty. It was that the Khedive had throughout

shown himself to be loyal and faithful to England. As to legislation the Government thought they ought to bring the business of the session to as speedy a close as possible, and he did not propose that their lordships should proceed with any important measure. They would, however, afford every facility for the Secretary for Scotland Bill if Lord Rosebery, who had charge of it, wished that it should be proceeded with.

Lord Carnarvon quoted statistics to show that crime had so diminished in Ireland that at that moment the exercise of exceptional powers of repression was not needed. Since 1847 Ireland had been almost constantly under exceptional legislation. That state of things was not satisfactory. When the existing legislation against crime was enacted, Parliament intended that it should come to an end in three years. It had produced the desired effects, and as there was now no extraordinary amount of crime in Ireland Her Majesty's Government proposed to govern that country by administering the ordinary law firmly and effectively. The Government had had to consider whether they would renew the Crimes Act, or amend it, or allow it to drop altogether. The first course was impossible, and he was in favour of the third, not because some of the clauses of the Act were not most useful, but because "if you re-enact these clauses and these clauses alone, as many contend is expedient, such re-enactment would, I hold, be in the nature of special legislation; and my own feeling is that, unless in the last resource, such special legislation is not desirable." Lord Carnarvon maintained, moreover, that if such legislation were required, it should take the form of a general and permanent Act. He would therefore for the present trust the people of Ireland, and though that was of course an experiment, still it was an experiment which might diminish the growth of ill-will between the nations. "There have been so many failures in Ireland that the wrecks of them lie strewed all about; but I cannot and will not lightly believe that the combination of good feeling to England and good government to Ireland is a hopeless task."

Lord Kimberley, in the absence of Earl Granville, whilst concurring generally with the Premier's remarks as to the Afghan frontier and Egypt, thought he rather overestimated the power of the Mahdi. He viewed with apprehension the experiment which the Government were about to make in Ireland, and deprecated the relaxation of those checks which Lord Spencer had deemed necessary.

The proceedings in the House of Commons were, so far as contentious business was concerned, limited to a renewal of the discussion of Mr. Bradlaugh's claim to sit and vote. After the new Ministers had taken the oath and their seats, Mr. Bradlaugh advanced towards the table, but before he could make any speech the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks-Beach) rose and reminded the House that in February preceding it had passed resolutions that Mr. Bradlaugh should not be permitted to go

through the form of taking the oath, and that the Serjeant-at-Arms be directed to exclude him from the precincts of the House unless he engaged not to disturb its proceedings. He moved the re-affirmation of the two resolutions. Thereupon, Mr. Bradlaugh having withdrawn below the bar, Mr. Hopwood moved an amendment setting forth that the question of promissory and other oaths should be settled on a wider basis than the interests of a particular constituency, and committing the House to early legislation. Mr. Gladstone said that, while he retained his opinion that the House had throughout acted illegally in this matter, he had always acquiesced in whatever measures might be thought necessary for preserving the order of the House, and if the motion stood alone he should not have offered any opposition to it. But as the amendment asserted that it was the first duty of the House to remedy the grievance under which the constituency of Northampton suffered, he should support it, although he did not agree with all its terms. If it were carried he should move to limit it to parliamentary oaths and to this particular case.

After considerable debate Mr. Hopwood's amendment was negatived by 263 to 219, and the substantive motion was agreed to without a division. Mr. Bradlaugh again advanced to the table, and, addressing the Speaker, said he would obey the order to withdraw, appealing to the constituencies against the injustice done.

On the following evening (July 7) the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in asking private members to give up their rights on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, explained that he was not asking them for more than they were accustomed at that date to accord. It was desirable that the necessary business of the session should be brought to an end as speedily as possible, and the main business to be transacted was for Supply and Ways and Means. It was intended to proceed with the Federal Council of Australasia Bill, the East India Loan, the Labourers' (Ireland), the Educational Endowments (Ireland), and the Secretary of State for Scotland Bills, and some other minor measures; and if time should permit, the Government would lay before the House their proposals for an Irish Land Purchase Bill; but it was not their intention to suggest the renewal of any of the provisions of the Crimes Act (Ireland), believing that law and order should be maintained by a vigorous and firm administration of the ordinary law.

After this statement Mr. Gladstone made a powerful and impressive speech—subsequently described by Lord Randolph Churchill as “magnanimous”—in which he approved generally of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's proposals, and offered them his support; while he promised that for the future he would assist the Government in winding up the session, not only with necessary help, but by setting the example of taciturnity. Mr. Gladstone referred to Lord Salisbury's statement of Russian policy in another place, and described the promise of the Liberal Government to the

Ameer of Afghanistan as having been that they would try "to deal for him in settling the question of the frontier as they would deal for themselves"; and he gave an emphatic assent to the statement that Russia had undertaken to recognise the Pass of Zulfikar as belonging to the Ameer. After fulfilling honestly all the engagements given to the Ameer of Afghanistan, it must, however, remain the first duty of this country to secure independently, by every means in its power, the safety of the Indian frontier. As to Egypt, Mr. Gladstone did not admit Lord Salisbury's view that the Mahdi regards himself as having achieved a great success against the British. On the contrary, he thought the Mahdi well knew that his prospect of holding his own in any conflict with Great Britain was not very good. The financial question in Egypt was the pivot of the whole policy. "All experience," said Mr. Gladstone, "shows me more and more how necessary it is for the interests of the country that, when once this great and insurmountable impediment of financial difficulties has been put out of the way, a decisive determination should be arrived at by the Government and Parliament of this country with respect to the occupation of Egypt itself, not in order to make sacrifices of British interests to other Powers, and certainly not without due regard to the arrangements to be made for the security and practical independence of Egypt hereafter, but for the purpose of placing this country in a position of real independence of every foreign Power, and of relieving it from sources of embarrassment which have been—as will be understood by those who have practically to deal with them, and will be found to be—of a most serious character as long as the present state of things exists."

On the Irish question Mr. Gladstone defended the Liberals from the charge of being more ready to pass coercion bills than their opponents. He recalled the reproaches made against the late Government for attempting in 1880 to do without repressive legislation, of the opposition shown to all Liberal proposals of remedial legislation, and for the enthusiastic support given to the repressive measures when they were introduced; and he rallied them on having secured the help of an influence which, whenever it was suspected as working on the side of the late Government, was made the ground of the most outrageous imputations. But Mr. Gladstone held that in proposing to dispense with even those facilities for discovering crime which formed part of the common law of Scotland, the Government were incurring a great responsibility, which they had a perfect right to incur, but which must be judged by its success, for which success he himself earnestly hoped. The late Government had relied much on the hope of introducing a genuine system of local self-government in Ireland, and had intended to make their proposals for land-purchase only temporary, in order that the new Parliament might connect its land-purchase system with the new system of local self-govern-

ment; and he urged on the present Administration to consider their own proposals from the same point of view. Finally, he greatly deprecated the withdrawal of the Crofters' Bill, which he regarded, not as a settlement of the question, but rather as essential to the restoration of order in the Highlands.

To this speech Lord Randolph Churchill replied in a tone which showed that, in accepting the responsibilities of office, he had taken up the tone and attitude of a statesman, and spoke of the intentions of the leader of the Opposition as considerate and magnanimous. But the accord thus recognised between the two front benches was not allowed to pass unchallenged by the more independent Radicals. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, in spite of an appeal from Mr. Gladstone, insisted upon moving an amendment of which he had given notice: "That this House, not having confidence in the present responsible advisers of Her Majesty, declines to entrust the Government with the disposal of the time of the House." The amendment found a seconder in Mr. Lyulph Stanley, but when a division was taken only two members voted in its favour against 151, who wished to see the business of the session despatched as speedily as possible.

Two days later (July 9) Sir M. Hicks-Beach brought forward a Budget which, according to arrangement, reproduced as far as possible the salient features of that framed by Mr. Childers. Reminding the Committee that his predecessor, after imposing more than seven millions of taxes and providing 4,270,000*l.* by intercepting the Sinking Fund, had left a deficit of 2,800,000*l.*, he showed them that the deficit had been still further increased by the refusal of the House to assent to the additional beer and spirit duties, estimated at 1,850,000*l.*, or to the increased succession duties, which would have brought in 200,000*l.* The savings, however, on the Vote of Credit had brought down the estimated deficiency to 2,650,000*l.* The hopes, however, held out by Mr. Childers as to the expenditure under the Vote of Credit could hardly be realised, inasmuch as the estimates given in by the Admiralty of its estimated expenditure (2,800,000*l.*) had already been exceeded by no less than 850,000*l.*, of which 500,000*l.* at least had been incurred at the time the estimates were given. The Admiralty estimate had, amongst other things, provided for the building of a number of torpedo-boats, but either from carelessness or design not the slightest provision was made for their armament or gear. The deficit would thus be increased to 3,877,000*l.*; and to meet this he proposed to retain the extra twopence income-tax, contemplated by Mr. Childers, the tax on the property of corporations, and the stamp duty on foreign bonds and securities payable to bearer. He, however, would not intercept any of the Sinking Fund beyond that of the current year, leaving over the provision of any future balance to the decision of the new Parliament; but he asked for power to borrow not more than 4,000,000*l.* by means of Exchequer or

Treasury Bills to meet the requirements of the public service. Mr. Childers expressed his profound surprise at the revelations made of Admiralty finance, declaring that he had gone through the estimates of that department with great care, and with the assistance of two Accountants-General of the Navy.

These revelations of the disorganised state of the Admiralty under the late Administration were more freely commented upon in the press than in Parliament, where, but for Lord Northbrook's attempt to vindicate himself (July 14) from what he considered a personal censure on himself, the matter would have been allowed to pass into oblivion. The late First Lord thought otherwise, and took an early opportunity to call attention to the statements made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer relative to his administration of the Navy. He asserted that, whatever any unauthorised person might have represented to the Treasury, he never had authorised any statement to be made to that department which would justify the charge made against him by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that his department had spent a very large sum beyond that which it acknowledged having spent when Mr. Childers made his financial statement. It was the fact that in the beginning of May, when the prospects of assured peace seemed so good, he did represent to Mr. Childers that, if peace were at once assured, he would be able to save out of the Vote of Credit on account of war preparations 150,000*l.*; but the former object was not accomplished. The negotiations dragged on through the month of May, and when, at the beginning of June, Mr. Childers made his financial statement the liabilities in the Admiralty department for war preparations stood at 350,000*l.* beyond the sum which had been put down for them as an expenditure under the Vote of Credit. He was, however, even at that time, in hopes of saving some of those liabilities. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had also charged the late Board of Admiralty with having provided torpedo-boats without torpedoes, whereas the fact was that, although the boats in question were such as could be used as torpedo-boats, they had not been intended for such use in a war between this country and Russia. He argued that what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said with respect to the naval expenditure for service in the Soudan was as groundless as his other charges. He was now ready to meet inquiry into his conduct by competent and impartial men who had not been connected with the late Government and were not connected with this.

Lord Harrowby, in reply to this explanation, which made confusion worse confounded, disclaimed, on behalf of every member of the Government, the intention of a personal attack on Lord Northbrook, whose distinguished public services they fully recognised. They did not assail anyone, and they did not say whether the expenditure by the late Board of Admiralty was right or wrong. The question they raised was whether the accounting arrangements of the Admiralty were efficient. It was therefore their intention

to institute an inquiry into this discrepancy between the actual expenditure by the late Board of Admiralty and the very much smaller sums represented to Mr. Childers and Lord George Hamilton as the amount which had been spent. In consequence of that challenge the Government moved the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the circumstances of the case. Mr. Goschen was elected its chairman (July 16), and the committee began its work forthwith, sitting almost daily and calling before them Mr. Childers, Lord Northbrook, Sir Thomas Brassey, and the principal permanent officials of the department. A good deal of evidence was brought together to show that nobody was to blame, and ultimately the committee presented an elaborate report, which arrived at proving that under the existing system of administration and accounting each department was independent, and that anything in the shape of effective control, by either the parliamentary or permanent heads, by the sea lords or the civil lords, the secretary or the chief constructor, was as altogether wanting in Whitehall as it was in each of the ports and dockyards.

The subsequent discussions on the financial arrangements of the Government were devoid of interest beyond a warning from Mr. Gladstone, conveyed in a letter to Mr. Childers (July 16), in the course of which the former wrote:—"In the debate of June 8 we warned the Opposition, but in vain, that the motion aimed at us would strike a blow at indirect taxation. The result has been accomplished without delay; the whole of the new taxation proposed by the Tory Government is to be supplied by property, and the future force of this precedent supplied by the Tory Government will not be inconsiderable."

Amongst the more interesting measures of which the new Government took charge were those which were in some degree thought to indicate the bias of the new Toryism towards State Socialism. Of these, Mr. Balfour's Medical Relief Bill, Lord Salisbury's Housing of the Working Classes (England) Bill, and the Land Purchase and Labourers' (Ireland) Bills, were the most conspicuous. The first-named measure grew out of the debates and contradictions to which Clause 16 of the Registration Bill (England and Wales) had given rise. Upon Mr. Horace Davey's motion it had, after much hesitation, been agreed to add this clause, by which the receipt of medical relief from the parish should not disqualify a voter. The Lords struck out the clause, and on the return of the bill to the Commons the Attorney-General (Sir H. James) moved that this course should be agreed to, and this proposal was finally adopted by 107 to 66. The Liberal leaders had then got back to their original position, but they no longer found themselves followed by the adherents who had voted with them when they opposed Mr. Davey's original proposition; and Mr. Jesse Collings threatened to bring the matter forward in an independent manner before Parliament dispersed.

The new Government, however, judged it more expedient to take the matter into their own hands, and the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. Balfour) proposed (July 13) to bring in a bill to remove the disqualification on account of the receipt of medical relief not merely in Parliament, but in municipal, School Board, and all elections, except those of poor-law guardians. Mr. Jesse Collings had only proposed to remove the disqualification during the first year of the new Act; but the Government bill, whilst it not only removed the disqualification, at the same time made the relief it afforded retrospective. On the second reading of the bill (July 16) Mr. A. Pell moved an amendment deprecating a distinction being drawn between medical and any other kind of relief; but Mr. Collings and Mr. Chamberlain complimented the Government for so liberally interpreting and effectively carrying out their views, although Mr. Balfour expressed his belief that the persons affected by the measure would not exceed two per thousand of the agricultural population; and Mr. Pell's amendment was negatived by 279 to 20. An amendment of a similar nature, condemning the principle of the bill as destructive to thrift, was moved in Committee (July 21) by Mr. Courtney, but after a long discussion was negatived by 226 to 22. An hour or two later the scruples of the Government revived, and they opposed the addition (moved by Sir Sidney Waterlow) of "medical comforts" to the non-disqualifying "medical relief." After a short discussion the amendment was carried against the Government by 71 to 68, and when the House next dealt with the bill (July 23) Mr. Jesse Collings pushed the definition of medical relief still further by including surgical aid in the bill. Mr. A. Balfour in vain protested that if the clause were forced upon the House the Government would no longer be responsible for the bill. It was carried after a short discussion by 180 to 130, and Sir M. Hicks-Beach forthwith disclaimed any further responsibility for the measure. Thereupon Sir William Harcourt at once took charge of it, and after rejecting an amendment to exclude Scotland from the operation of the bill, it passed through Committee, was read a third time on the following day, and agreed to by the Lords without amendment (Aug. 3), the only incident connected with its passage being the rivalry displayed between Earl Granville and the Earl of Milltown (a Conservative) for the honour of standing sponsor to the bill.

The Housing of the Working Classes (England) Bill was introduced by Lord Salisbury (July 13), and on the second reading (July 16), after paying a high tribute to the tact and ability displayed by Sir C. Dilke as Chairman of the Royal Commission, he explained the scope of the measure. Insisting upon the distinction, too often lost sight of, between overcrowded and unwholesome dwellings, he said that the bill would empower sanitary authorities to make bye-laws, and so render the inspection of lodging-houses effective. The Local Government Board would have power

to pull down houses unfit for human habitation; landlords would be presumed to have let their houses in a sound and healthy state; and anyone letting a house not in such a condition would be taken to have violated this presumed contract, and might be held liable for damages in the case of illness or death of his tenants. Power was also given to the Metropolitan Board of Works to acquire the sites of disused prisons for the erection of working-class dwellings, to be let at a lower rental than the Peabody Buildings. The bill was to be applicable not only to the metropolis, but to the whole country; so that local authorities might build cottages for agricultural labourers as well as lodging-houses for town artisans. The bill was read a second time without opposition; but in Committee (July 20) the Earls of Wemyss and Milltown objected to the sanction of Socialism conveyed in the measure; and Lord Bramwell opposed the idea of permitting the sale of prison sites at less than their market value. The bill, however, did not come on for discussion in the House of Commons until the close of the session (Aug. 10), when Mr. Lyulph Stanley made himself the spokesman of those who were unwilling at that period to initiate legislation involving the principle of a national subsidy towards any special locality. He, however, failed to delay the measure, and after the Government had accepted a few amendments, of which the principal one was that a "fair market price" should be given for the sites of the metropolitan prisons acquired under the Act, the bill passed, although not until numerous amendments had been made and many more rejected, the House of Lords ultimately over-ruling Mr. Horace Davey's proposal to limit the liability of landlords for unsanitary houses to those occupied by the working classes.

Intimately connected with this question of improving the condition of the labouring classes was the amount expended upon elementary education, and the new Vice-President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) explained (July 16) with great clearness his predecessor's estimates, and the views of the Conservative Government. He showed that the number of children on the books was 4,337,000, and the number in average attendance 3,273,000. In other words, of every 100 children who ought to be at school, 96 were on the books, but only 72 were in average attendance. The items of our annual expenditure on education for the year would stand thus:—

	£
Government Grant	2,846,000
Voluntary Contributions	734,000
School-pence (including amounts paid by Guardians)	1,734,000
Rates	915,000
Endowments, &c.	222,000
	<hr/>
	£6,451,000

Besides this, since the Education Act passed in 1870, very large sums had been devoted to school buildings, and voluntary con-

tributions towards buildings had reached in the fifteen years 6,348,000*l.*; the Government Building Grant to these voluntary schools had been 312,000*l.*; Board Schools had borrowed and spent 16,000,000*l.* So that in fifteen years 22,660,000*l.* had been raised in England and Wales for the building of schools alone. Cooking, said Mr. Stanhope, was taught to girls at the elementary schools much more generally every year, and the lessons were so popular that the teaching of cookery was steadily increasing. Mr. Stanhope took a very large view of the problem of education. "We cannot," he said, "yet solve, we cannot half-understand, the new and great educational problems which the complexity of our social life will present to us."

Mr. Mundella, speaking on a subject in which during his tenure of office he had displayed so much zeal and eagerness in the cause of popular education, said that the work of getting the children into the schools was most backward in the metropolitan districts, and this was because London was increasing so fast that it was hardly possible to build the schools for the children's accommodation fast enough. He did not lay very much stress on the allegations of over-pressure, and he was quite sure it would be impossible to prohibit "home-lessons." In Scotland especially the prohibition of "home-lessons" would bring such an outcry from the parents as would soon result in the discontinuance of the prohibition. He regarded over-pressure as chiefly dangerous in the case of young teachers, and especially in the training of girls as teachers. A monitor at thirteen, a pupil-teacher at fourteen—such a girl has to spend not only all her day in teaching, but a great part of her time, before school opens and after it closes, in drudgery of the most exhausting kind, to prepare for her work. One of the reasons why the voluntary schools worked at less expense than Board schools was that they often conducted their work with an insufficient staff, and worked their teachers far too hard. Mr. Mundella warmly supported the inquiry which had been set on foot into the education of the blind, the deaf, and the dumb, and expected that it would result in a great improvement of the education of this class of children.

The remedial legislation proposed by the Conservatives for Ireland was heralded by a discussion of their predecessors' policy, in the course of which some of the new Ministers made use of language which provoked strong expressions of dissent from their own party. Mr. Parnell took an early opportunity after the constitution of the new Cabinet to call attention (July 17) to the conduct of the Irish Executive with reference to the Barbavilla and Maamtrasna murders, and moved a resolution censuring Lord Spencer, and demanding an inquiry into the evidence and convictions, with a view to the full discovery of truth and the relief of innocent persons. Mr. Parnell went in minute detail into the history of the case. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he was authorised by Lord Carnarvon to say that if any memorial were presented to

him, or if any statement were made on behalf of any of these prisoners, he would inquire personally into the case with the same attention as into any other case which might come before him, with an earnest desire to do justice. Sir W. Harcourt said if the experiment of governing Ireland by the ordinary law was to commence by discrediting the administration of justice and by throwing over the judges and juries, its failure was certain; still he admitted that Lord Carnarvon was within his right in receiving a memorial and inquiring into the circumstances of the case.

Lord R. Churchill, after ridiculing as exaggerated Sir W. Harcourt's view of the proposed action of the Government, and hinting that the conspicuous absence of two members of the late Cabinet from the House scarcely justified the assertion that Lord Spencer's policy was unanimously approved by his colleagues, went on to say that the new Administration divested itself of all responsibility for the act of the late Government. Mr. Parnell upon this, coupled with the promise of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, asked leave to withdraw his motion; but this was objected to, and Mr. Brodrick, Mr. C. E. Lewis, and other Conservatives insisted that the course adopted would be fatal to all idea of law or good administration. Lord Hartington joined in expressing a regret that the idea should get abroad that a change of Government implied a change in the administration of the criminal law in Ireland. He concluded by reading a letter from Mr. Gladstone paying a high tribute to Lord Spencer's exercise of the office of Lord-Lieutenant, in which, Lord Hartington observed with warmth, the whole of his late colleagues most heartily joined. After some further debate Mr. Parnell's resolution was negatived without a division; but though he gained no tangible result from the discussion the Conservative leaders emerged from it with the suspicion attaching to them that they had already come to terms with the Parnellites, and were prepared to sacrifice traditional views and party principles in order to maintain themselves in office. The line adopted by the Ministry on this occasion was unequivocally condemned "out of doors." The *Standard* asked:—"Can Sir M. Hicks-Beach say that in such a suggestion as he offered there is no germ of mischief? Is it a small thing that the leader of the House of Commons should at direct challenge from the Home Rule benches decline to accept responsibility for Lord Spencer's acts, and that Lord Randolph Churchill should follow with a speech almost offensively repudiating the proceedings of the late Viceroy? Nothing, on the face of it, seems more just than that the official to whom the right of pardon is committed should diligently seek to inform himself of any circumstance which might throw light on the question of the guilt or innocence of condemned men. But we must remark that the function has been performed already in the cases which were in question last night by Lord Carnarvon's predecessor. What Sir Michael Hicks-Beach

has promised is that Lord Carnarvon will revise Lord Spencer's judgments. From the demeanour of the Irish members we gather that good hopes are held that the new Viceroy will override the decisions of his predecessor. We admit the force of the temptation to conciliate Mr. Parnell. We do not at all dispute the probability that the simple expedient adopted will succeed. But that, in our opinion, is not enough to justify the tactics that have been employed."

The *Times* wrote:—"The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the responsible spokesman of a Ministry which proposes to rely in the government of Ireland upon the ordinary law, was surely under an obligation to have said something to show that he had neither sympathy with nor belief in the monstrous accusations of Mr. Parnell and his associates, which the House of Commons and the public opinion of Great Britain indignantly and unhesitatingly repudiated last year. It is not Lord Spencer alone whose good faith has been impeached, but the Irish judiciary, the law officers of the Crown, the public prosecutors, the magistracy, and the police." The Liberal organs, including the *Daily Telegraph*, were even more strong in denouncing as mischievous the attitude assumed openly by Lord R. Churchill and silently by Sir M. Hicks-Beach.

On the same evening, in the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor for Ireland (Lord Ashbourne) presented a bill to provide greater facilities for the sale of land to occupying tenants in Ireland. There was now a block in the Irish land market, and all parties agreed in the difficulty and the necessity of getting rid of that block. By the bill more generous terms would be given to those who, under the Act of 1881, borrowed three-fourths of the purchase-money. They would have the advance at 4 per cent., and forty-nine years would be allowed them for repayment. To future borrowers the whole of the purchase-money would be advanced in a way by which he thought the State would suffer no loss. One-fifth of the purchase-money would be retained in the hands of the commissioners till the borrowers repaid of the whole a sum equal to that one-fifth. Further, it was proposed to hold the surplus of the Disestablished Church Funds as a guarantee for the repayment of any loss to the State after the forfeiture of one-fifth of the purchase-money. After the best consideration the Government could give the matter, they had resolved to place the working of the scheme in the hands of the Irish Land Commission, supplemented by two additional commissioners, who would be appointed for three years at a salary of 2,000*l.* Advances under the bill would be made to the extent of 5,000,000*l.*, and that advance might be made in one year. Lord Spencer congratulated Lord Ashbourne on his having become a member of their lordships' House, and the bill was read for the first time, all discussion being postponed until the Committee stage (July 21), when Lord Spencer criticised the measure at some length. He objected to placing

the State in the position of a landlord in Ireland, and imposing a serious burden on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. He also doubted the propriety of advancing to the Irish tenant the whole of the purchase-money of his holding. If one-half or two-thirds were advanced the thrifty and better class of tenants would be benefited more than if the whole were advanced. He was not quite satisfied either with the manner in which it was proposed to deal with the Irish Church Surplus, but he trusted, however, that the experiment would prove successful. Lord Salisbury acknowledged the fair spirit in which the provisions of the measure had been criticised by Lord Spencer, a noble lord who had for some years filled a position in Ireland which lifted him above parties. The general feeling was that Lord Spencer had acted up to the dignity of that office. That he had shown in his Viceroyalty high and manly courage, and had been actuated by the fairest and most equitable intentions, was as much recognised on the Ministerial side of the House as it was on the Opposition benches. He asked their lordships, however, not to consider the bill as final, or as anything in the nature of a panacea. It was a further experiment in a path in which many experiments had hitherto failed. If, as he hoped, it succeeded, it would undoubtedly be the pilot of many more measures in the same direction. The discussion was continued by the Duke of Argyll, who concurred generally with Lord Spencer as to the dangers of the bill, and once more condemned the land legislation of the late Government, and by Lords Carlingford and Fitzgerald, who did not agree with him in that condemnation. Lord Ashbourne reviewed *seriatim* the objections which had been raised to several provisions of the bill, and assured the House that the Government would do everything in their power to see that the provisions of the measure were efficiently carried out by competent and impartial men. The bill was then passed through Committee without any material amendment.

A still warmer approval of Lord Spencer's course of action was conveyed to him at a banquet given in his honour (July 24), at which Lord Hartington presided and Mr. John Bright spoke, but from which the names of Sir C. Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain were conspicuously absent. Mr. Bright, however, in the course of an eloquent testimony to the ex-Viceroy, as one of the most noble and most honoured statesmen of our day, denounced as disloyal to the Crown and directly hostile to Great Britain those who pretending to represent Ireland had assailed Lord Spencer and the judges with an insolence never before equalled. This scathing attack at a subsequent date (July 28) induced Mr. Callan to call Mr. Bright to account for breach of privilege. A debate ensued, instructive in its bearing on the immediate attitude of parties in the House of Commons, but touching but lightly upon Mr. Bright's breach of privilege, which was ignored by 154 to 23 votes.

In the House of Commons the course of the Irish Land Bill was even less eventful. Brought from the Lords (July 24), Sir

W. Hart-Dyke, in moving the second reading (Aug. 4), explained that the Government had introduced it in order to provide a remedy for the existing disastrous state of things in Ireland. Land in that country had become practically unsaleable, and from both sides of the House there had come appeals to Government to impart some stimulus to the land market, and to promote the flow of capital towards the land. After a somewhat prolonged discussion, but little opposition, the bill was read a second time without a division. In Committee the chief struggles were round the money clauses, Mr. Sexton, supported by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, desiring to omit the clause requiring one-fifth of the purchase-money to be left in the hands of the Land Commission as a guarantee; Mr. Shaw-Lefevre trying to limit the advances to any one tenant to 3,000*l.*; and Mr. Walker contending, successfully, that the tenants should be able to obtain a complete title by a vesting order, and to transfer all the burdens and encumbrances affecting the land to the purchase-money, so that the purchaser should be free from liability. The most generally popular clause, however, was that proposed by the Irish Secretary (Sir W. Hart-Dyke), providing a grant of five millions to the Land Commissioners for the purposes of the bill. The few amendments introduced were agreed to by the Lords, and the bill became law.

The Labourers' (Ireland) Bill had a more chequered career. It was one of nearly half-a-dozen brought in during the session by different parties or sections of the House; and seems to have owed its life to the opposition it created on its first appearance and provoked until it finally received Royal assent (Aug. 14). It had been originally brought in by the Liberal Government (Feb. 24), but had been totally laid aside, and had not figured amongst those measures which, previous to his defeat, Mr. Gladstone had expressed himself hopeful to carry. The Conservatives, however, on taking office had at once taken it in hand and read it a second time without a division (July 13); and it was rapidly pushed through Committee (Aug. 3) in spite of Mr. Sexton's attempts to extend its scope in the direction of a land purchase bill. In the House of Lords the Marquess of Waterford took charge of the measure, and attempted to substitute the more direct responsibility of owners and occupiers of insanitary houses and cottages for the action of the local authorities. These views when engrafted in the bill produced a rapid interchange of opinion between the two Houses, but eventually mutual concessions were made, and the bill was allowed to pass.

With one exception the remaining measures of the session require only a passing notice. Sir M. Hicks-Beach by a judicious exercise of firmness refused to allow the objections of one colony (New South Wales) to defeat the wishes of all the others, and succeeded in passing the Australasian Federation Bill, which gave to all the colonies, which had the desire, the power to federate

themselves. The Secretary for Scotland Bill, originally introduced (May 15) by Lord Carlingford, had, after the change of Ministry, been piloted through the House of Lords by Lord Rosebery (July 9). Its object was not in any way to encroach upon the duties of the Lord Advocate, who would still have charge of all matters of law, but to group under the control of the Secretary of State the principal Scotch public departments, including that of primary education. In the House of Commons the proposed transfer of Scotch education from the Vice-President of the Council to the Secretary of State met decided opposition from Sir L. Playfair (Aug. 3), who denied, moreover, that the new appointment would tend to decentralisation. This amendment, however, together with Mr. P. Bruce's, making the new Secretary the responsible minister for education; and another by Mr. J. Campbell providing for a distinct assistant secretary for the same purpose, having been negatived, the bill passed (Aug. 4) with few alterations, in its original shape. Lord R. Churchill, in explaining the Indian Budget (August 6), stated that there was a deficit in the year of nearly five millions sterling, which had arisen between the making up of the Budget at Calcutta (March) and the present time. To meet this a loan of three millions and a-half would have to be incurred, partly by drawing on the balances and the Famine Fund, and partly by leaving one million and a-half to the following year. In addition, Lord R. Churchill stated that it would be necessary, as hinted by his predecessor in office, to increase very largely the Army Budget of India, and that for the purpose of fortifying the frontier, including the *matériel*, &c. an addition of two millions sterling would be required. Before closing his speech the Indian Secretary made a severe and, as was thought in many quarters, an unprovoked attack upon Lord Ripon's administration of India, which he declared had made no provision against Russian advance, and had emptied the Treasury by remitting taxes which would have been most useful for meeting the new liabilities.

The exception referred to was the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, of which the primary object was to ensure greater protection for young girls and women. It was founded upon evidence taken before a select committee, on which the bishops and judges had been strongly represented. Their report, which was unanimous in favour of a strengthening of the existing law, and of raising the age at which a girl's consent could free her seducer from responsibility, had formed the basis of a bill which had twice passed the House of Lords and had on each occasion been allowed to drop through in the Commons. Early in the year Lord Dalhousie again introduced (March 26) the measure, which was read a second time (April 13) without opposition, was subjected in Committee (April 28) to a very careful criticism, when the age of consent was fixed at fifteen, and the bill at once went to the Commons. Sir William Harcourt lost no time in putting it on

the Orders ; but in his attempt to obtain (May 7) a second reading at a morning sitting it was talked out by Mr. C. Bentinck. Circumstances combined to prevent the resumption of the debate, and, whatever may have been the wishes of the new Ministry, no reference was made to the measure by Sir M. Hicks-Beach in his programme for the remainder of the session (July 7), nor was any protest raised from the ex-Ministers concerning its omission. Almost simultaneously, however, a series of articles commenced appearing in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which, in spite of the tone and language in which they were written, could not fail to arouse public feeling on a subject so closely bound up with public morality. The Home Secretary (Sir R. Cross) somewhat hastily (July 9) proposed to resume the interrupted debate, in consequence, as was afterwards stated, of a promise of co-operation from Sir William Harcourt. The state of feeling out of doors was reflected within the walls of Parliament, and an amendment proposed by Mr. Hopwood deprecating repressive legislation of the kind proposed could not even find a seconder. The proceedings in Committee extended over more than a week (July 30 to Aug. 7); and although numerous amendments were introduced into the original bill, the Committee refused to accept Mr. Hopwood's oft-repeated warning against legislation in a panic, his contention being that the existing law, if firmly and impartially administered, would meet all the evils which the new bill had in view. The age of felonious assault was raised (76 to 58) from twelve to thirteen; the flogging of male offenders under the age of sixteen was assented to (241 to 204), the age of consent was on the motion of Sir R. Cross raised from fifteen to sixteen (179 to 71); whilst the admission of the evidence of children ignorant of the nature of an oath was rejected (123 to 120); as well as the attempt to make the evidence of a second witness necessary, except in cases where there was an absence of corroborative testimony. On the return of the bill as amended to the House of Lords (Aug. 10) the chief discussion took place on the clause raising the limit of age to sixteen; but the Government urging that further delay might endanger the passing of the measure, it was accepted in its amended form.

The forms incident on the closing of the session gave several opportunities for reviewing the conduct of the new Government. Lord Salisbury at the Mansion House (July 29), in replying to the toast of Her Majesty's Ministers, dealt at once with the charge brought against them of having been "converted" in their policy towards Ireland. The abandonment of the Crimes Act was, he contended, a natural consequence of the extension of the suffrage; for it was impossible to extend the suffrage with one hand, and with the other take measures to prevent its voice being heard. He defended Lord Carnarvon from the charges of timidity and weakness brought against him, on no other ground than because he had expressed himself in generous and conciliatory language. He

knew that the Viceroy would in the administration of his office uphold the right, administer justice, and repress crime. With regard to foreign affairs he took credit to himself for having maintained the continuity of British policy and recognised the pledges given by his predecessor. He did not deny that his task would have been lighter and more congenial had he taken up that policy where Lord Beaconsfield had left it five years previously; but he recognised it as his duty to extract from it for the benefit of the country all the blessings he possibly could. In the House of Commons, on a subsequent day (Aug. 5), the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained the motive for sending Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the East. His object and the policy of the Government in Egypt were to put the Egyptian Government on a footing with respect to external defence, finance, and internal administration such as would gradually lead to its security, freedom, and independent action in the future. To attain these results it was essential to obtain the goodwill of the Sultan, who had a special right to be consulted—a point which “had been too much neglected in the past.” Lord Hartington thought that an assurance ought to be given that support was not about to be withdrawn from the Khedive; whilst the abandonment of the Soudan would, in his opinion, lead to the extension of the slave trade. Mr. Forster expressed his deep distrust of Turkish rule, to which he hoped Egypt would not be again subjected, and his consequent reluctance to see the Sultan’s power invoked. But the good luck which had so far befriended the new Government was again seen in the news of the death of the Mahdi, which arrived at this juncture, and thereon the consequent suspension of any immediate Arab advance.

On the eve of the closing of the session (Aug. 10) Lord Iddesleigh made a statement with reference to the proposed Royal Commission for Inquiring into the Depression of Trade, which had grown out of the demand for “Fair Trade” as opposed to Free Trade—made in many constituencies. The depression, he said, which had now lasted some twelve years, was admitted on all hands. The object of the investigation was not to suggest legislation, but to ascertain the facts—how far the depression goes, and what it will lead to if nothing is done; also to examine “somewhat critically” the various suggestions made for remedying the depression. “Of course,” said Lord Iddesleigh, “for that purpose it is important that we should get the assistance of men of the most different positions and different views and opinions in the country who might in any way assist us in obtaining proper and correct information.”

In his applications to prominent Liberal politicians to take seats on the Commission he was not very successful, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Forster, Mr. Courtney, and Mr. Hibbert, amongst others, declining to take part in an inquiry which would not take Free Trade as the basis of its investigations. There were, however, many others who accepted, whose reputation as Free Traders was

publicly recognised, and by their help the Commission was ultimately constituted.

With a vote of thanks to the commanders and army in Egypt, and a general discussion of affairs in South Africa, wherein the divergence of Liberal opinions was strikingly observable, the session closed, and Mr. Gladstone's Parliament of 1880, and with it the representation of the middle classes inaugurated in 1832 and extended in 1867, virtually came to an end. To an almost empty House of Lords only about twenty members of the Commons were added on the summons of Black Rod; and to this remnant of what Mr. Bright had once described as the "best House of Commons ever returned," Lord Halsbury (the Lord Chancellor) read the following speech:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am glad to be able to relieve you from the labours of a session which has been protracted and eventful.

"When you assembled in October last I informed you that an expedition was advancing up the Valley of the Nile for the relief of Khartoum. Three months later, with a deep sorrow, which was shared by all my people, I learnt that the expedition had arrived too late, and that the heroic General Gordon and his companions had fallen. An endeavour, which was ineffectual, was made to reach Khartoum by constructing a railway from Suakim to Berber. My troops were ultimately withdrawn from the whole of the Eastern Soudan except Suakim, and from the Western Soudan down to Alashkert.

"Although the objects of the expedition have not been attained, I have great reason to be proud of the bravery and endurance which have been displayed by my soldiers and sailors, and of the skill with which they have been commanded.

"I received with great pleasure loyal offers of military assistance in this campaign from my colonies and from the native princes in India, and a contingent from the colony of New South Wales served with distinction in the actions which took place on the coast of the Red Sea.

"The death of the Mahdi will probably enable me to perform with less difficulty the duties towards the ruler and people of Egypt which events have imposed upon me. I shall not relax in my efforts to place the government and good order of that country upon a firm foundation.

"My relations with other Powers are of a friendly nature.

"Difficulties which at one time were of an anxious character arose between my Government and that of Russia as to the limits of the territory of my ally the Ameer of Afghanistan. Negotiations still continue, and will, I trust, lead, at an early period, to a satisfactory settlement.

"The progress of events in South Africa has compelled me, in the interest of the native races, to take under my protection Bechuanaland and certain adjacent territories.

“I am taking the necessary steps to place the north-western frontier of my Indian Empire in a condition of adequate defence, in the absence of which the prosperity and tranquillity of my Indian subjects are liable from time to time to be interrupted and disturbed.

“Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“I thank you for the liberality with which, during the past year, you have provided for the services of the country.

“My Lords and Gentlemen,

“I have had pleasure in giving my assent to a measure for enabling federal action in certain matters to be taken by the colonies of Australasia; to a much-needed amendment of the criminal law; and to a bill for establishing a new department for Scottish affairs. I have also been glad to concur in a measure for increasing the number of occupying freeholders in Ireland.

“I notice with sincere gratification that an endeavour has been made by a bill, to which I have assented, to diminish the evils of overcrowding and of insanitary dwellings, which hinder so seriously the moral and material well-being of the labouring classes.

“I regret to say that the depression which has so long prevailed in many important trades and in the agricultural and manufacturing industries of the country still continues. I have directed the issue of a Commission to inquire into the causes of it, and to ascertain whether it can be alleviated by any legislative measures.

“During the past session your time has been principally occupied by the enlargement of the electorate, and the extensive changes which you have, in consequence, made in the constitution of the House of Commons. I earnestly trust that these comprehensive measures may increase the efficiency of Parliament and may add to the contentment of my people.

“It is my purpose before long to seek their counsel by a dissolution of Parliament. I pray that the blessing of God may rest upon their extended liberties, and that the numbers who are called to the exercise of new powers will use them with the sobriety and discernment which for so long a period have marked the history of this nation.”

The general verdict of moderate men on both sides was that during their short tenure of office the Conservatives, considerably aided by good luck, had acquitted themselves favourably. In foreign politics the very fact of a change of Ministers had probably assisted the acceptance of a policy of which the originators had reaped only the ill-will it had aroused from foreign diplomats. At home the temporary withdrawal of Irish obstruction had permitted the passage of a number of useful measures which the Liberals might have been forced to abandon in despair; whilst the Australian colonies, fretting under the slight which they imagined had been put upon them by Lord Derby and Mr.

Evelyn Ashley, were loud in their appreciation of the compliments paid to them by the newly installed Ministers.

The *Times*, in reviewing the history of the session, said that the course of events was disturbed by the demoralisation of parties, and by the paralysing effect of unnatural coalitions on the conduct of public men. Mr. Gladstone's Administration, after surviving attacks on the most questionable parts of its policy and putting the fidelity of the Liberal majority to the most painful tests, fell at last on a financial question of secondary interest and raising no clear issues between the Government and the Opposition. The political confusion was increased by anxieties arising out of our foreign relations; and no sooner was one diplomatic difficulty mitigated or removed than another and more formidable one presented itself. "In spite of these strange conditions, it can hardly be said that any personal elements heretofore inconspicuous have gained an ascendancy in English politics. Mr. Gladstone's supremacy in the Liberal party remains undisputed, and the recognition of Lord Salisbury's leadership has been affirmed by the effacement of Sir Stafford Northcote, in obedience, it is believed, to the dictation of Lord Randolph Churchill. Among those of the younger generation, the more energetic and less scrupulous politicians have been getting the mastery over moderate men, and the result, with a general election in view, is not to the credit of parliamentary government."

The *Standard*, admitting that the Parliament of 1880 would be memorable in English history, held that it would be remembered without honour. If the House of Commons had done a few things on a colossal scale, its whole course had been poor and trivial and disappointing. The work it accomplished was for the most part work it was not commissioned to do. Of the reforms it was elected to carry out it left the greater part unattempted, and nearly the whole unachieved. Events forced the hands of those who ought to have guided. "When all is said that need be said, the Parliament of 1880 must still be held to have shown a marked decay in manners and in discipline. The leaders have been less respected, and have done less to secure respect, than in times when there was less pretence at zeal and a truer instinct of duty. The House of Lords set the Commons an unheeded lesson in the equable conduct of its proceedings. This Parliament may well be described as the Parliament of disappointments and surprises."

The *Daily Telegraph*, writing in a similar strain, said that the Parliament expired not quite full of years, and certainly not wholly full of honours. "How innumerable were the hopes and expectations which have been disappointed since the return of the Liberals to power five years ago! Opinions will perhaps be divided as to whether the fault lies with the party which promised too much or with the Parliament which has accomplished so little. But all will agree that the life and works of the expiring

House of Commons furnish an eloquent homily upon the vanity of human wishes. No Government ever intended better than that which Mr. Gladstone formed in 1880. Yet to-day, perhaps, not one of the late Ministers would speak of the achievements of Mr. Gladstone's second Administration except in a half-apologetic tone."

The *Morning Post* remarked that perhaps no more conclusive proof could have been afforded of the inability of the late Government, even with the majority which supported it, to pass legislative measures which it deemed to be of paramount importance than the necessity in which it was placed of coming to an understanding with the Opposition in respect to the Redistribution Bill.

The *Daily News* said that Mr. Gladstone's Government fell because it sought to make real property contribute its fair share in the shape of succession duty towards meeting the expenditure of the country. Ministers had neither carried nor introduced any bill which would not have been introduced and carried had the late Administration continued to conduct the affairs of the country. So far as was known, they had taken no step in foreign policy, unless the "mission" of Sir Henry Wolff was to be so described, which would not have been taken by their predecessors.

The *Spectator* held that the most remarkable feature about the Parliament of 1880 was its being a Parliament of transition from one of partial to complete democracy, and, consequently, a Parliament of drawn battles and postponed issues. Except on the one great question of reform, on which the Liberals won an immense victory—even the greatest of all victories, the victory of compelling the Tories to affect to desire what they utterly detested—almost every great issue had been either settled in some purely provisional manner, or avowedly postponed for our new electors to decide as they will. Of course this suspensive condition of men's minds had done a good deal to diminish the authority of the late Parliament, and to give provisional importance to the men who were supposed to represent the democracy to come, especially to Mr. Parnell, Mr. Chamberlain, and Lord Randolph Churchill.

The *Economist* believed that the late Parliament would be remembered as marking the transition between two distinct political epochs. It witnessed the development of the art of obstruction from a most rudimentary stage to a high degree of perfection, and saw the use of the new instrument come into fashion far beyond the circle of its original inventors. It had been signalled by the advance of the Irish Nationalist party from a derided and despised faction to a position from which they have more than once been able to exercise a controlling and decisive influence over the course of policy and the fortunes of Ministers. In the Irish Land Act it sanctioned the gravest and widest departure from traditional economic theories in matters of legislation

which the Statute Book contained; and that measure, far from being regarded as an isolated and exceptional instance, was likely to be invoked as a precedent in many of the imminent controversies of the immediate future. The new Radicalism of which Mr. Chamberlain was for the moment the most prominent exponent might almost be said to have been born during this Parliament. And, lastly, it was in this Parliament that, first in the guise of a Fourth Party, the new Tory Democrats began the career which had led to such startling and unexpected successes. Perhaps there was no more significant way of measuring the change in the tone, the habits, and the methods of political life which the last five years have wrought than to compare Lord Randolph Churchill's prospects in 1880 and his present position.

It is unnecessary to dwell longer on the past history of the Parliament of 1880. Long before the Speaker was summoned to hear the Speech from the Throne all life and reality had departed from its proceedings. The leaders of public opinion were already spreading themselves over the country, martialling their veterans and appealing to the new electors to furnish them with effective recruits. It is therefore to the platform we must now turn, to trace the political history of Great Britain.

CHAPTER V.

THE RECESS.

The Recess—The Liberal programme explained by Lord Rosebery in Midlothian, by Mr. Forster at Bradford, and by Mr. Chamberlain at Hull—Mr. Brett's proposition—Mr. Parnell on the duties of Ireland—Lord Hartington's attitude—The Moderate and Radical programmes—R. Churchill and Mr. Chamberlain—Mr. Gladstone's manifesto—The immediate present and the possible future—Mr. Goschen's political economy—Mr. Chamberlain's three points—Lord Salisbury's Conservative programme—The rivalry of Mr. Goschen and Mr. Chamberlain—Lord Hartington's visit to Ireland—The question of Disestablishment.

SOME time before Parliament was formally prorogued many of its leading members had betaken themselves to the provinces, to prepare for the coming struggle. The electoral period may, indeed, be said to have begun as far back as Mr. Gladstone's letter to the chairman of the Midlothian Committee (June 29), in which the ex-Premier announced that he had never expected to seek re-election in Midlothian; but, he added, "I am not at this moment released from my duties to the party which has trusted me; and the first of these duties is to use my strongest and most sedulous efforts to prevent anything that can mar the unity and efficiency of the great instrument which, under Providence, has chiefly and almost wholly made our history for the last half-century."

In a subsequent passage of this letter Mr. Gladstone gave the cue to his followers as to the course they should pursue towards the *ad interim* Ministry:—"Whatever we may think of the conduct and course of the late Opposition, it has become the Queen's Government, and the interests of the empire are primarily in its hands. I now look to its future, and not its past. My duty is to support and assist it, as far as I have the power, in doing right, and not to anticipate that it will do wrong."

Lord Rosebery, who was president of the meeting at which this letter was received, gave expression to sentiments which formed the staple for many weeks of most speeches on the Liberal side. He said, "Mr. Gladstone cannot help using constantly the language of wish for repose. Unfortunately I see no prospect for repose for Mr. Gladstone. When he is in his present state of health and vigour it is impossible for him to find repose even if he seeks it. I cannot predict anything of what his course will be; but when I see a steam-engine going round the railroad at full speed I am free to predict that it will not at once reverse its career or remain stationary. I myself believe that it is impossible for Mr. Gladstone to retire from public life even if he wished to do so. The very children of Midlothian would go down and pull him out of his repose." Speaking for himself, Lord Rosebery said the name of a Liberal was quite good enough for him. "My friend and late colleague, Mr. Chamberlain, preferred to call himself a Radical, and I have no objection whatever to the name of Radical, and I am not aware of any great difference between the politics of Mr. Chamberlain and myself. But then a great problem arises: What is a Whig? He is always described in terms of unmeasured abuse as some obscure criminal who is working evil for somebody in some dark recess, and I have never been able to understand exactly what this condemned class consists of. I have heard Mr. Goschen called a Whig, and when I read his speech at Manchester the other day I rather wished I was a Whig too. I have heard Lord Hartington called a Whig; but I venture to say that there is hardly a name in this country more universally respected than the name of Lord Hartington. The fact is, gentlemen, that there is no necessity that I know of to stamp ourselves with any particular brand. The name of Liberal is large enough to hold us all, and there is space for all of us in the ranks of the Liberal party. There must always be different shades of opinion in the Liberal party. There must be some who go faster and some who go slower, but who are all in their hearts animated by an equal desire to better the condition of the nation. I respect them all; and I, for one, am willing to work hand in hand with them all. When I ask myself what is a Liberal I remember that the name of Liberal is good enough for Mr. Gladstone, is good enough for Mr. Bright, and I am quite willing to walk under an umbrella with those two gentlemen. What is a Liberal? As far as I know what a Liberal is, to judge from my own experience, it

is this: that we wish to move in company with the great mass of the nation—rather in front of them than behind them.”

The Conservative leaders, shackled by a sense of responsibility, and liable to be called upon to explain in the House expressions used on public platforms, were necessarily more reticent, and Lord Randolph Churchill gave up at the last moment an engagement to speak at Liverpool (July 29) because, it was alleged, the borough members, Lord Claud Hamilton and Mr. Whitley, dissented from the democratic views and the “Maamtrasna policy in Ireland” of the Indian Secretary. Mr. Chamberlain laboured under no such disability when speaking at Hackney (July 31) in support of Mr. Charles Russell’s candidature. He made a brilliant onslaught on the Government, describing the Tories in office to be the Radicals in power; and laughed at the Treasury Bench of a stopgap Government as an “eccentric combination of men who a short time ago were quarrelling amongst themselves, but who had been willing to make up their differences, with more or less grumbling, with the object of dividing the spoil. It was a matter of considerable astonishment to ingenious minds with what facility these new performers had donned the old company’s clothes, and the apparent ingenuity with which they were playing parts to which a few weeks ago they expressed the utmost repugnance. The Tories, it was true, were in office, but the Radicals were in power; and for his own part he would keep the Government permanently in a minority, and would not lift a finger to turn them out. The fact was, he went on to say, that the Whigs had been left in the lurch, and that the Tories had gone boldly over to the Radical camp. He, however, shrank from this new alliance. The Tory party had been false to their old faith, and what security had they that they would be true to their new?”

This satisfaction at the course of events, and confidence in the triumphant return of the Liberals to office upon no other cry than “the old man and the old cause,” was not shared by all the members of the party. Mr. Reginald B. Brett, a well-known Liberal, in a letter to the *Times* (July 29) alluded in very plain and pointed language to the vague and vacuous speeches of the Liberal leaders. He declared that within four months of the time when an electorate increased by two millions of hitherto unrepresented voters, was about to be asked to record its verdict, not a single definite issue, upon which the election was to be fought, had been placed before the country. He went on to say, “What we want from the leaders of our party is not vague phrases about ‘the old cause,’ and ‘the old ship.’ What we wish to know is this:—Are we, as a party, to tell the agricultural labourer that, if a Liberal Government is returned to power, it will undertake to deal with the question of the land; that every effort will be made to break up large landed estates, by the passing of such measures as Mr. Broadhurst’s Leasehold Bill, and by giving to the new and representative county authorities, which will be at once created,

extensive powers of borrowing and lending, to enable them to engraft a population of labouring freeholders upon the land? Or may we rely upon our leaders to utter the conviction, which I presume they feel, that the time has now arrived when the connexion between a certain form of ritual and the State, well designed under other conditions and other circumstances, has ceased to serve its purpose, and may, therefore, be advantageously severed?"

But as time went on, it seemed that the divergence of views among the various sections of the Liberals threatened to become more strongly accentuated. Mr. W. E. Forster, for example, in taking leave of his former constituents, the whole town of Bradford, and before offering himself as a candidate for one of its new divisions, gave a retrospect of the history of his party since his first return to Parliament in 1861. Coming rapidly to the period in which he had taken an active part, he defended his Irish policy, and said that, terrible as the Phoenix Park murders were, they saved Ireland. If it had not been for these murders the Government would not have thought of pressing forward immediately the Crimes Act; matters would have gone from bad to worse, till we should have had to put them down, not with the Prevention of Crimes Act, but by an armed force and with cannon. The present Government were allowing the Crimes Act to expire. The responsibility rested with them, and he continued, "I take this opportunity to say what the non-renewal of the Crimes Act means. It means this: if anybody wishes to commit any agrarian offence, any outrage or murder, it would be almost impossible to convict. No jury would convict the culprit. It also means this, that even if there be no wish to commit these outrages, there is certain to be the determination of using what you know was stated by one of the Irish agitators to be their great weapon—the 'boycotting pike.' They will be intimidated, and unable to earn their living or carry on their daily work, or to do what ought to be done; and, more than that, inasmuch as the Government, with their eyes open, have allowed the provisions against boycotting to cease, the people of Ireland will not unnaturally jump to the conclusion that it is not only legal, but that it is permissible. I feel myself bound to say what are the dangers, although with all my heart I trust Providence will enable Ireland to escape from them."

Mr. Forster also defended at some length the course he took in opposing the Egyptian policy of the late Government, and said that "by their indecision and vacillation hundreds of our own brave men had died, thousands of their opponents (some of the bravest men in the world) had fallen, and there had been a ghastly, useless, bloody war without any advantages to be obtained from it." As to the future, he did not agree in the opinion that in the new democratic dispensation—single-member constituencies, upon which we are now entering—there would be less independent candidates than there used to be. As to Lord Rosebery's "um-

rella policy," "if we are obliged to have one," he said, "then by all means let it be the umbrella which Mr. Gladstone holds up. But there is this about all umbrellas, that if they are very big—as they will have to be—they come down before your eyes, and you do not see where you are going. I think a good many people who were walking under the umbrella did not know where they were going when they got to Egypt and the Soudan. I must honestly say—and it is well to speak out—that I have not that confidence in Mr. Gladstone's foreign policy that, judged by the past, I could undertake to follow him wherever he leads."

Mr. Forster then went on to expound his present political programme. He said, "I think we do not want fresh land laws. We want perfect freedom in the transfer of land. I am in favour, therefore, of very strong land laws, and I agree with the letter written by Mr. Bright a few days ago. But I am not in favour of the State taking the land for itself, or taking it from one man and giving it to another. I believe that nothing would be more unjust, or cause more misery. I am in favour also of this, that when a man dies without a will the State should see all his children get equal shares of his estate. I am not in favour, however, of curtailing a man's power of willing his own property. As regards taxation, I am in favour of a man being taxed according to his property, with some exceptions for those who are very poor; but I am not in favour of cumulative taxation. About Disestablishment, I hold the same views about that as I did some years ago when in this hall. I told you then I believed that the Establishment does good at present; and so long as I feel that, upon the whole, it does good, I should not be the man to pull it down, not even if I found a combination between Lord R. Churchill and the Disestablishment Society. I also feel this—and I will venture to make a prophecy—I do not believe the Church will be disestablished until the mass of the people (that is to say, the majority of the electors) think it will be a good thing for them that it should be. If they do come to that conclusion, then of course they will be the rulers, and they must carry out their convictions. As to the liquor question, I am not for the total prevention of a man getting intoxicating liquors, if he thinks he can use them aright; nor am I in favour of any district cramming itself full of drinking-houses. But within very wide limits indeed I should give the liquor question into the hands of the local communities. As to Ireland, I would give local government to Ireland, as I would to England or Scotland, with this exception—that at present I would not give to the localities the control of the police. I am not in favour of what, I suppose, is Mr. Chamberlain's proposal of elective councils. I believe that will be Home Rule in disguise, and that it would be a lever for the actual dissolution of the Union, and possibly for the separation of the two countries. With regard to the House of Lords, I hope we shall soon see a reform in the House of Lords. I don't believe it will be possible for the House of Lords to con-

tinue in its present condition alongside of that Parliament we shall elect. At the same time I am in favour of having a second Chamber. With regard to the navy, I am in favour of our having a strong navy. I do not know that it need cost more than our present navy. There has been a great deal of money wasted, but I believe it is a matter of bread and cheese, of livelihood, of almost life and death, to those working people I see before me that our navy should be strong. As regards foreign affairs, I say, attend to them. Don't be misled by those who tell you they are not your business. You can't help being in the unity of nations. If you don't meddle with foreign affairs, foreign countries will meddle with you. Be very careful about incurring responsibilities, but when you do incur them fulfil them. And I say the same thing with regard to our colonial affairs—and you know if there is one thing I hope to live for, to take part in political action some years hence—it is in the hope before I die that I may see the British Empire existing all the world over; the children she has sent out themselves self-governing communities, united with her in a bond of peace, which shall be an example to the world.”

That these were the views upon which the majority of Liberals were agreed was clear from the practical unanimity with which they were echoed throughout the London and provincial press. Mr. Forster, it was known, had given offence to a certain section of his constituents by his independent action on the Egyptian policy, and by his ostentatious separation from Mr. Gladstone's leadership on that occasion. On this account the party managers in Bradford had decided to make the weight of their authority felt, and his re-election was seriously threatened by the more austere members of the caucus. Mr. Chamberlain was not slow to explain the counter-programme of the advanced Radicals, of whom he was regarded as the champion and principal. At a meeting at Hull (Aug. 5) the ex-President of the Board of Trade spoke with no uncertain sound as to his hopes from the new and reformed Parliament; and though the tone in which he urged his desires might have been somewhat softened, there was no trace of any change of aim or intentions, although some of his critics accused him of being purposely indefinite in explaining the means by which he proposed to obtain his ends. Having insisted on the necessity of union among Liberals in spite of the different degrees of advancement of their opinions, Mr. Chamberlain expressed the belief that the pace would be a little faster in the future than in the past. He was not surprised at the demand for a definite programme: if the people were content with the old formulas and watchwords, the enfranchisement of two millions of men would be a barren and unprofitable business. The great evil with which we had to deal was the excessive inequality in the distribution of riches. He said, “Now, I want you to make this the first object in the Liberal programme for the reformed Parliament. It is not our duty, it is not our wish, to pull down and abase the rich,

although I do not think that the excessive aggregation of wealth in a few hands is any advantage to anybody. But our object is to elevate the poor, to raise the general condition of the people. Our ideal should be that in this rich country, where everything seems to be in profusion, an honest, a decent, and an industrious man should be able to earn a livelihood for himself and his family, should have access to some means of self-improvement and enjoyment, and should be able to lay aside something for sickness and old age. Nothing would be more undesirable than that we should remove the stimulus to industry and thrift, and I am opposed to confiscation in every shape or form. On the other hand, I am in favour of accompanying the protection which we afford to property with a large and stringent interpretation of the obligations of property." Mr. Chamberlain insisted that the time had come when education ought to free: "I hope that working men will insist that in this, as in other countries, the system shall cease which is only defended in deference to false and pedantic notions of political economy, and in the supposed interests of denominational schools. Who are the people who are so anxious for the independence of the working classes? The nobility, the gentry, the professors, the editors of newspapers, every one of whom owes more or less to free education, by scholarships or other endowments in connection with our public schools or universities, and to the cost of which they have not contributed a single farthing." Turning to taxation, Mr. Chamberlain argued that the working classes were paying upon their available incomes more than double the rate which was paid by the upper and the middle classes, and that the only remedy for the inequality was some scheme of graduated taxation—"of taxation which increases in proportion to the amount of the property tax." Having explained that his proposal did not clash with any opinion expressed by Mr. Gladstone, he went on to consider the reform of the land laws as lying at the root of the whole matter. He maintained that "the soil of every country originally belonged to its inhabitants; and if it has been thought expedient to create private ownership in place of the common rights, at least that ownership must be considered as a trust, and subject to the conditions of a trust, the land must be owned so as to give the greatest employment to the largest number of persons, and so as to secure the greatest possible return of the produce of the soil." Having exemplified the evils of the existing system from what he had recently seen in Wiltshire, and from the case of the Highland crofters, Mr. Chamberlain submitted his "practical proposals." "I am in favour of free trade in land. That includes the registration of titles, the cheapening of transfer, the abolition of settlements and entails, and of the custom of primogeniture in cases of intestacy. But we must go further if we want to go to the root of the matter. Well, now, what can we do for the farmer? If we want to revive agriculture the farmer must become prosperous. There is only one thing that can benefit the farmer, and that is a fair rent fixed by an impartial tribunal, with

the right of free sale of the good-will of his undertaking, just the same as any other trader. As for the labourers, they demand that facilities shall be afforded to them for having decent cottages and fair allotments at reasonable rents, and with security of tenure. Well, why should they not have it? Who would be injured if they did have it? Where the landlord will not do his duty to the land the local authority should have power to step in. Only one other condition is absolutely necessary; and that is, that when the local authority acquires land for this or any other public purpose, it should not be called upon to pay an extravagant or unnatural price; it should be able to obtain it at the fair market value, at the value which the willing purchaser would pay to the willing seller, without any addition for compulsory sale."

In conclusion he summarised the measures which he desired to see pass into law without delay:—"I would revise the taxation upon land. I would equalise the death-duties. To that extent, at all events, I would invade the sanctity of landed property, and tax all unoccupied and sporting land at its full value. And I believe that that would put an end to much of the abuse, in many respects, of which we now complain; and lastly, I would insist upon the restitution of the property of the community where it has been wrongfully appropriated. I would insist upon the restitution of the endowments which have been diverted to improper uses, of inclosures which have been illegally made, of rights which have been improperly disregarded and ignored; and I would render it impossible for a man to plead the long enjoyment of profits as a ground for immunity from redress by those who had suffered. I do not pretend that this constitutes an exhaustive programme; it is, perhaps, enough for to-night. If objection is taken to it in any quarter, I ask my opponents what are their proposals? If they have an alternative which is more effective than the suggestions I have made, I will gladly accept it; but something must be done."

In his second speech on the following day he devoted himself almost wholly to the history of his miscarried Merchant Shipping bill. He showed in a skilful and masterly way that the shipowners themselves had admitted the truth of the grounds on which his bill was based; and so far from withdrawing his assertion (which had given rise to such angry protest) that one man in every sixty belonging to our merchant shipping perished at sea, he asserted that the more accurate proportion was one in fifty-six. When the Bill, in face of the opposition it provoked, had to be withdrawn, Mr. Chamberlain said that he had wished to resign, but that Mr. Gladstone had refused to accept his resignation in view of the importance of the Franchise Bill.

But if the divergence of the two sections of the Liberal party was becoming, as was natural, more marked as the time approached to submit their respective claims to the test of the popular vote, the Conservatives, who had hitherto enjoyed, more or less deservedly,

the privileges of a united party, began to show signs of conflicting currents among themselves. The *Standard*, from the moment of Lord Salisbury's accession to office, had not scrupled to denounce in the most open language the tacit understanding existing between the Tories and the Parnellites. Lord R. Churchill's strictures upon Lord Spencer's administration, the uncertain sound with which both he and Sir M. Hicks-Beach met the Home Rulers' demand to reopen the inquiry into the Maamtrasna murders had shocked the more simple-minded of their followers, and had tended to increase the schism already existing between the old Conservatives represented by Lord Iddesleigh (Sir S. Northcote) and the new Tory democrats of whom Lord R. Churchill was the fascinating influence—powerful enough and persuasive enough to shape in many cases the Cabinet policy according to his own views. In public meetings, however, these varieties of opinion were on the whole kept in the background by the Tories. Lord R. Churchill at Weymouth (Aug. 5) confined himself to making a thoroughly party speech, describing Mr. Childers' attempt in the Budget to place a tax upon beer as a tax upon the food of the people, proposed by the Liberals. In the matter of the Redistribution Bill he further declared that the Liberals would never have been able to cope with its details had it not been for their alliance with the Conservatives; and in a fine flight of poetic fancy he declared that the Tories were all united about their policy, whilst the Radicals were always quarrelling amongst themselves about their own course of action. Sir M. Hicks-Beach at Bristol (Aug. 8) went even a step further, declaring that he and his party had done and said nothing to weaken Irish administration, and had entered into no sort of alliance with the Parnellites. He spoke of the foreign policy of the last five years, both in India and Egypt, as "fatuous folly," which had "ruined" Egypt and "endangered" India. The Liberals, he said, had secured the concert of Europe, but it was a concert against England, whilst the Tories during their short period of office had already done much to obtain the good-will of Europe.

Of the various popular appeals put forward in various ways, that of Mr. R. B. Brett in favour of Disestablishment as an election cry was at any rate the most definite. But for a long time statesmen on both sides as well as the press seemed agreed to give no prominence to the proposal. It was indeed mooted as a sort of test question at Bradford by the extreme Dissenters, but even there it was felt that there were many strong Liberals who were still convinced that the overthrow of the State Church would be a national disaster. Another consideration which operated strongly, at least for the time, for holding back the Liberals from any aggressive move, was the very general satisfaction with which Lord Salisbury's foreign policy had been received. He had, by general admission, inherited a tangled web of cross-purposes, conflicting interests, and hesitating councils, but by the use of con-

ciliatory and statesmanlike language, accompanied by consistent action, he had succeeded in re-establishing friendly if not cordial relations with two empires—the German and the Ottoman—both of which had been more or less estranged by the policy of the previous five years. In his negotiations with Russia Lord Salisbury might possibly have only reaped the fruit of what Lord Granville had sown, but it was satisfactory that the settlement of the Afghan frontier question, although often delayed, was at length satisfactorily settled, and the breach at least temporarily healed.

Into the midst of parties and sections of parties between which a temporary truce had been proclaimed by tacit consent, and by which a short holiday was desired, Mr. Parnell threw the ultimatum of his party on the occasion of a dinner given to him at Dublin (Aug. 24) by his Parliamentary colleagues. In reply to the toast of his health, he congratulated his friends on what they had accomplished in Parliament during the past five years. All that had been done was but the means to an end. They had brought the question of the legislative independence of Ireland to the point of solution. The only work of the National party in the new Parliament, he went on to say, would be the restoration of legislative independence to Ireland.

“I feel convinced our great and sole work in the new Parliament will be the restoration of our own Parliament; and when we have obtained it, what will be its functions and what will be its powers? We shall require our national Parliament to do those things which we have been asking the British Parliament to do for us; we shall require them to develop the Healy clause of the Land Act, to abolish unjust evictions, landlord oppression, and rack-renting, and to make every tenant farmer the owner of his land upon fair terms. We shall require that power to do this shall be given to our Parliament. We shall require our new Parliament to secure to the labourers a share in the heritage of the land in comfortable homes. We shall not then have to depend upon the halting action of ex-officio boards of guardians. We shall require our new Parliament to build up the industries of the country, to see that not only the agricultural labourer, but that the artisans, the working men, and the mechanics of the towns shall be enabled to live and to thrive. We shall endeavour to keep our people at home, to afford them profitable employment, to look after the educational interests of the youths of Ireland, and to train them up in the way they should go, both from a religious and national point of view. We have, therefore, a great work before us, both in the English House of Commons—for a while—and in the Irish Chamber; for I hope it will be a single Chamber, and that we shall not have a House of Lords.”

There was no room for self-deception after a declaration of this sort. Mr. Parnell, in defending legislative independence, must have known that by half of his fellow-subjects it would be understood that he had declared war against them. Whether his aim

was merely a separate Parliament or an actually independent one mattered, the *Times* thought, but little. "The one is impracticable, as experience has amply demonstrated. The other is rendered impossible by the physical relations of the two islands." The *Standard* held that it would be a shame and disaster if English statesmen of both parties refused to take the plain course by which alone the Parliamentary tactics of the Separatists could be baffled. "If both Whigs and Tories make it clear from the outset that any manœuvre for extending legislative independence will be met with a firm, uncompromising front, Mr. Parnell's influence will be doomed." The *Daily Telegraph*, after pressing for some definite description of the powers claimed for the new Irish Parliament, declared that supposing even it were a possibility, the British House of Commons "will not be seduced or terrified into yielding a jot more to Irish demands than is compatible with the safety of the empire and the union of the three kingdoms in an indissoluble bond." The *Daily News* declared that the question before the electors of Great Britain was whether they would submit to the tyranny of Mr. Parnell; and added, the "great need of the immediate future is a strong Administration composed of advanced Liberals." The provincial press was even more plain in its language, the *Manchester Guardian* declaring that there "was no sign of any appreciable section of Englishmen who would not unhesitatingly condemn or punish any party or any public man who attempted to walk in the path traced by Mr. Parnell;" whilst the *Leeds Mercury* thought it mere waste of time to discuss with Mr. Parnell the uses to which he would turn a Parliament which the resolution and moral fibre of the English people would decline to call into being at the instigation of the Irish-American faction.

It was not without anxiety that the English and Scotch electors and the Irish Loyalists awaited the reply of their several leaders, and it seemed only natural that at such a juncture the first word should be assigned to Lord Hartington. In theory rather than fact the representative of the more moderate Liberals in the late Cabinet, he had at times shown a pliability which had been hastily interpreted as weakness; but he had never gone backwards when once he had taken up an advanced position on any political question. His position and influence, moreover, drew towards him a large section of those Liberals who might and would have hesitated to follow the lead of Sir Charles Dilke or Mr. Chamberlain. It was, moreover, to Lord Hartington next after Mr. Gladstone that men looked to keep the Liberal party together, and there were doubtless many who thought him more competent for such a task than even his more brilliant chieftain. His speech, therefore, at Waterfoot (Aug. 29) was anticipated with interest by all who were anxious to learn the attitude the responsible leader would adopt towards Mr. Chamberlain and his Radical doctrines on the one hand, and towards Mr. Parnell and his Separatist programme on the other. A party lead was above all things necessary for the Liberals, who were beginning

to experience some of the drawbacks of the "dozen ways of going forward" as compared with the one way of standing still. In a lengthy prelude, wherein he reviewed the altered circumstances under which he came before his new constituents, Lord Hartington defended the resignation of the late Cabinet, denying Sir M. Hicks-Beach's assertion that it had committed political suicide; he maintained that its conduct of our foreign relations had been guided by a scrupulous determination to maintain our own rights without infringing upon those of other nations. Whilst admitting that faults may have been committed in the course of the Egyptian campaign, and that the results were inadequate to the cost and effort, he declared that the direction and aim of their policy had been right. After taunting Lord R. Churchill with going to the country with "a great policy of grand pretensions, but with absolutely no legislature," he prophesied that the new electors would not be satisfied with this barren programme; and then turning to the land question, he stated his desire to see the new Parliament remove all restrictions on its free and easy transfer. Beyond this, however, he was not prepared to go. "There are reformers now," he went on to say, "who are not satisfied with demanding the abolition of primogeniture, but desire the adoption of the system which prevails in France of the compulsory division of estates among all the members of the family. There are proposals for an arbitrary limitation of the size of estates; and there are other proposals for the compulsory purchase, either by the State or by local authorities, of estates for the purpose of subdivision among yeomen, tenant farmers, and agricultural labourers. Other proposals have been made for coming to the rescue of the tenant farmers by adopting fair rents and free sales for England and Scotland as well as for Ireland. I will frankly admit to you that I do not believe in the efficacy or advantage of any of those proposals for arbitrarily or forcibly redistributing the land of this country. I do not object to these proposals being fully discussed, but I do protest against any of those proposals which I do not believe to be sound or warranted by economic principles being accepted as articles of the Liberal faith until they have received a much more complete and much more exhaustive discussion from every point of view than that which, as far as I am aware, has yet been devoted to them. It may not be at present the popular thing to say anything in defence of the rights of property; but I am of opinion that it is a most grave and serious matter to do anything which may rashly, and in an unsound manner, affect these rights. Whatever principles may be applied to land are likely, sooner or later, to be applied to other descriptions of property; and I firmly believe that the best hope for the welfare of the country, and for the improvement of the condition of the population of this country, lies in the inducement which we can give to the accumulation and probable employment of capital, not in the direction of discouraging the accumulation of capital or discouraging

the motives which induce its owners, probably, to employ it; and I firmly believe that the first to suffer from any rash encroachment upon, or unsound interference with, the rights of property, would be the labouring classes themselves, and especially those industrious, skilled, and intelligent labourers of whom I am proud to say this country possesses so large a number."

Having thus thrown down the gauntlet to the advanced Radicals Lord Hartington, after touching upon local government and local option, which he approved of so long as they were the natural outcome of the wishes of the district immediately concerned, went on to denounce fair trade as nothing else but a form of State socialism, and consequently to be shunned. Finally, he turned to Irish affairs, and defined with the utmost plainness his views upon the situation.

"I cannot believe that there exist in this country any political leaders—or if there exist political leaders, I am confident there exists no political party, which will consent either to acquire office or to retain office by conceding the terms by which alone Mr. Parnell says his alliance can be purchased. I do not believe there is any party in this country that will consent to the concession of the objects which Mr. Parnell has described. Not only are these objects to be obtained, but they are to be attained by no slow and gradual process, not by convincing the people and Parliament of this country that they are right and desirable objects, not by any experience which may be gained by the gradual development of self-government in Ireland, and not by the knowledge that the Irish people are to be trusted with the government of Irish affairs—not by any of these processes; but they are to be obtained simply by the powers of the large Parliamentary party whom he hopes to lead in the next Parliament, and by the successful Parliamentary uses which Mr. Parnell hopes to be able to make of that party. He tells you that he will be satisfied with nothing but a separate Parliament; and not only a separate Parliament, but a Parliament independent of the Imperial Parliament, at least to this extent—that it is to have absolute power to deal with the land of Ireland, with the relations between landlords and tenants in Ireland, and that it is to have absolute power to protect, as it is termed, Irish industry and Irish trade by the exclusion of British commerce and British manufactures from Ireland. In my opinion Mr. Parnell has for once made a mistake in so openly advocating and declaring his demands, and has by that declaration ensured his own defeat. In my opinion he over-estimates the power which he exercises in Ireland, and which he may be able to exercise in Parliament. It is possible that he has correctly calculated that he will be able to bring back to Parliament eighty adherents, but it remains to be seen whether he will preserve that strict and unbroken discipline upon which he insists. We have seen before now a large body of Irish members pledged nominally to the accomplishment of Home Rule. A large body of Home Rulers

was returned at the last Parliament, but the policy, the enlightened policy, of the late Government broke up and disintegrated that Home Rule party, and left Mr. Parnell with only a portion of the followers who were returned as Home Rulers during the last Parliament. It remains to be seen whether the Irish people will consent at the bidding of Mr. Parnell to forego all those minor, but to them, perhaps, more important, reforms which Parliament would be willing to grant without coercion, in order to assist Mr. Parnell in obtaining his impossible demand for the legislative separation of the country. I do not feel assured that Mr. Parnell will be able to maintain such absolute, such despotic power over the people of Ireland that they will consent to forego the prosecution of all the other objects they have at heart by following him in an impossible and impracticable undertaking. But if it should be so—if he should return to Parliament his eighty or ninety members pledged to obey his behest, still I am convinced he will not have accomplished the object which he has in view. It will be in his power undoubtedly to cause the British Parliament and the British Government much inconvenience, and to raise many difficulties. His action may result in a series of short Governments; it may result in some uncertainty and change of policy. It may result in the postponement of necessary and wished-for reforms. But the time will come, after these inconveniences have been endured for a time—the time will inevitably come when, in consequence of such actions of the Irish party, any minor political differences which may exist among the parties in this country will be comparatively obliterated, and means will be found by which a practically united Parliamentary representation—a practically united country—will impose a firm and decided veto upon proposals which are in their opinion so fatal and so mischievous.”

After such a speech no doubt could exist that between Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, and Lord Hartington and Mr. Parnell, there were barriers which it would take indefinite time and labour to remove. Far from endorsing or accepting the former's plan of land reform, Lord Hartington protested most strongly against the introduction into the Liberal programme of wild schemes and untenable doctrines; and in his reply to Mr. Parnell he made it unmistakably clear to that gentleman that the Liberal leader would make no bid for his support at the cost of the integrity of the empire. It was perhaps not surprising that the *Times* and the Conservative papers should find Lord Hartington's views conformable to their taste; but it was curious to find even the *Daily News* expressing its adherence to them as a programme which all advanced Liberals could accept; and in this estimate a large mass of provincial opinion seemed to concur. If both Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain had spoken their last words on the political issues of the moment, it seemed as if the fusion between the moderate Whigs and the Conservatives, so often announced but never making progress, was now at hand.

Their respective theories of government differed far less from each other than those of the two sections of Liberals.

The replies of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Parnell were given without delay (Sept. 1), Mr. Chamberlain's in an article in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, of which the inspired authorship was not denied, and Mr. Parnell's in a speech at a banquet given by the Lord Mayor of Dublin. The *Birmingham Post* declared roundly that if Lord Hartington's speech was to be accepted without qualification or reserve, it was much more likely to disintegrate than to consolidate Liberal union. Whilst denying that some of the proposals denounced by Lord Hartington had received the support of any leading politicians, it asserted that others were strongly held by numerous Liberals, and had been endorsed by Cabinet Ministers. Mr. Chamberlain, for instance, had distinctly and repeatedly urged free education as a necessity, had strongly advised graduated taxation, and had accepted the principle that local authorities, reformed on a representative basis, governing large areas, and invested with extended powers, should be authorised, if they thought proper (under sufficient safeguards), to acquire land for the purpose of division into small holdings, with the object of creating a larger agricultural class. The article then continued: "It is best to put the matter plainly. Is it to be understood that the measures of social reform advocated by what we may call the Radical members of the late Government are to be excluded from the programme with which the Liberal party is going before the electors? Lord Hartington seems to say so—or at least to say that the Whig section of the party desires to exclude them. We doubt if he really means this; but suppose he does mean it, what may then happen? . . . May it not be prudently suggested that a decision, or even a declared desire, to exclude Radical ideas from the Liberal programme is likely to exercise a serious influence upon the fortunes of the Liberal party at the next election? May it not even give us a divided party and a diminished majority, with the natural consequence of a brief and troubled Parliament, to be followed by a broader appeal to the country, and the ultimate return of a strong Radical majority?"

The article then went on to comment upon the result of Lord Hartington's programme as insufficient to mark the line of parting between Liberals and Conservatives, that it allowed no room for expansion; it thought, however, that the speaker had not intended without reserve or qualification to say what he seemed to say; and if it was right in this deduction the writer saw no difficulties ahead; if wrong, however, he foresaw the most serious danger to the Liberal cause in the approaching contest, and to the unity of the Liberal party in Parliament and in the next Administration.

Mr. Parnell, in responding to the toast of Ireland as a nation, first passed in review the chief incidents of the struggle which had been carried on through the last Parliament, and expressed his conviction that still greater concessions would be obtained

from its successor. In reply to Lord Hartington's declaration that it was impossible for Ireland to obtain the right of self-government, he said, "I believe that if it be sought to make it impossible for our country to obtain the right to administer her own affairs, we shall make all other things impossible for those who strive to bring that about. And who is it that tells us that these things are impossible? It is the same man who said that local government for Ireland was impossible without impossible declarations upon our part. These statements came from the same lips as those which told us that the concession of equal electoral privileges to Ireland with those of England would be madness. And we see that what was considered madness in the eyes of the man who now tells us that Ireland's right to self-government is an impossibility, has been now conceded without opposition, and that the local self-government which was then also denied to us from the same source is now offered to us by the same person, with a humble entreaty that we may take it in order that we may educate ourselves for better things and for further powers. . . . Well, gentlemen, I am not much given to boasting, and I should be very unwilling to assume for myself the rôle of a prophet, but I am obliged, I confess, to-night to give you my candid opinion, and it is this—that if they have not succeeded in squelching us during the last five years they are not likely to do so during the next five years, unless they brace themselves up to adopt one of two alternatives, by the adoption of either one of which we should ultimately win, and perhaps win a larger and heavier stake than we otherwise should. They will either have to grant to Ireland the complete right to rule herself, or they will have to take away from us the share—the sham share—in the English constitutional system which they extended to us at the Union, and govern us as a Crown colony without any Parliamentary representation. The government of Ireland, supposing they adopt the second alternative, will practically lead to the same thing as by the adoption of the first one—the government of Ireland as a Crown colony; and it would be the government of a very large Crown colony, a much larger one than they possess or have attempted to govern from London up to the present. It would lead simply to the concession of a constitution similar to that which is enjoyed, with the good-will of England, by each and all of the larger colonists, and that is what we have been practically asking for Ireland; so that, whether they choose directly to give us the right to self-government in its fullest sense—the right to national self-government—or whether they choose to govern us as a Crown colony, it will come to the same thing in the long run." Mr. Parnell concluded his speech with an appeal to the people to abstain from violence, which would imperil a victory, humanly speaking, within their grasp; and with a warning to the landlords to exercise moderation. "It will be for Irish landlordism to show of what it is made during

the coming winter ; and if it exacts, or attempts to exact, its full pound of flesh, I am confident that the result will be that landlordism will be left with very little flesh to exact in the future."

The English press, almost without exception, received with a bare *non possumus* Mr. Parnell's declaration that he meant to obtain legislative independence for Ireland ; although many candidates, Tories, as well as Radicals, seeking the support of English electors, were expressing opinions in favour of an extension of local self-government, so large as to make it scarcely distinguishable from absolute freedom of House of Commons control. On the part of the Ministry a discreet silence was observed, Lord R. Churchill, at the Cutlers' feast at Sheffield (Sept. 3), contenting himself with saying that the Government could detect no sign which indicated that their decision to rely upon the ordinary law for the maintenance of order in Ireland had been in any way unwise or unsound. He was more tempted to dwell upon the policy of the new Administration, and was able to point with no small satisfaction to the danger of Egyptian bankruptcy having been permanently averted, and that the differences between the courts of London and St. Petersburg on the Central Asian question had been satisfactorily composed. On the following day, however, addressing a large and popular meeting at the same place, he devoted his remarks mainly to a criticism of Lord Hartington's recent speech at Waterfoot, which he characterised as a "remarkable and glaring specimen of that debased kind of opportunism which is unfortunately the mark of the Liberal party of the present day." There was a very good reason for this, and that was that there was not a single political subject which any member of that great meeting could imagine to himself on which the Liberal party had a united opinion. In illustration he referred to the question of Disestablishment, the abolition of the House of Lords, and Ireland ; and on the question of Disestablishment quoted the expressed opinions of Lord Hartington and Sir W. Harcourt, both of whom had avoided pledging themselves. In contrast he quoted the direct and outspoken views of Mr. Chamberlain, of whom he said, "You may disagree with Mr. Chamberlain's political opinions as much as you like, but this I will say for Mr. Chamberlain—no man disagreeing with him more than I do on every one of his political opinions : he is an honest and outspoken politician." Having contrasted the land reform proposals of Lord Hartington with those of Mr. Chamberlain, he asked, "Are you going to replace in office, to deal with the land question, a man who dismisses as impracticable all the schemes for the reform of the land laws which his most influential colleague, Mr. Chamberlain, considers elementary and essential ? Lord Hartington dismisses them all. He says that they are worthless, and on the whole I agree with Lord Hartington." Coming to Ireland, Lord Randolph denied that "the present Government has spoken soft words to Mr. Parnell and his friends."

The chief feature of the policy of the present Government had undoubtedly been their determination not to renew the Crimes Act; and as to that he made this explanation:—Some weeks before the late Government fell it was obvious to any ordinarily clever political observer that the late Government were likely to fall, and the consequences of the fall of the late Government were a subject of most serious consideration to Lord Salisbury and his immediate political friends. Without doubt the gravest consequences which would attend the fall of the late Government were considered by Lord Salisbury and his friends to have reference to the question of the government of Ireland, and whether Ireland could or could not be governed by the ordinary law. That subject was considered with immense deliberation. We had many facilities for gaining information. In the first place we numbered among our party perhaps the most experienced, the most wise, and the most cautious of all modern Irishmen—I mean the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, whom you used to know so well as Mr. Gibson. We had also many other sources of accurate information; and weeks before the late Government fell, Lord Salisbury and his friends came to the conclusion that in the absence of official information—that was the important saving clause—in the absence of official information there was nothing, as far as we could see, which would warrant a Government in applying to Parliament for exceptional laws for the administration of Ireland. That was a decision taken long before the late Government came to grief; and when Mr. Gladstone's Government did fall, and Lord Salisbury succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister, no official information came to light of such gravity as would have authorised Lord Salisbury and his friends in departing from the decision which some time before they had deliberately and carefully taken.

If Lord Hartington had in his speech intended to sketch out for the Conservatives the ground upon which they might work with the moderate Whigs, it was evident from this speech that at all events the section presided over by Lord R. Churchill declined to meet the Whig advances in a spirit of conciliation. Under these circumstances curiosity was aroused as to the attitude Mr. Chamberlain would adopt when addressing a conference of the representatives of various northern Liberal associations at Warrington (Sept. 8). He passed lightly over the assumed successes of the Government in office, and ridiculed the Tory party for turning their backs upon their traditions by deserting Lord Spencer, whilst they followed implicitly Lord R. Churchill, who had met Mr. Parnell's demand for independence with significant silence. He moreover charged the Government with carrying out the policy of the late Ministry which in opposition they had condemned, and he then went on to speak of Ireland. He acknowledged that it was a point of good augury, now that a new struggle was beginning, that Mr. Parnell should have set his face sternly against everything in the nature of riot and disorder. Having

enumerated the various points of Mr. Parnell's programme, Mr. Chamberlain said, "If these, and these alone, are the terms on which Mr. Parnell's support is to be obtained, I will not enter into the compact. This new programme of Mr. Parnell involves a great extension of anything we have hitherto known or understood by Home Rule. The powers he claims for his support in Parliament exist in the State Legislatures of the American Union, which has hitherto been the type and model of the Irish demands. If this claim were conceded, we might as well for ever abandon the hope of maintaining a United Kingdom, and we should establish within thirty miles of our shores a new foreign country, animated from outside with unfriendly intentions towards ourselves. Such a policy as that I firmly believe would be disastrous and ruinous to Ireland herself. It would be dangerous to the security of this country; and under those circumstances I hold that we are bound to take every step in our power to avert so great a calamity." Mr. Chamberlain would, however, concede the widest possible measure of domestic government to the Irish people, as he would concede it to the people of England and Scotland. He next referred to the Radical programme, and said that if they could not convince their Liberal allies of the justice and the reasonableness of their views, then, with whatever reluctance, they must part company and go to the people for the ultimate decision. "We have been looking to the extension of the franchise in order to bring into prominence questions which have been too long neglected. The great problem of our civilisation is unsolved. We have to account for and grapple with the mass of misery and destitution in our midst, contrasted as it is with the evidences of abundant wealth and teeming prosperity. It is a problem which some men would put aside by reference to the eternal laws of supply and demand, to the necessity for freedom of contract, and to the sanctity of every private right in property. These phrases are the convenient cant of selfish wealth. They are no answer to our questions. I could understand the reason for timidity in dealing with this matter, so long as a Government was merely the expression of the will and prejudices of a limited few. Under these circumstances there might well be reason for refusing to entrust it with greater functions and higher powers for the relief of undeserved misery and distress. But now, when at last we have a Government of the people, and by the people, we will go on; we will make it a Government for the people, in which all shall co-operate in order to secure to every man his natural rights—his right to existence and to a fair enjoyment of it. I shall be told to-morrow this is Socialism. I have learned not to be afraid of words flung in my face in place of argument. Of course it is Socialism. The poor law is Socialism. The Education Act is Socialism. The greater part of our municipal work is Socialism. Every kindly act of legislation by which the community recognises its responsibility and obligations to its poorer

members is Socialism, and it is none the worse for that. Our object is the elevation of the poor, of the masses of the people—a levelling up which shall do something to remove the excessive inequalities in the social condition of the people, which is now one of the greatest dangers, as well as the greatest injury, to the State.”

For the solution of the problem the Radicals proposed to extend the functions, the powers, of local authorities. They would proceed on the lines already adopted in the Irish Land Act, in the Irish Labourers Act, in the Artisans' Dwellings Act, the Housing of the Poor Act, and in some of the Public Health Acts. They proposed to give to popular representative authorities the right to obtain land for all public purposes on its fair value without paying an extortionate price to the landowner for the privilege of re-entering on what was the original possession of the whole of the community. They proposed also that the local authority in every district, under proper conditions, should have power to let land for labourers' allotments, artisans' dwellings, and small holdings. Proceeding to deal with the proposal for free education, Mr. Chamberlain said he believed that an addition to the income tax of three farthings in the pound would be sufficient to throw open to-morrow every school-house throughout the land. In conclusion Mr. Chamberlain referred to the question of the revision of the taxation, the taxation of unoccupied land, of sporting land, rents and royalties; all of which he recognised as questions coming within the Radical programme, and of which the solution would have to be found in the not distant future.

The candour and vigour of this declaration met with a favourable reception in quarters where sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain's views was not always conspicuous. He had placed fairly and clearly before the electors the issue between the Whigs and the Radicals, the former appealing to their services in the past, the latter holding out promises for the future; and he left it to the country to decide between them. His earnest declaration on Home Rule left no doubt that it was no part of the English Radicals' programme to hold out a hand of fellowship to Mr. Parnell, or to come to terms with those whose aim was the dismemberment of the United Kingdom. But in spite of this bond of union between Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain it was felt that on other points the separation was complete and absolute.

Two more speeches, delivered from very opposite sides, deserve a passing notice. Mr. John Morley, who daily had been growing in influence and authority among the independent and more thoughtful Radicals, speaking at Clapton (Sept. 16), declared that, though a Radical, he was not an Impracticable; but he could not blind himself to the fact that in Britain twenty millions of workmen had now all power and very little property—most of them none at all. He defended Mr. Chamberlain's land proposals

as moderate and Conservative, ridiculed the alarm created by Mr. Parnell's theory of protection, and held that Ireland could no longer be governed either by landlords or priests. Conceding, however, that another system must be built up, he still maintained that separation, looked at dispassionately, as an historian would look at it, "would be a disaster to Ireland and a disgrace to England." "He was not one who thought the separation would much weaken England, but it would dishonour her." He, would however, utilise the desire of Ireland to govern her own affairs her own way, and did not repudiate Home Rule as in Canada. In a most eloquent peroration he expressed his belief, despite the experience of six hundred years, that Englishmen would yet discover the means of fulfilling their task in Ireland.

On the same day, at Gloucester, Mr. Plunket, one of the most effective speakers of the Conservative party, skilfully accentuated the differences between Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain; he painted in rose-colour the actual condition of Ireland under Lord Carnarvon; he argued forcibly that it was Mr. Chamberlain, as well as the Tories, who had refused a renewal of the Crimes Act; and he pointed out that Mr. Parnell, ever since he made his speech about taking his coat off, had avowed a policy of separation; adding, "The demand which is made to-day with so much daring is not the result of any imaginary surrender of the present Government to Mr. Parnell; it is the true result of the surrender of Lord Hartington and the Whigs to Mr. Chamberlain and the Radicals on this question of the Irish franchise." But it was the dissensions of the Liberals rather than the criticisms of their opponents which for the moment absorbed public attention. Each speaker on that side seemed to differ in some vital point from his so-called colleague. It was no wonder, then, that Mr. Gladstone's return from Norway should be hailed with satisfaction by the mass of Liberal candidates, who, undecided as to which lieutenant they should follow, hoped to find in the captain's orders some means of conciliating both sections of their constituents.

But from Hawarden no rallying cry was sent forth. Meanwhile a fresh issue was imported into the struggle, which for the moment threatened to eclipse all others. The *Record*, a journal specially devoted to Church questions, published (Sept. 11) carefully prepared returns showing the views, as expressed, of the various candidates on the subject of the disestablishment of the State Church. The numbers as originally published were found to require modification. According to the *Guardian* (Sept. 16), of the 1,061 candidates seeking election in England, Scotland, and Wales, 374 Liberals were in favour of it, and only 31 were against it; 35 declined to express their opinions, whilst of the views of the remaining 113 no clue was obtainable. On the Conservative side the whole number of 463 candidates were pledged against Disestablishment. The subdivision of the

Liberals gave some curious results; four members, for example, deciding that the measure should be applicable to Wales alone, fourteen to Scotland alone, and ten to Scotland and Wales only; whilst of those Liberals who were opposed to the scheme two were against it only as regarded Scotland, and three (namely, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, his younger son Mr. Herbert Gladstone, and Mr. J. W. Probyn) against the disestablishment of the Church in England and Wales only. It was, moreover, ascertained that it was especially in the South of England that the new electors were most strongly opposed to the maintenance of the State Church. It is not impossible that the surprise aroused by this return hastened the appearance of Mr. Gladstone's electoral address, for already the Liberal clergy in many places were advising Liberal Churchmen to vote for the Conservative candidate rather than for the Liberal, on the ground that "the Church was in danger." Mr. Gladstone's manifesto, which took the shape of an address to the electors of Midlothian, was issued (Sept. 18) in pamphlet form through the agency of the Central Press, and circulated simultaneously throughout the country. Starting with the admission that he was too closely associated with the proceedings of the six previous sessions to withdraw himself from the verdict about to be pronounced, Mr. Gladstone passed in review the principal acts of his last administration. He claimed credit for having carried out some at least of the clauses of the Berlin Treaty; of having made Afghanistan united and independent; of having cemented the union between India and the British Crown, and of having brought about the tranquillity of South Africa. In reviewing his Egyptian policy Mr. Gladstone spent some time and pains in showing that "it was the direct consequence of the agreement with France, concluded in 1879, for reciprocal support and for the maintenance of a native government. Even more fully than Lord Hartington he acknowledged and lamented over the serious errors of the Soudan campaign—without, however, particularising any incidents or special point of departure. Then, turning to the future, Mr. Gladstone expressed in terms if possible clearer than those he had used in Parliament, "an earnest aspiration for our entire withdrawal from Egyptian territory at the earliest moment which honour will permit." To annexation and a protectorate he was equally opposed, and his aim would be to bring to as speedy an end as possible the irksome and thankless task we had undertaken, and which had alienated us from that admirable position in Europe of perfect independence and salutary influence. Turning at length to domestic affairs, Mr. Gladstone placed at the very threshold of his programme the question of Parliamentary procedure. The three cardinal points he described as follows: 1st, the congestion of business; 2nd, the irritation produced by the suspension of useful legislation; and 3rd, the power of a minority to check the legislative action of the majority by unduly consuming the time of the House. "This

country," added Mr. Gladstone, "will not in the full sense of the word be a self-governing country until the machinery of the House of Commons is amended and its procedure reformed." On the subject of local government he was not at all convinced that the mind of the country was fully ripened; but he held that the first objects to be arrived at were "to rectify the balance of taxation as between real and personal property; to put an end to the gross injustice of charging upon labour, through the medium of the Consolidated Fund, local burdens which our laws have always wisely treated as incident to property; to relieve the ratepayer, not at the charge of the working population, but wholly or mainly by making over, for local purposes, carefully chosen items of taxation; to supply local management with inducements to economy, instead of tempting, and almost forcing it into waste; finally, and most of all, to render the system thoroughly representative and free." On the subject of land law reform Mr. Gladstone supported the "Hartington programme," avowing himself to belong to a school which had faith in economical laws, and consequently disapproved of entails. He would, moreover, maintain the freedom of bequest, and establish freedom of possession, and expressed a desire to "deal freely with the transfer, registration, and taxation of land during life and upon death, and with the question of primogeniture in cases of intestacy. The balance of taxation between movable and immovable property he was anxious to see readjusted, and still more between property and labour; but he would uphold the fundamental principles which made property secure with the same courage and integrity as he would defend our liberties, of which they formed an essential part.

"Upon each and all of these legislative subjects, with a reasonable freedom as to details, I believe," continued Mr. Gladstone, "that the Liberal party is generally and firmly united. They are in basis and spirit truly Liberal, yet they ought not to stir Conservative alarms. . . . But Liberalism has ever sought to unite freedom of individual thought and action, to which it so largely owes its healthy atmosphere, with corporate efficiency. This aim is noble, but it is difficult. For my own part, although it is not the method best adapted to the personal convenience of those who may lead, nothing would induce me to exchange it for the high regimental discipline which brings the two minorities, each in a well-fused mass, into the voting lobby. For this valued freedom and this abundance of variety, cherished in the Liberal party, have not disabled it, during the last half-century, from efficient action. For more than two-thirds of that period the Liberal party has held power, and fully nine-tenths of our useful legislation have been due to its inspiration and its labours. What modern Britain at this moment is, she has become substantially through the agency of the Liberal party."

Having thus shown the foundations of a policy on which all

sections of Liberals might construct their respective platforms, Mr. Gladstone went on to consider some of the measures with which the new Parliament, or its successors, would have to deal. Most of these he passed by without reference, as unripe even for preliminary discussion; but as regards other points, which had already attracted notice and debate, he made a few remarks. In any consideration of a reform of the House of Lords he thought that, however desirable it might be to constitute a second Chamber on the basis of knowledge and virtues, yet he hoped that, when the time came for any reconstruction of the House of Peers, "a reasonable share of power might be allowed, under wise conditions, to the principle of birth." Passing next to the question of Disestablishment, which had by degrees been assuming a prominent place in all election addresses, Mr. Gladstone declared: "With respect to the severance of the Church of England from the State, I think it obvious that so vast a question cannot become practical until it shall have grown familiar to the public mind by thorough discussion. Neither, I think, can such a change arise in a country such as ours except with a large observance of the principles of equity and liberality. We can hardly, however, be surprised if those who observe that a current, almost throughout the civilised world, slowly sets in this direction, should desire or fear that among ourselves too it may be found to operate. I cannot forecast the dim and distant courses of the future. But, like all others, I have observed the vast and ever-increasing development for the last fifty years, both at home and abroad, in the Church to which I belong, of the powers of voluntary support."

On the question of free education, Mr. Gladstone desired to reserve a final judgment, seeing in the principle difficulties which required serious consideration; but with regard to the still more pressing question of the government of Ireland he spoke with great clearness:—"In my opinion, not now for the first time delivered, the limit is clear within which any desires of Ireland, constitutionally ascertained, may, and beyond which they cannot, receive the assent of Parliament. To maintain the supremacy of the Crown, the unity of the empire, and all the authority of Parliament necessary for the conservation of that unity, is the first duty of every representative of the people. Subject to this governing principle, every grant to portions of the country of enlarged powers for the management of their own affairs is, in my view, not a source of danger, but a means of averting it, and is in the nature of a new guarantee for increased cohesion, happiness, and strength."

Moreover, to the question whether it was for the interests of all three countries that the Union should be maintained, he replied: "My personal answer to the question is this: I believe history and posterity will consign to disgrace the name and memory of every man, be he who he may, and on whichever side of the Channel he may dwell, that, having the power to aid in an equi-

table settlement between Ireland and Great Britain, shall use that power not to aid, but to prevent or to retard it. If the duty of working for this end cannot be doubted, then I trust that, on the one hand, Ireland will remember that she too is subject to the authority of reason and justice, and cannot always plead the wrongs of other days in bar of submission to them; and that the two sister kingdoms, aware of their overwhelming strength, will dismiss every fear except that of doing wrong, and will make yet another effort to complete a reconciling work which has already done so much to redeem the past, and which, when completed, will yet more redound to the honour of our legislation and our race."

The London press and that of the provinces showed, as usual, a total divergence of appreciation. By the former Mr. Gladstone's address was received with as little enthusiasm by his supporters as dismay by his opponents. By the latter, "the umbrella," of which Lord Rosebery had spoken so hopefully, had been opened, and was pronounced capacious enough to shelter all sections of the party, if not distinctive enough to attract outsiders. The *Times* pronounced the address as dispiriting, and scarcely likely to alarm the Tories, accustomed to more audacious treatment of political problems by their own leaders. The *Standard* qualified it as weak and disappointing, vague, and displaying cultivated ambiguity whenever the duty of distinctness was most clear. The *Daily Telegraph* thought that this eminently moderate and judicious programme of internal reform would probably command a general assent; and the *Daily News*, recognising in Mr. Gladstone's views on the subject of land tenure the principles of rational liberty advocated by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, thought that it would be difficult for anyone not in favour of abolishing the House of Lords altogether to go further. The *Spectator* almost alone maintained a cheerful face; and, whilst granting that it would be vain to expect all Liberals to approve completely every proposition, expressed the conviction that upon the positive programme all would unite with cordiality. The *Birmingham Post*, which occupied a somewhat exceptional position as Mr. Chamberlain's recognised organ, declared that within the lines broadly sketched by Mr. Gladstone there was room enough for Liberals of all sections to work and act together, first for the attainment of reform immediately possible, and next in discussing and preparing more remote measures. The *Manchester Guardian* thought that the more Mr. Gladstone's address was scrutinised the more strongly would it be felt that it included a large and adequate programme. This opinion was endorsed by the *Leeds Mercury*, the *Sheffield Independent*, and the *Newcastle Chronicle*. But, on the other hand, it was clearly suggested in the Conservative press that many of that party would be equally ready to endorse the "positive proposals" which Mr. Gladstone regarded as essential, whilst on questions which were to be rallying cries

for the different sections of Liberals, and to indicate the aim and object of the leader, the manifesto was either significantly silent or painfully vague. By a happy coincidence, however, on the day following the issue of this address, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Chamberlain, already distinguished as the rival leaders of the two principal sections of the Liberal party, found occasion to address public meetings. Mr. Goschen, at St. Leonard's (Sept. 18), assured his hearers that Mr. Gladstone's manifesto was the endorsement of Lord Hartington's programme, and he claimed for that nobleman the place of "heir apparent to the leadership of the Liberal party," defending him against the strictures of Mr. John Morley, on the ground that in "dealing with combustible materials 'a wet blanket' was not always undesirable." Mr. Goschen then went on to ask, what were the points on which the Liberal party were united? In the first place it was thoroughly agreed that there must be reform in the procedure of the House of Commons. In reference to the other portion of the Legislature he was strongly in favour of a second Chamber commanding the respect of the country. The feeling which existed among the majority of the Liberal party did not arise so much from the fact that the House of Lords was an hereditary body, nor from the fact that they were an aristocratic body, as because they were a permanent or high Tory committee. For a legislative body to have a permanent majority of one political party was a danger to the body itself, and therefore he would approve of some measures being taken for an alteration in the constitution of the House of Lords to remedy this defect. Turning to the question of local government reform, he said the Liberal party were practically unanimous that they should proceed forthwith with the greatest energy to the reform of local government and local finance. On the question of the land he said:—

"I entirely go with those who think that the whole system of settlement and entail, the questions resulting from the custom of primogeniture, and all like matters must be dealt with in the sense of setting land free as much as possible. To make land pass as quickly as possible from hand to hand must be one of our first duties, and it must be the duty of our lawyers to find means by which it may be done, and we must not be told that it is impossible. It is difficult, but it has been done in other countries where the tenure of land is almost as complicated as in our own. I am as anxious, I believe, as any man in the Liberal party, that the number of those who possess freehold property should be increased as much as possible. And I go so far as to say this, that even if the aggregate produce of the soil, if the wealth produced should be less under a system by which land is more diffused and holdings are smaller, the social and political advantages of land being held, ay, and farmed, by an infinitely great number of people, would counterbalance and outweigh the economical considerations on the other side."

While desiring to see an increase in the number of those who occupied the soil, Mr. Goschen did not approve of vesting in local representative authority the power to purchase land for allotment to the labouring classes. The question was asked, What can we do to increase the material resources of the poor? That was a problem which must engage the attention and the sympathy of every politician; but they could not think that the moment had come when by a stroke of the pen, by one system of established local authorities who would give allotments to the agricultural labourer, they would be able to raise the rate of wages throughout the United Kingdom. But it was said that Parliament and the classes that had been hitherto holding power had done nothing to improve the condition of the industrious and most numerous class.

“I do not know whether they have improved as compared with the fifteenth century, but certainly they have improved in comparison with forty or fifty years ago. Wages are higher, clothes are cheaper, food is cheaper, the working man is better remunerated, and sanitary laws have been passed of the greatest possible service. It is, I had almost said, a libel upon the Liberal party, which has for so many years been able to wield the destinies of this country, to say that they have done nothing for the most numerous and most industrious class of this country.”

One of the most favourite views of the present day was that the time had come when the State, and the community, and social bodies must more and more interfere, and that there was to be a substitution of corporate conscience for the conscience of the individual man. Mr. Goschen declared his preference for the latter alternative. In proportion as duties were laid upon the State or the local authority, so the sense of individual duty would, he declared, be weakened. He was in favour of making local corporations as representative as possible; but he asked his fellow-countrymen to pause before they went too far in the direction of believing in the immaculate virtues of local authorities. In reference to the question of free education, he said that as he was anxious that the individual should not be lost sight of in favour of the local authority upon every possible occasion, so he strongly maintained the importance of a sense of family duty. He believed that a better remedy for the improvement of the condition of the masses would be to encourage higher education after the children had left the elementary school. In reference to the manner in which the opposition of the Irish section should be met, he hoped Mr. Gladstone would lead the Liberal party to resist every proposal which would tend in any degree to shake not only the unity but the legislative unity of the United Kingdom. He accepted the Conservative disclaimer of a coalition with the Parnellites, but wondered whether coquetting with the Irish members would be repudiated by them with the same eagerness. All he could say was that if there was no flirtation he certainly himself saw much that looked uncommonly like it. He was in favour of local elective

councils, which he held would develop local life in Ireland ; but he could not support the suggestion for a central council, which would be in a sense a parliament in Dublin. In conclusion, he declared it was useless to start a will-o'-the-wisp, and promulgate doctrines which were dangerous unless they were necessary, and which if they were not necessary at once gave an appearance of Liberal disunion. He defended the attitude of moderate Liberals, and said that in the camps of the two political parties there were young men whose eyes were glistening with martial fire ; but each camp had still its veterans, and he did not believe the country wished to get rid of these or to push them into the hindmost places.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech was delivered at the extreme north of the kingdom, at Inverness, where the Crofters' agitation had already intensified the interest shown by the agricultural class in a speedy solution of the land question. His opening remarks on the former relations of chiefs and clansmen to the soil they occupied were subsequently subjected to somewhat severe criticism. Starting from the theory that in the Highlands security of tenure was the prevailing custom in bygone times, and describing the hardships consequent upon recent wholesale clearances, Mr. Chamberlain said : " I ask you whether it is not time that we should submit to a careful examination and review a system which places such vast powers of evil in the hands of irresponsible individuals, and which makes the possession of land not a trust, but a means of extortion and exaction. . . . The time has arrived when it behoves us to see whether we cannot prevent the abuse of property, and whether we cannot define strictly the limits of its rights. I have said before, and I say to-night, that I am averse to all confiscation. I do not see why a sufficient remedy should not be found, without any proceedings which can fairly be described as dishonest. But when I speak of confiscation I do wish that the landlords would exercise a little reciprocity. When an exorbitant rent is demanded which takes from a tenant the savings of his life, and turns him out at the end of his lease, stripped of all his earnings, when a man is taxed for his own improvements—that is confiscation ; and it is none the less reprehensible because it is sanctioned by the law. When public rights are invaded, when rights of way, and roads which have been open within the memory of living men, are barred and blocked, and when a whole country which has been free to every comer for countless generations is barred and fenced against all intruders, in order to promote the sport of a few selfish individuals, then I ask myself, and I ask you, whether the policy of confiscation has not proceeded far enough, and whether the people are alone to be robbed with impunity ? "

He did not see why the rights of the people should not be recovered. He hoped the people would not admit the doctrine, so dear to pilferers of every class, that a theft was to be condoned because

it escaped detection at the time. "I believe, gentlemen, that the first step to any remedy is to be found in the creation of a universal system of popular representative local government, which forms one of the main planks in the programme which Mr. Gladstone has put before the people this morning. We might call upon such authorities—free, independent, and thoroughly representative of the whole people—to protect the remaining rights of the public, and we might authorise them to secure the restitution of those that have been illegally appropriated. It seems to me that in the same direction we may look for a settlement of what is perhaps the greatest difficulty in connection with the Crofters' grievance. What is that difficulty? It is the insufficient size of their holdings. It is no use to give a man fixity of tenure, right of purchase, free sale, fair rents, if the land which is the subject matter of these considerations is of such quantity, or such a quality, that he cannot by any possibility, by the most exacting and unremitting toil, extract even a bare subsistence from it. It seems to me that pastures on the hill-side and arable land which has been taken from these people must be restored to them if there is to be any satisfactory settlement of their grievances. And I believe that any bill will now be recognised as inadequate which does not provide some facilities with this object."

Mr. Chamberlain then went more fully into the details of his land reform. He proposed that the local authorities should have power in every case to take land compulsorily at its fair value for any public purpose, and he included in public purposes the letting of land for small holdings, and, of course, for providing the necessary pasture for the Crofters. As to other conditions, everybody was agreed that there must be absolute security, so long as the rent was paid; and he believed the vast majority of people were agreed that there must be a fair rent settled by an impartial tribunal. There must also be compensation for improvements, the best way to settle which, in his opinion, would be that of free sale. Speaking of deer forests, he said if the best authorities were agreed that these forests were not advantageous to the country, but were really injurious to the happiness of the inhabitants and their prosperity, then he should agree with the proposition that these forests should be subjected to special taxes, intended to discourage them. Mr. Chamberlain then dealt with the question of free education, and urged reasons for adopting that system. He did not propose to place the additional burden upon the rates, but the national taxes on Church endowments. In conclusion he said: "In the speeches which I have recently delivered in England and in Scotland, I have had no pretension at all to lay down any complete or exhaustive Liberal programme. That is the duty of a greater man than I, and that has been discharged by Mr. Gladstone in the manifesto which was published this morning, and which will be welcomed throughout the United Kingdom, not merely as a clear and eloquent exposition of Liberal

aims and Liberal policy, but also as the welcome assurance that the chief who on so many previous occasions has led us to victory will lead us once more in the coming struggle."

A week later, Mr. Chamberlain, speaking at the Victoria Hall, Lambeth (Sept. 24), explained his views and position with even greater distinctness, but touching on no fresh subjects. He had, he said, proposed three things—(1) that taxation should be readjusted so as to produce equality of sacrifice among all classes—that is, presumably, as he had previously explained, that taxation should be graduated according to wealth; (2) that school-fees should be totally abolished; and (3) that local councils should be authorised to expropriate land at a moderate price for distribution in allotments among the poor. "We are to do for the English labourer what we have done for the Irish peasant." If the party leaders rejected his propositions, his course would be clear. He could not press his conclusions against the majority of his party; but in that case it would be dishonourable in him to take his place in the Cabinet. He should stay outside, and lend "a loyal support" to those who were unable to go as far as himself. For his part he believed that democracy would solve the problem—the condition of the poor—which had baffled the philosophers and eluded the grasp of the statesmen.

This speech attracted the more attention since it had been so loudly declared by certain enthusiasts that Mr. Gladstone's manifesto had healed all party feuds. It had indeed received praise from Mr. Goschen and respectful attention from Mr. Chamberlain; but the latter had subsequently declared the conditions on which he would resume office, and the adherents of the former were bitterly complaining of the animosity displayed by the Radicals to Mr. Goschen in his candidature at Edinburgh. On the other hand, Mr. Chamberlain had won over to himself one important convert. Sir William Harcourt, at Blandford (Sept. 28), declared himself strongly in favour of a system of land tenure which would enable the labourer to purchase his cottage and make him less dependent on his wages. He did not go so far as to recommend that the sale should be compulsory and at a fixed price, but rather that local councils should be authorised to buy land for distribution among labourers. At the same time he announced his complete agreement with Mr. Chamberlain, "who grew stronger the more he was abused." Mr. John Morley required to go through no process of conversion to Mr. Chamberlain, although he seemed, from his speech at Cambridge (Sept. 29), to prefer loans to labourers to buy land, in the same way that loans were made to landlords for drainage—a system which never had been denounced as Socialistic. He, however, warmly encouraged Mr. Chamberlain in his refusal to enter a Cabinet in which his proposals about the land might not be pressed. Mr. Morley summed up the Conservative policy in Ireland as "a policy of soft words and hard cash; and though inclined to grant full self-government

to Ireland, he would not retract his opinion that "the independence of the island would be a disaster for herself and a dishonour for England." He did not believe that the Conservatives intended to frame a County Government Bill based frankly on elections, holding that they would devise some scheme by which the voice of the labourers would be rendered inaudible or powerless. Before another prominent Radical could take up the note sounded by the leaders, Sir M. Hicks-Beach was able to intervene with a speech at Salisbury (Oct. 1), attacking his opponents with no little vigour, and at the same time ably defending the conduct of the Administration. He declared that the Tory possession of power was a real possession, and that they intended to use it; and affirmed that when the Liberals resigned they were "bankrupt in character, in reputation, and in power," and they were now reuniting only to turn the Tories out. He admitted that boycotting had become rife in Ireland, but said the Government had instituted prosecutions, and, if those means failed, would try stronger measures. He regretted the depression, which, he said, Mr. Gladstone in his manifesto did not even mention—a depression increased by Liberal extravagance—and did not believe that either the Act about ground-game or the Act protecting unexhausted improvements had done agriculture any good. As to Mr. Chamberlain's offers, the more they were looked into the more would be found against them. A freehold cottage was not such an advantage as a cottage which the landlord must be strictly bound to repair, and a man on wages was better off than a little farmer. Lastly, but most significantly, he advised all voters to ask their candidates categorically whether they meant to vote for Disestablishment or the suppression of the House of Lords.

The principal point of interest arising out of this speech was the correspondence to which it led between Mr. Gladstone and Sir M. Hicks-Beach. The latter had said that the Liberal Cabinet before quitting office had decided to dispense with all exceptional legislation in Ireland, and especially against boycotting. Mr. Gladstone therefore wrote two letters to Sir M. Hicks-Beach (Oct. 2 and 10), who had repeated the story, denying that his Government had abandoned the boycotting clauses. Sir M. Hicks-Beach in his reply had been courteous, but had hinted that the Liberal Ministry, whether it had abandoned the clauses or not, did not intend to renew them; and Mr. Gladstone, "with the Queen's permission," told him the exact position in which matters stood. The Government had resolved to abandon "the coercive clauses of the Act," but to invest the Viceroy, by statute, with power to enforce "the procedure clauses" which "related to changes of *venue*, special juries, and boycotting," whenever and wherever necessary. "The single point which remained for further consideration was whether the provisions as to boycotting, of which we had resolved to recommend the retention, should remain in force unconditionally throughout Ireland, or should, like the

other provisions, be left subject to executive discretion." If this conclusion represented the unanimous opinion of the Cabinet at the eve of the Whitsuntide recess, the reticence of the Government as to its intentions was the more inexplicable, and the unchallenged rumours of divided counsels unintelligible.

But public attention was for the moment chiefly exercised by the apparently irrevocable decision of Mr. Chamberlain to take office in a Cabinet where he would not be free to put forward his own views, and curiosity was stimulated to find out whether this rigid attitude would be assumed by other members of the party. Mr. Courtney, who had been for a time Mr. Chamberlain's colleague, was one of the first to explain that the latter's declaration that he could not be a party to a Government which excluded free schools and facilities to labourers' allotments, was not to be interpreted that he would not take part in a Government which did not include them. And Mr. Chamberlain himself, at Bradford (Oct. 1), developed his meaning at greater length. Replying to the toast of his health, Mr. Chamberlain said the present Government must show cause for its continued existence. He denied that the Liberal party were divided, but hoped that within its ranks freedom of discussion would always be allowed. "I have stated my determination," he added, "not to purchase the ordinary rewards of political ambition by the sacrifice of the cause that I have at heart. I have said that I could not consent to enter any Government which deliberately excluded from its programme those reforms which I have been advocating as of prime importance throughout the length and breadth of the land. With reference to his views on free schools as an ultimate issue of a system of national education, he thought it quite possible to imagine an arrangement which would leave the actual position of denominational schools untouched, which would neither increase nor diminish the obligation placed upon them of providing for a proportion of their expenditure out of voluntary subscriptions. Mr. Chamberlain then went on to contend that the proposals which he had made had already been accepted in principle. The only differences between him and the leaders of the Liberal party were those having reference to time and opportunity for adopting his proposals; and he gave his reasons in justification of his contention that they ought to be adopted at once. He also advocated the establishment of triennial Parliaments, urging the necessity for them in forcible language. He declared that, however powerful a party might be, prolonged labours exhausted the vitality and energy of those composing it. He would prevent obstruction in the House of Commons by constituting the Speaker a dictator with absolute powers in such cases.

In the evening of the same day Mr. Chamberlain addressed a more popular audience, and in the course of a lengthy speech developed his programme at great length. He admitted that there were advantages to be obtained from a Tory Government,

especially when it was allowed to act under the eyes of a watchful Liberal majority. He was not, however, prepared to transform a temporary engagement into a permanent occupation of the Treasury Bench. Alluding to the criticisms his programme had aroused among Liberals, Mr. Chamberlain said that where he differed from his censors, Mr. Goschen and others, "was in the conviction that the advanced party had also duties to fulfil, and that they could not discharge them by standing indolently by, with faint praise for those who have done the work in the past and barren criticism for those who continue it in the present." The great problem of our civilisation had yet to be solved. In spite of our enormously increased wealth there were nearly a million who sought a refuge from starvation "from the restricted charity of the State," and millions more who were hopeless of providing against old age, accident, or illness. Admitting the resignation of the poor to their lot, Mr. Chamberlain would not admit it was just to speak of these flagrant contrasts as the result of invariable causation and the inevitable law of Providence without even an attempt to raise the condition and lighten the lot of the poor. Every measure which seemed to secure this object he had supported in the past—the Permissive Bill, the Mines Regulation Act, the Employers' Liability Act, &c. He was desirous of seeing the hours of labour shortened, as a step in the right direction; but that was but a small fraction of a great problem, of which the Land Question was the basis. In dealing with this question there were certain points on which Mr. Chamberlain laid especial stress. He claimed a remission of taxation in order to remove inequalities which weighed unjustly on the necessitous classes. He would not stop at the mere abolition of the law of settlement, and cheapening the transfer of land; holding that until the just claims of the labourers had been satisfied and the steady depopulation of the country districts completely stayed, no great improvement could be looked for among the very poor. He hoped, therefore, that it would be "the first duty of any Liberal Government to establish throughout the length and breadth of the land new local and popular representative authorities to whom should be given the power to acquire land by compulsion at a fair price for every public purpose, notwithstanding the chances of jobbery, the danger of which he thought greatly exaggerated. Mr. Chamberlain held that the proposed increase of the functions of local authorities must be an essential feature of any scheme of local government. By such means alone he believed we "shall repair the mistakes of past generations, and re-people the rural districts of England, and re-establish on the land that hardy and industrious peasantry which has unfortunately almost disappeared under the withering influence of mistaken laws." The third part of Mr. Chamberlain's programme, "free education," was received with far less unanimous approval by his audience. And in the face of the opposition its suggestion aroused, he apparently modified his original views.

He almost limited himself to controverting the idea that free education would close denominational schools and would therefore throw upon already burdened rates an additional charge. But whilst strongly opposed to sectarian schools supported by State grants, large or small, he announced his intention of asserting that all contributions of Government money should be accompanied by some form of representative control. Lastly, Mr. Chamberlain referred to the charge of dictating terms to the Liberal party and its leader because he had said that he could not enter any Government which deliberately excluded from its programme those reforms which he considered of primary importance. He concluded: "I may have overestimated their popularity among the people, and, if so, it is quite right that others should lead where I shall have failed to obtain your support. But that I should purchase place and office by the abandonment of the opinions I have expressed, that I should put my principles in my pocket, and that I should consent to an unworthy silence on those matters to which I have professed to attach so great an importance, would be a degradation which no honourable man can regard with complacency or satisfaction. I am told that in so doing I make it impossible that I should ever again be called upon to serve the country. I imagine that is a decision which will rest with a higher tribunal than the editors of London newspapers. But in any case office for me has no attraction unless it may be made to serve the cause I have undertaken to promote, and if that reward is denied me, or is beyond my grasp, I will be content to leave to others the spoils of victory."

It is impossible within the limits of our space to indicate more than a few of the principal speeches of the recess. From John o' Groats to the Land's End public meetings were being held almost daily, and platform speeches substituted for personal canvassing. The new electors had no reason to regret the change of system, and opportunities were placed within the reach of all to ascertain how far their candidates represented their own views. So far, in spite of Mr. Goschen's definite and Lord Hartington's dubious reservations on certain economic questions, the Whigs or Moderate Liberals, as they preferred to call themselves, had not taken much trouble to place their special views before the electors. The Radical candidates, taking their cue from their ubiquitous leader Mr. Chamberlain, stirred their hearers with bright hopes of a better order of things under a Radical *régime*. On the other hand, the Conservatives were not less active in stimulating the fears of those who still possessed something by exaggerating the aims and intentions of those who possessed nothing but their newly-acquired vote. But so far the Conservative programme had been a purely negative one; neither Lord Salisbury nor Lord Randolph Churchill had defined the limits of their policy, or the special objects for the people's good, which they were prepared to advocate. All doubts on this point were soon to cease. After an

early meeting of the Cabinet, at which it was presumably decided what points of the old Conservative position should be abandoned and what new ones taken up, Lord Salisbury left London and appeared at Newport in Monmouthshire (Oct. 7), where under the form of an address to the National Union of Conservative Associations, he launched a manifesto which was little shorter than that circulated by Mr. Gladstone. After challenging Mr. Chamberlain to make good his assertion that the Conservatives in office were speaking and acting in direct contradiction to all they said and did when in opposition, Lord Salisbury glanced for a moment at foreign politics, alluding to the manner in which he was maintaining the spirit of the Berlin treaty. He then rapidly passed on to announce the Tory programme, of which he declared the first point to be large reforms in local government, increasing the powers of local representatives, and stiffening their authority; secondly, he claimed that the reform of local taxation and the relief of local burdens was especially, and had always been, a Conservative aim; thirdly, he would entrust local authorities with the settlement of the questions of Sunday-closing and local option, but always on the one condition that such settlement should not be deemed permanent. Passing next to the question of the future government of Ireland, Lord Salisbury remarked in reference to the schemes of federation after the example of the colonies on the one hand, and Austria-Hungary on the other, that he had never seen any suggestion which gave the slightest hope that it offered any satisfactory solution of the difficult problem. "To maintain the integrity of the Empire must undoubtedly be our first policy with regard to Ireland." He defended the non-renewal of the Crimes Act, on the ground that the chief grievance of which Loyalists complained—boycotting—had grown up under the Crimes Act, which was ineffective against its spread. Lord Salisbury's own idea was that boycotting depended on the passing humour of the population. On the questions relating to free land, he promised on the part of the Lord Chancellor that a scheme should be produced which would provide for the cheap transfer of land, combined with a compulsory registration of title. He was anxious, moreover, to introduce a scheme for permitting the sale of glebe land, by which he thought a very large amount of land would be brought into the market; and, although he doubted very much if the purchasers would be of the class championed by Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Collings, Lord Salisbury would be very glad to see the experiment tried. His own belief was that small holdings were contrary to the spirit of the times, and that the growing of wheat at least had become unprofitable. The cost, moreover, of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme would, he believed, prove its ruin. The local authorities, in order to purchase land, would have to borrow at four per cent., whilst those who worked it would not succeed in making more than two per cent.; the difference consequently would fall as a loss upon the rates.

Passing from economic to religious questions, Lord Salisbury, in the name of the Nonconformists of Wales and the Roman Catholics, pronounced in favour of denominational schools and religious education. Lastly, alluding to the language used by Mr. Chamberlain without rebuke, and his assumption of the leadership of the Liberal party without demur, Lord Salisbury warned his hearers that with the coming Parliament they might have a proposal for the disendowment of the Church of the country, "a proposal fraught with frightful disaster to the nation, and more calamitous than any other change which has taken place. The Church would be stripped and bare. In every part of the land the machinery by which God's Word has been preached, by which Christianity has been upheld, by which all the ministrations of religion have been carried to suffering humanity, would be put an end to. We can talk in no ambiguous language. It is a matter of life and death to us. Our party is bound up with the maintenance of the Established and Endowed Church of the country. We hear many prophecies as to the result of the coming election, and some of our adversaries talk in sanguine language. Perhaps what has recently taken place in France may teach some Opportunists in this country the wisdom of modesty in prediction. But, be that as it may, we do not look to the result; we look to the principles we uphold, by which we are bound in conscience to the tradition of our party, and, as men of honour, stand or fall."

This manifesto, which attracted from all sides commendations for its moderation, decided the lines upon which the Conservatives were to woo the constituencies. The blunder of the Egyptian campaigns, the Russian imbroglio, and other mishaps of the Liberal foreign policy, were to be thrown into the background; the government of Ireland by coercion or concession was to be relegated to a secondary position, and the battle was to be fought in defence of the Established Church and denominational schools. With this programme the Irish Nationalists would, it was hoped, be satisfied and the English Roman Catholics conciliated. "The Church in danger!" was the cry raised from many a pulpit and many a platform. In answer to the Liberal leaders, who denied that the disestablishment of the English Church had formed part of the "authoritative" programme put forward by any one of them, the Conservatives, and even Liberal Churchmen, pointed to the pledges in favour of some sweeping ecclesiastical reforms freely given by the enormous majority of the Liberal candidates, whose opinions and wishes could scarcely be disregarded should they find expression in the House of Commons. Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Goschen, and Lord Hartington, who almost simultaneously with Lord Salisbury put forward the views of the sections of the Liberal party with which their names were identified, avoided the dangerous topic, and addressed themselves to the more prominent and pressing questions of the Liberal programme. Sir C. Dilke, at Chelsea (Oct. 6), said that his programme

contained two points—good administration and local government reform. In addition to these he was in favour of remodelling the government of London, of land reform, and of further modifications of Parliamentary procedure by which all local private business should be transferred to Irish, Scotch, and Welsh boards. He defended Mr. Jesse Collings' proposals to confer upon local authorities the power to take land for the purpose of reletting it to agricultural labourers at a fixed and reasonable rent. In Ireland Sir C. Dilke wished to see established the widest form of elective self-government consistent with the integrity of the Empire, and throughout the United Kingdom he desired to see the "freeing of elementary schools," for which, if existing endowments or other similar funds properly applied did not suffice, he suggested that an Imperial grant should be made, not taking the form of a subsidy, but the concession to local authorities of some tax capable from its nature of local collection. Sir C. Dilke, however, was unable to agree with Mr. Gladstone on "the reconstitution of the House of Peers, and would oppose any such scheme to the utmost of his power, claiming for such a view the support of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. John Morley, and he declared that in his opinion such a reconstituted House would be likely at once to become mischievous unless made by law the slave of the Ministry of the day.

Mr. Goschen, at Edinburgh (Oct. 7), addressed himself to the Moderate Liberals, following very closely the lines of Mr. Gladstone's manifesto. To a reform of procedure he gave the foremost place in his programme, avowedly on the ground that otherwise five millions of Irishmen might make Parliament useless to thirty millions of Englishmen. He was as strong upon county government, though preferring indirect election to direct, as he was upon Ireland, declaring that legislative independence could not be granted, and that the countries must remain tied together. With regard to the question of Disestablishment, he relegated the English part of the question to the future, and on the Scotch part would accept the decision of the Scottish people. He was, however, more decidedly opposed to free education, holding it essential to maintain family responsibility in that matter, and preferring, if the working-classes really needed the relief, to give it in some other way. Subsequently he explained at greater length his views on the Land Question. He wished to see transfer made easy, and he expressed his belief that the abolition of settlement and entail would facilitate the disposal of land; but that its distribution through councils, corporations, or local bodies would be found costly and irksome.

Lord Hartington began his election campaign on the following day at Bury, but he said little beyond a reference to the Land Question, suggesting his belief that more might be effected by the removal of restrictions imposed upon the transfer of land by bad laws and bad customs than from any artificial provision for

facilitating distribution. Before concluding, however, he expressed the doubt whether his twenty-eight years of public service had not exhausted him—a remark which was at once seized upon by some as indicative of his unwillingness to co-operate with Mr. Chamberlain or to organise a party against him. A day or two later, however, at Rawtenstall (Oct. 10), he took pains to assure his hearers that he was not going to join the Conservative party, because he had no confidence in the Conservative leaders. He considered their foreign policy rash, their conduct in opposition and their alliance with Mr. Parnell discreditable. His own colleagues, he said, he could trust, and, feeling that they wished the good of the people, he would “not rule out any of their proposals from discussion.”

Mr. Childers, at Pontefract (Oct. 12), struck out in a somewhat independent line, resisting the “ending” of the House of Lords, preferring, if it could not be “mended,” to leave it alone. He would defend the Establishment, and give it full power of managing its own affairs, with lay help in due proportion; and further, he would oppose free education. He did not believe it possible to carry the graduation of the income-tax and the death duties further than has been done, though land and personalty ought to pay the same. Finally, he spoke out upon Ireland. He would give Ireland a large measure of local self-government. He would leave her to legislate for herself, reserving Imperial rights over foreign policy, military organisation, external trade—including customs-duties—the Post Office, the currency, coinage, the National Debt, and the Court of Ultimate Appeal. On the other hand, he made use of language which seemed to convey that he would allow to Ireland control of her police and judiciary, and, consequently, of her civil and criminal law.

Mr. Chamberlain, at Trowbridge (Oct. 15), did little more than repeat his previously expressed views on the question of giving the local authorities power to take land compulsorily; and to relet it in allotments with small buildings, with absolute security of tenure. His argument in support of this doctrine was that the labourer was poor. It was the duty of the State to abolish poverty, and those who dissented from these conclusions were cold-blooded sceptics. He repeated his views on free education, but he formally withdrew the question of the Disestablishment of the Church from the Radical programme, seeing no possibility of dealing with it in the new Parliament. His views on free schools were, however, more clearly defined in a letter addressed to the Dean of Wells (Dr. Plumptre). In this he expressed his willingness to save voluntary schools from the crushing competition of free Board Schools, by making the former schools also free by giving them compensation, either by an extra capitation grant, or giving them a higher scale of payments by results. The question of free education, however, somewhat receded as the elections drew near.

The most critical question was how far the schism in the Liberal party would be fatal to its success at the polls.

Mr. Goschen, at Harrow (Oct. 21), insisted strongly upon the acceptance of Mr. Gladstone's programme, as the basis of Liberal union; but claimed for all Liberal candidates the right to bring forward on their own account proposals outside that programme, but only as free matter for discussion, on which Liberals might be expected to differ much and to differ peacefully, without excommunicating each other for the difference. He treated the question whether the local governments of country districts should or should not receive power to acquire land for small holdings and allotments, and to sell or rent it for those purposes, as one of those outside questions on which it was quite permissible for Liberals to differ; and for himself he declared that he was heartily favourable to the extension of the allotment system (though he did not regard it as a magic cure for all possible evils), while he had the greatest doubts as to the possibility of a rapid and sudden extension of peasant properties. He believed much more in the application of the co-operative system to farming than in the sudden creation of small peasant properties in large numbers, for he did not see how the capital for such farms could be obtained in any short time. This declaration, however, failed to satisfy the more advanced members of the party, and although Sir Charles Dilke (Oct. 28) denied that there was any idea to "boycott" Mr. Goschen by the Radicals, he nevertheless found excuses or reasons for the contest for his seat to which Mr. Goschen would be subjected by a more advanced Liberal. The greater portion of Sir C. Dilke's speech was devoted to showing that the Radical party should be fairly and fully represented in any new Liberal Cabinet. He even went so far as to say that if it were not a Cabinet which would draw up such a local government bill as he and his friends desired, their support would only be given from outside the Cabinet. Mr. Chamberlain, addressing his electors, struck the same note, declaring that he could not "agree with those who, having unsuccessfully resisted the extension of popular liberties, seek to stereotype the Liberal creed, and to make vain and fruitless the reforms which they endeavoured to prevent." Lord Hartington, however, adopted a very different line, declaring that all Liberals ought to be bound by Mr. Gladstone's programme, and ought not to be compelled to go beyond it. He was not going to raise a howl about the word "expropriation." He would consider the arguments to be brought for expropriating an owner, where the public good was at stake, as cheerfully in relation to the Land Question or the Allotment Question as he would in relation to any other great public question; but he would not commit himself beforehand to a great extension of the area in which "expropriation" was to be sanctioned by the State without sifting carefully all the arguments in favour of it and all the arguments against it. For such a purpose he declared emphatically that all

sections of Liberals should combine, and that Mr. Goschen would be as useful for examining them from one point of view as Mr. Chamberlain would be for considering them from another. "You want the authority of Mr. Gladstone. You want all the energy, all the quick sympathy with the wants and wishes of the people, of Mr. Chamberlain. You want the industry, the grasp of detail, possessed by Sir Charles Dilke. And also, I will venture to add, you want the co-operation, the knowledge of political economy, and the sound critical ability of Mr. Goschen."

The only reply to this advance was Mr. Chamberlain's speech to his constituents (Nov. 3), in the course of which he acknowledged Lord Hartington's great services and recognised the value of his co-operation. But with reference to Mr. Goschen, whom he looked upon almost as a deserter, whilst not refusing to sit with him in the same Cabinet, he added, "if we do not proscribe Mr. Goschen, we must protest against his pretension to limit the extension of the Liberal creed to suit his Conservative digestion. A pretension of that kind would, of course, be exorbitant if it were made: and if it were accepted, then I say there is only one course we should take as honourable men, and that would be to remain outside an arrangement that would falsify all the pledges that we had given to the people."

This was for the time the last word in a dispute of which the Conservatives looked to reap the fruit in due season, and they encouraged themselves with the belief that on the questions of Disestablishment and of the future government of Ireland the differences of the Liberal party were not less acute.

With respect to Ireland, indeed, the English Radicals seemed to have abandoned all idea of making themselves acquainted by local study with the state of popular opinion. The projected visit of Sir C. Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain to that country was given up in the face of the strongly expressed unwillingness of the Irish Nationalists to receive the English ex-Ministers, who, it had been asserted, were ready to throw up their offices rather than resort to coercive or exceptional legislation. Lord Hartington was the only English Liberal Minister who crossed the Channel, and he limited himself to a short visit to Belfast (Nov. 5). He spoke strongly in behalf of the Union and of the force which alone could hold its own and protect all classes against the National League. He insisted that it was absolutely essential for the British imperial power that the Liberals in the United Kingdom should be in a position to dispense with Mr. Parnell's aid; for this the Tories could not, under any circumstances, hope to do. If such a Liberal victory were gained, he contemplated very bold Irish reforms, all tending in the direction of decentralisation, but all accompanied by substantial guarantees against civil war, and against the infliction of local injuries by class upon class which would disgrace the statesmanship of the United Kingdom. After the Land Act had been passed and accepted, the landlords of

Ireland had a right to the protection of the State against those who were disposed to strip them of what the State had left them. Lord Hartington wished to see local liberty granted to Ireland, but insisted that the Government should retain in its hands the power of cancelling and practically reversing all acts which might involve the persecution of one class by another.

On the remaining question of Disestablishment, the Liberal leaders had preserved, after the issue of Mr. Gladstone's programme, a very discreet attitude. They contented themselves with denying that it formed any part of the immediate Liberal programme.

Mr. Gladstone, in a letter on the subject to Mr. Bosworth Smith, described the great panic which was being stimulated concerning Church defence as a Tory manœuvre intended to divert attention from the issues before the nation to issues of a dim and distant future. Sir Henry James went even further, and declared that in putting the Church forward the Tories were behaving like cowards who hid behind their women, trusting that their foes would shrink from injuring anything so gentle and gracious as a woman. But there were Liberals, or at least Whigs, whose fears were not less real than those of the Tories; and whose minds were not relieved by the assurances of Mr. Gladstone and his henchmen. Earl Grey, an old Whig, called upon Churchmen to join in the formation of a league having for its object to urge politicians of all parties to refuse their support to any candidate who would not pledge himself "to resist the projects of the Liberationists." The friends of the Church were encouraged to "form societies in the different constituencies for the purpose of demanding from every candidate an assurance of loyal support to the Church of England." This appeal was signed by the Dukes of Westminster, Bedford, and Somerset; by Lord Selborne, Lord Halifax, Lord Mount-Temple, and various other peers; and by Mr. T. Hughes, Q.C., and other commoners, whose claims to be reckoned among the Liberal party were unassailable.

Such was the relative position of parties when Mr. Gladstone started for Midlothian, and the electoral campaign may be said to have been inaugurated in earnest. The Conservatives had the advantage of keeping in the background all the points upon which they were most seriously divided; whilst the Liberals gained whatever advantage might be found in stimulating discussion upon the aims and aspirations of their different leaders.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

The Disestablishment of the Church—Mr. Chamberlain's Address—Mr. Gladstone's Campaign in Midlothian—The Irish Nationalists—Lord Salisbury's Manifesto—Conservative Successes in the Boroughs—The Revolt of the Counties—General Results—Mr. Gladstone's Scheme of Home Rule—Attitude of the Radical Leaders—Close of the Year—Colonial and Foreign Policy of the Government.

As the moment of the dissolution approached, the speeches became more numerous, and confusion greater. The Tories, in putting the Church question in the forefront of the battle, had made a successful party-move. The English Dissenters accepted the challenge with eagerness, and the Welsh found in it a question upon which they could show a united front; but the English Liberal Churchmen were not satisfied with Mr. Gladstone's refusal "to darken controversy" by introducing a topic "with which it would be for others, not for him, to deal." "For my own part," added Mr. Gladstone in his letter to Mr. Bosworth Smith, "I have embraced no new opinion, and I have neither shared in nor assented to any attack upon the Church; but I have never been in the habit of blowing the trumpet for battles in which I could take no part." On other points, Lord Derby and Lord Hartington seemed to be more ready to approach Mr. Chamberlain than the latter was to modify his personal opinions. The former at Liverpool (Oct. 31) declared that without dealing with the unripe questions of the Church and the House of Lords, Parliament had before it practical work sufficient for the next five years. Lord Derby expressed his conviction that the idea that a free education was a concession to Socialism was a chimera; that the compulsory purchase of land for allotments would be practically regulated by the ratepayer, who would be slow to go into such speculations; and that as for graduated taxation, it existed already in various forms in every budget. Mr. W. E. Forster, whose state of health prevented him from speaking in public, issued an address, in which he declared himself ready to support the four points of Mr. Gladstone's programme. He would not, however, support compulsory purchase of land for labourers' cottages; whilst before supporting free education, he should like to have a searching inquiry into the inability of parents to pay fees. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, at Birmingham (Nov. 3), agreed to let alone for a while the question of graduated taxation, leaving his "master and teacher" to decide the method and details of the financial scheme. In the direction of free schools, he declared that it would not lie with the Radicals to object, if any considerable body of Liberals asked for an inquiry. With regard to

the creation of a yeoman class, at the expense of the ratepayers, Mr. Chamberlain preferred to criticise the remarks of his critics rather than make any further explanation of his own views. He showed, however, no disposition to withdraw from the position he had assumed for himself; and, whilst recognising the debt of the Liberal party to Lord Hartington, he strongly protested against Mr. Goschen's right to put his interpretations on Mr. Gladstone's words.

The case for the Conservatives was summed up by Lord Salisbury to a meeting at the Victoria Theatre, Lambeth (Nov. 4), in a speech in which, after denying that he was coquetting with the enemies of Free Trade, he boldly attacked Mr. Chamberlain's doctrines of ransom and restitution. These doctrines, he said, were the common property of every barbarous Government, and their inevitable effect was to drive away capital, starve industry, and diminish the population. He declared that Mr. Gladstone's postponement of the disestablishment of the Church to the "dim and distant future," was hardly comforting when viewed by that statesman's former language and acts, as evidenced in his action towards the Irish Church; and in conclusion he ridiculed the position of the Whigs, drawing a picture of the inner council of the "Ministry of all the Irresolutions" with "the Egyptian skeleton and Rip Van Winkle trying to make up each other's minds, and Lord Derby steadily pouring cold water upon both."

At such a juncture, it was not surprising that all eyes should be turned towards the ex-Premier, and all ears were strained to catch the hidden sense of the speeches he was about to deliver to his constituents. Starting from Hawarden (Nov. 9), two days only before Parliament was finally dissolved, he limited his speeches on the way to one at Carlisle. In reply to an address presented to him in the train, Mr. Gladstone said that, having accepted once more the leadership of the Liberal party, it was a leader's duty "to use every effort to prevent the predominance of any one section of his party over any other section," and "to raise his voice against any attempt to give to sectional opinions that importance which only belongs to the general convictions of the party; for if he were not to do this, if he were to defer to any section, he would be doing injustice to the party at large." His last counsels in England were his first words in Scotland, for immediately on his arrival at Edinburgh he insisted strongly on the necessity for the Liberal party to hold together, not only for the purposes of party, but in order that they might be in such a majority as would be sufficient to maintain the independence of the House of Commons as a whole in dealing with the Irish question. With regard to the spirit in which Mr. Gladstone approached this momentous question, he expressed the fervent hope "that from one end of Great Britain to the other there will not be a single representative returned to Parliament who for one moment would listen to any proposition tending to impair the visible and sensible Empire.

Whatever demands may be made on the part of Ireland, if they are to be entertained, they must be subject to the condition that the unity of the Empire shall be preserved." To give to Ireland, however, with a generous hand, all means of local self-government, whilst refusing all concessions to clamour, and to avoid all disruption of the Liberal party, were the objects to keep in view during the elections.

These remarks, however, were only meant to be introductory to the three great speeches which Mr. Gladstone was to deliver ostensibly to the electors of Midlothian, but in reality to the electorate of the United Kingdom, by which the enthusiasm of the Liberal party was to be rekindled and its breaches healed. The meeting place chosen for the first of the series—the Free Church General Assembly Hall—to some extent decided the main purpose of the speech. Separating the cases of Scotland and Ireland, Mr. Gladstone began by saying that not until weeks after he had written the passage in his manifesto, which had called forth so much criticism, he heard nothing of making Church Establishment or Disestablishment a test-question at the elections. It was "the Tories who, not finding themselves supplied with legitimate weapons, not unnaturally cast about to see what new artillery they could bring into the field;" but Lord Salisbury's remarks, he asserted, had induced a number of Liberal politicians to force forward the question. Mr. Gladstone, however, did not complain of electors wishing to ascertain the views of candidates on this subject, though he questioned the wisdom and propriety of placing the Church question in the position of a test-question; and he contended strongly that there was no state of things then existing which made the raising of such a question necessary or allowable. The Church of England, with its infinite ramifications through the whole fabric of society, had laid a deep hold on many hearts and minds. To disestablish it would be a gigantic operation, and it was of no use to conceal the truth that "no man now breathes the air of Parliament who will carry the measure into effect; and for the moment the public mind of England was not prepared for this great and tremendous change."

Turning to the Church of Scotland, Mr. Gladstone did not wish to see it separated from the State by English opinion. From what he had learnt, the party in Scotland which advocated separation would not be able to effect it in the new Parliament; and for this reason, as well as on account of his objections to abstract resolutions, Mr. Gladstone could not second or support Dr. Cameron's resolution endorsing the principle of Disestablishment; but he wound up his speech by saying, "It is a great, it is a gigantic question; and I am very far from saying that if I were but twenty years younger I could stand before you at a future election, and if then circumstances were ripe for taking a matter of this kind in hand—either on one side or the other—I am very

far from saying that I should then urge you not to give it the first place in your thoughts and actions."

This somewhat impotent conclusion gave dissatisfaction in nearly every camp. Mr. Gladstone's opportunism was as little appreciated by his Radical colleagues as it was by his Tory opponents, who demanded an explicit answer to the charges they had brought against him; and it was asserted on his own side that, so far from closing up the ranks of the party, his words would sensibly widen the existing rift. The leaders of the Free Church party in Scotland were especially disappointed, and urged insistence on Disestablishment as the most important article of the Scotch Liberal creed, with all consideration for Scotch seats. In an appeal signed by Principal Cairns and Principal Rainy on behalf of the Free Church party, whilst declaring that "nothing will affect our admiration for Mr. Gladstone, and our readiness to follow him as leader of the Liberals whenever the welfare of our country permits us so to do," they added that they felt compelled by their "sense of duty to call respectfully upon all in Scotland with whom Disestablishment is a matter of conviction and conscience, to meet the new situation with unflinching firmness and resolution. Mr. Gladstone's refusal to lead cannot relieve us from the obligation to do justice to our own convictions."

If, however, Mr. Gladstone's Church opportunism might possibly bring about the loss of a few seats in Scotland, it was argued that the gain in England would more than compensate the party. His declaration, moreover, with regard to Ireland seemed to have succeeded in quickening the idea that there was more for the Nationalists to look for from the Liberals than from the Tories. Mr. Parnell, in a speech at Liverpool (Nov. 10), recommending the candidature of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, his most able and trustworthy lieutenant, went on to say of Mr. Gladstone's speech, that "although in many respects vague and unsatisfactory, it was the most important pronouncement upon the Irish national question which had ever been delivered by any English Minister." Mr. Gladstone, however—said Mr. Parnell—seemed to decline to make any proposition of his own, and it was necessary he should make one, for, "until the Irish question was disposed of, it would be utterly impossible for any English questions to proceed." Moreover, if the Irish gave Mr. Gladstone a large majority before he had submitted his proposal to the electors, and Mr. Gladstone brought forward his measure and carried it, the Lords would throw it out, saying it had not been accepted by the people. Mr. Gladstone should, therefore, draw a constitution for Ireland, which no man could do better, "subject to the conditions and limitations which he had stipulated for regarding the supremacy of the Crown and the maintenance of the unity of the Empire," and let them all see what his proposal was.

Although this was interpreted in some quarters as evidence of a change of policy on the part of the Irish Nationalists, it was

taken by others, and more accurately, rather as an invitation to Mr. Gladstone to make concessions in advance of the pledges obtainable from the Conservative leaders. These had been limited to a promise of the "maintenance of the ordinary law," and a refusal to have recourse to "exceptional legislation." In the expediency of according greatly extended local self-government to Ireland both parties were agreed.

Meanwhile, even by Mr. Gladstone's own colleagues, the doctrine of opportunism was not unhesitatingly accepted. Lord Selbourne, who for so many years had held the Lord Chancellorship, wrote: "If I had a vote myself, I should certainly consider the maintenance of the Established Church as of much greater importance than the predominance of my own, or the defeat of any other political party." The people of Scotland on their side seemed at first little disposed to waive their personal views, and expressed their determination in not a few districts to make Disestablishment the one test-question of the election.

But calmer counsels were to prevail, in spite of the formal resolutions of the Free Kirk Assembly, and these second thoughts were ably expressed, if not altogether, by Lord Rosebery, who, speaking at the Scottish Liberal Club (Nov. 13), expressed his firm belief that, disappointed as many Scotch Liberationists might be with Mr. Gladstone's postponement of their question, the Scottish Liberals, when the struggle began, would vote unanimously with their great leader. The Liberationists were the men with whom he had always stood, and he felt for their disappointment; but they would remember that their leader came to Scotland not to lead a Liberal section, but to unite the Liberal party. Besides, if the decision had been otherwise, which question should they have postponed—the enfranchisement of the land—for which all Scotchmen were eager—or the question of local government, or the question of procedure, which involved the whole Irish Question? He was not sure that the latter would not swallow up all others; but he was sure how it must be settled—namely, by conceding any Irish demand which was "clear and constitutional, and would not conflict with the union between the two countries."

When, therefore, Mr. Gladstone next addressed his electors (Nov. 17) at West Calder, the symptoms of relenting on the part of the Scotch Independents were already apparent. Admitting that he had made a heavy draft upon the patience of those "constituting the backbone of the Liberal party," whose hearts and souls were bent on the prosecution of Disestablishment, Mr. Gladstone appealed to them to postpone the question for awhile. He himself was pledged to the severance of the question of disestablishment in Scotland from the like question in England, and he would do his utmost to bring this about; but, he argued, until this were done, should the Liberal party in Scotland make the sole question of Disestablishment the test of supporting or opposing candidates, the same thing would be done in England, and the supporters of the Church

Establishment there, Liberal as well as Conservative, never would have listened to the proposal to keep the questions apart. Passing next to foreign politics, Mr. Gladstone admitted that in some material points connected with the Soudan, the Liberal Government had fallen into errors. All its errors, however, were condoned or fostered by the Conservative Opposition, which, on coming into office, had not reversed the policy of its predecessors. With regard to the Balkan question, Mr. Gladstone paid a high compliment to Lord Salisbury's conduct, saying that towards the great and small Powers alike interested in the upholding of the Treaty of Berlin, Lord Salisbury had acted in accordance with "sound principles, of which no Englishman need be ashamed." He concluded a long and eloquent speech by ridiculing the Commission on Trade; dubbed Mr. Chaplin "the snake in the grass;" denounced the aim of the Commission as quackery, and pronounced a short existence to an imposture which could never offer a remedy to the regularly recurrent crises of trade. He rallied Mr. Parnell on the confidential communication conveyed to himself through the public press, that he (Mr. Gladstone) should lay before his country his offer to Ireland. To that communication he replied, by the same confidential channel,—first, that till Ireland had chosen her members there could be no authoritative representation to the country of Ireland's own wishes, without the knowledge of which any proposals would be made in the dark; and next, that even if that objection were not final, since he himself was not in any official position, it would be perfectly inexcusable for him to assume a function belonging to Ministers alone. The actual Government, he said, had kept its own counsel completely on Ireland, probably because it did not wish to say anything which would alienate the Irish vote; and it was impossible for him to intervene when the responsible Government was silent.

The answer to this skilful fencing was the issue (Nov. 21), by the Council of the Irish Nationalists, of a manifesto, approved by Mr. Parnell, calling upon their fellow-countrymen in Great Britain to vote everywhere against "the men who coerced Ireland, deluged Egypt with blood, menace religious liberty in the school, the freedom of speech in Parliament, and promise to the country generally a repetition of the crimes and follies of the last Liberal Administration."

The reasons for this attitude were explained at length in the address. "The Liberal party are making an appeal to the confidence of the electors at the general election of 1885, as at the general election of 1880, on false pretences. In 1880 the Liberal party promised peace, and it afterwards made unjust wars; economy, and its budget reached the highest point yet attained; justice to aspiring nationalities, and it mercilessly crushed the national movement in Egypt under Arabi Pasha, and murdered thousands of Arabs 'rightly struggling to be free.'"

"To Ireland, more than to any other country, it bound itself

by most solemn pledges, and these it most flagrantly violated. It denounced coercion, and it practised a system of coercion more brutal than that of any previous administration, Liberal or Tory. Under this system juries were packed with a shamelessness unprecedented even in Liberal administrations, and innocent men were hung or sent to the living death of penal servitude; twelve hundred men were imprisoned without trial; and for a period every utterance of the popular press, or of the popular meeting, was as completely suppressed as if Ireland were Poland and the administration of England a Russian autocracy. The Liberals began by menacing the Established Church, and, under the name of free schools, made an insidious attempt to crush a religious education of the country, to establish a system of State tyranny and intolerance, and to fetter the right of conscience, which is as sacred in the selection of the school as in the free selection of one's church. The cry of Disestablishment has been dropped, the cry of Free Schools has been explained away, and the two last cries left to the Liberal party are the so-called reform of procedure and the demand to be independent of the Irish party.

“Reform of procedure means a new gag, and the application to all enemies of Radicalism in the House of Commons of the despotic methods and the mean machinery of the Birmingham caucus. The specious demand for a majority against the Irish party is an appeal for power to crush all anti-Radical members in Parliament first; then to propose to Ireland some scheme doomed to failure, because of its unsuitability to the wants of the Irish people; and finally to force down a halting measure of self-government upon the Irish people, by the same methods of wholesale imprisonment, by which durability was sought for the impracticable Land Act of 1881.”

Meanwhile the Conservatives throughout the English boroughs and counties were pushing their opponents hard on the vagueness of one half of their leaders, and the revolutionary tendencies of others. For the first time since the defeat of the Liberal Ministry in the month of June, it began to be whispered that the Liberal majority would not be so crushing and triumphant as was believed and asserted. The Conservatives, rightly or not, attributed this change of opinion amongst a large class of more thoughtful voters rather to the vague fears of a Disestablishment campaign than to the discredit which clung so long to the foreign policy of the late Government. In any case, on the very eve of the election (Nov. 21), a letter from Lord Salisbury appeared which summed up the case for the Conservatives.

“Mr. Gladstone” (he wrote) “has spoken much upon this subject, and yet he has avoided answering this question. To have done so is no mean oratorical success. But there is one opinion which he undoubtedly expresses with great distinctness—namely, that Disestablishment should not be made a test question at this election. As the mass of Liberal candidates in Scotland—78,

I believe, out of 100—are pledged to the principle of Disestablishment, this doctrine practically means that Liberal electors who are for the Church shall, nevertheless, vote for Liberal candidates who are against the Church. What will the result of this principle be if a large Liberal majority should be returned? It is certain that a resolution in favour of Disestablishment will be moved. Mr. Gladstone tells us that he will vote against it. Mr. Chamberlain has proclaimed his hope that it will be carried; and, to judge by their avowed opinions, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, and the two late law officers must vote for it also. The mass of Liberal candidates in this island are pledged to the principle. Will Mr. Gladstone's authority be sufficient to induce them to vote against it? It is matter of great doubt."

After passing in review and at some length the various arguments in favour of a maintenance of the Establishment, and refuting those on the other side, Lord Salisbury concluded: "My answer, therefore, to any friend of the Church who asks me my view of the present crisis is necessarily the exact reverse of Mr. Gladstone's. Make support of the Church a test question above all others. Those who rate the Established Church at the same value as local government, or registration, or parliamentary procedure, or even as the union of the Liberal party, will naturally not make it a test question; but I am convinced that there are many among the Liberal party who will not apply this measurement to the 'national testimony to the Christian religion.' Let us not be lulled to sleep by these assurances that the conflict is postponed to another Parliament; they are merely devices to persuade us to give more time to the enemy to organise his force and undermine our position. The battle for the Churches will be hardly fought; we are not justified in throwing a single chance away."

Mr. Gladstone, in his concluding speech (Nov. 21), limited himself almost exclusively to discussing the relations of landlords and tenants, claiming credit for his party for having already secured for the latter security of tenure, the benefit of unexhausted improvements, and protection from ground game losses, but he admitted that the urgent Crofter question still remained to be dealt with. His first measure of reform, however, would be, whilst ensuring a perfect liberty of bequest, to get rid of the custom of primogeniture and of the law of entail; that land held in mortmain should be abolished, and that the taxation of land should be equitably readjusted. With regard to the creation of yeomen, Mr. Gladstone was more reticent.

"This is a subject," he said, "of very great interest in connection with the question of introducing the labourer to a share in cultivation—possibly in the ownership of the land for his own benefit, because I pointed out to you that there is a certain amount of difficulty in authorising local authorities to go among a number of proprietors to select at their own option whom they shall expropriate; but there is a great stalk of land which, when

it is sold under public authority, it will be in the power of the State to acquire in large portions, and in many parts of the country there will be a most valuable and unobjectionable opportunity of selling land in such portions as will be valuable for the less wealthy classes of the population."

The last words, before the actual voting began, fell to Lord Salisbury, who, speaking at the St. Stephen's Club (Nov. 21), expressed himself hopefully as to the results of the election—if only the Conservatives would fight the battle as believing no constituencies were certain, and that no constituencies were hopeless. Criticising rather Mr. Chamberlain's than Mr. Gladstone's utterances, in both Scotland and England, Lord Salisbury said:—

‘Somehow or other, neither the prospect of unlimited vestry confiscation nor of three acres and a cow seems to have affected much the electorate of these countries, and these promises have gradually faded away. All the philanthropy that we have heard with respect to the necessity of enabling local authorities to establish small farms and small tenancies—all that has fallen into the background, under the influence of public discussion. Those who did not know it before are now pretty well convinced that small tenancies are not a source of unbounded happiness to those who have the privilege of enjoying them. I have noticed that the offer has fallen perfectly flat upon those agricultural labourers who know perfectly well what they are doing. Their observation was that a man could not live on three or four acres, and they remarked that, even if the State furnished him with a cow, it was possible that, in the course of nature, the cow might die.’

But Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Salisbury declared, had not rested satisfied with these proposals for exciting the attention of the public. He had proposed in the most formal manner, and in the most acrimonious language, the disestablishment of the two Churches to which the people of this island are so much endeared. No sooner was his scheme launched, however, than it became evident to those who were acting with him that he had committed one of the most grievous blunders the Liberal party had ever perpetrated. Mr. Chamberlain's efforts to push burning questions to the front had not been successful. His confiscation theory and his other schemes had been whittled away by his colleagues. As for the artificial nature of the unity of the Liberal party Lord Salisbury went on to say:

“The whole energy of the leaders of the Liberal party has been devoted to impressing the intense importance of generating the unity of the party, which appears to be a thing so difficult to obtain, entirely or mainly leaving out of view any of the great results which the unity is to attain. They are divided, not upon trifles, not upon matters which are open questions, but the late Cabinet are divided upon what they themselves would acknowledge to be the most important questions that can possibly occupy the attention of statesmen at the present time.

“Mr. Gladstone had gone to Scotland to secure the unity of the Liberal party; but as they were not agreed upon a set of opinions, they were not a party, and an exhortation to unity was an exhortation to hypocrisy. The convictions of the Conservatives being genuine, they were therefore united.”

With this statement of the Liberal programme from the Conservative point of view, the speeches of the party leaders came to an end; and all interest was now turned to the ballot-boxes, which were to pronounce judgment on the contending parties. In the various forecasts which appeared, writers and speakers were guided rather by their hopes and wishes than by any available data at their command. Election agents admitted that the new electorate formed a wholly unascertained and unascertainable factor in the contest. In Wales and, until the disestablishment question had produced dissension, in Scotland also the Liberals counted upon carrying almost every seat. In Ireland Mr. Parnell's followers were calculated to be returned about eighty strong, and it was thought that of the largely increased Metropolitan members two-thirds at least would be Liberals. The English boroughs which had hitherto returned a large Liberal contingent would, it was thought, show little change under the new conditions of voting, except that here and there a minority candidate, who would have failed under the old system, might secure the seat in one of the local wards into which the larger boroughs had been broken up. The English county districts remained impenetrable. By some it was asserted that the cry of “three acres and a cow” would evoke in the rural voters a sense of gratitude to come more lively than their appreciation of the vote conferred upon them; whilst others maintained that the doctrine of enriching the “have-nots” at the expense of the “haves” would more strongly operate as a deterrent among the hard-working and comparatively poor, than the vague hope of bettering themselves would excite them to support a scheme of State Socialism.

The result of the first day's polling upset many of these calculations. In forty-four borough constituencies 26 Conservatives were returned against 18 Liberals, where at the previous elections 35 Liberals had been elected against 20 Conservatives. Four new constituencies, carved out of older and larger ones, returned Liberals, and Birmingham sent Liberal members for each of its seven divisions. But the Conservative minorities, which in 1880 had been in many instances insignificant, and in others unnumbered, now showed that a remarkable change had come over public opinion in these centres. Mr. Bright only succeeded in holding his own against Lord Randolph Churchill by a majority of less than 800 in a poll of over 9,000 electors, and in another division Mr. Alderman Kenrick, who since 1872 had held the important office of Chairman of the General Committee of the National Liberal Federation, saved his seat by barely 600 votes against Mr. H. Matthews, Q.C., a London barrister. But elsewhere the Liberals were less for-

tunate. Liverpool returned 8 Conservatives and Mr. Parnell's most able lieutenant, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Manchester 5 Conservatives and 1 Liberal, Sir Henry Roscoe; Leeds and Sheffield 3 Conservatives and 2 Liberals in each case. Other large towns, like Stockport, Oldham, Bristol, Durham, Brighton, &c., which had hitherto been strictly Liberal, were represented wholly or in part by Conservatives. The Metropolitan districts, which in 1880 had sent up 14 Liberals and 8 Conservatives, now returned 62 members, of whom 37 were Conservatives and 25 Liberals; whilst for the whole of England the result showed that out of 232 borough seats (including the Universities) in England alone, 118 were carried by the Tories, and 110 by the Liberals, the remaining 4 being classed as Independents (3) and Parnellite (1). In 1880 the English borough members numbered 287, of whom only 85 were returned as Conservatives. The personal losses of the Liberals were not less serious. Two ex-Cabinet Ministers, Mr. Childers at Pontefract, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre at Reading, failed to secure re-election, and among the subordinate members of the Liberal Administration, Sir Arthur Hayter, Mr. J. Kynaston Cross, Mr. J. Holms, and Mr. G. W. E. Russell also lost their seats, besides many other prominent unofficial Liberals, such as Mr. Jacob Bright and Mr. Slagg (Manchester), Mr. Horace Davey, Q.C. (Christchurch), the Hon. R. B. Brett (Plymouth), the Hon. Lyulph Stanley (Oldham), &c. The Welsh boroughs, which at the previous general election had been represented by 15 Liberals, now sent only 9, with two Conservatives, the remaining borough constituencies being merged in the new county divisions. The new borough constituencies, however, for the most part, returned Liberals. And this was at once seized upon by the more hopeful, as indicative, in a way, of the feelings of the new electors, whose voice would be heard more potently when the county contests were taking place. The cause of this revulsion in popular feeling was clearly discussed, and the most contradictory theories were advanced. In some few constituencies, perhaps, and where the Liberal vote was split between rival candidates, the Conservatives were able to secure seats which otherwise would have fallen to their opponents; in others the transfer of the Irish vote, in obedience to Mr. Parnell's mandate, shifted, in nearly balanced constituencies, enough votes to the Tories to cause a change in their representation. But the enormous increase in the total weight of the Conservative borough votes was evidence that there were other causes at work which determined their defection. The marked divergencies between the programmes of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Hartington, the Catholic feeling on the education question and the alarm created in the minds of many Liberals who clung to a State Church, were among the reasons alleged; and to these must be added the dissatisfaction and grumbling expressed in nearly all provincial centres at the vagueness and uncertainty of the foreign policy of the Liberals when in office; their persistent

shrinking from all responsibility, and above all by their failure to show that peace, progress, and retrenchment, the cardinal points of their programme, had been persistently pursued during the period they had been in power. In some manufacturing districts, moreover, the vague hopes of "protected industries" raised by the fair trade party could not fail to have exercised an influence at a moment when the business of the country was passing through a critical phase; but the influence of the fair traders, or of the Irish vote, could at the best have been local and restricted to certain centres, whilst the increase of the Conservative vote throughout the boroughs was heavy and almost universal.

At the time, however, when many of the stoutest Liberals were losing heart and the Conservatives on the platform and in the press were confidently looking forward to maintenance in office, Mr. Gladstone, speaking on behalf of Lord Richard Grosvenor (Nov. 30), showed that his confidence in the reversal of the old voters by the new was unbroken; and called upon them to give to his party such a clear and strong majority over the combined forces of the Conservatives and Parnellites that the Liberal policy of justice to, and conciliation of, Ireland might be passed and carried, but without regard to an Irish vote. The results of the next few days proved that Mr. Gladstone's estimate of the forces of Liberalism was not altogether unwarranted. His own re-election for Mid-Lothian, by an enormous majority, was followed immediately by the return of Lord Hartington for the Rossendale division of Lancashire against Mr. Ecroyd, whose name was prominently associated with the fair trade movement, and by other similar successes. The Scotch elections, moreover, were going so decisively against the Conservatives, that there was a fair reason to anticipate that its Liberal vote would counterbalance the anti-Liberal vote of the Nationalists in Ireland, and that by this means the real solution of all English and Imperial questions would be left to the English constituencies. In the existing aspect of affairs, therefore, it remained to be seen whether the English counties or the English boroughs were to remain masters of the situation. Looked at from this point of view the answer was sufficiently conclusive. Scotland was represented by 61 Liberals, and 9 Conservatives (as compared with 53 Liberals and 7 Conservatives in the previous Parliament), whilst Ireland returned 85 Parnellites or Home Rulers, 18 Conservatives, and not a single Liberal, in spite of all that Liberal statesmen had done to secure Irish goodwill. Day by day the returns from the English counties showed that the new electors were either grateful for their new privileges, or eager for the economic changes foreshadowed by Mr. Chamberlain and his friends, and but slightly moved by the appeals made to them to defend the State Church. Although the borough voter, equally with the rural, enjoyed the advantage of cheap bread, the former may have felt that the vague hopes of "fair trade" and increased wages

far outweighed the benefits arising from an unrestricted supply of corn, whilst the opportunity of voting against the farmers who were suspected of being naturally inclined to Conservatism operated strongly with the newly enfranchised agriculturists. What, however, was more obvious was the increased favour with which working-men candidates were received in both urban and rural constituencies. Upwards of twelve such members were returned, chiefly for England. Mr. Joseph Arch, once an agricultural labourer, defeated Lord Henry Bentinck, half-brother of the Duke of Portland, in Norfolk, and Mr. J. Wilson, once a pitman, carried a district of Durham against Mr. N. Wood, one of the largest employers of labour; both remarkable instances of this change in political opinion. From South Dorset, however, to North Northumberland, the Liberals carried the seaboard districts with scarcely a single break; Devon and Cornwall on the south, nearly the whole of Wales on the west, and of Norfolk and Suffolk on the east, with Northumberland and Durham, all declared in favour of Mr. Gladstone or of those who appealed to them in his name; and when the last poll was declared it was found that the Liberals had carried 133 English county seats, as compared with 54 in 1880; whilst the Conservatives, who then seated 118 members, were now reduced to 100. The total strength of parties, therefore, showed that the Liberals and Independents (4), mustered 335 votes, the Conservatives 249, and the Home Rulers 86. If, therefore, the whole strength of all parties voted in accordance with the views laid down in the Liverpool Home Rule Mandate, the result would be an absolute tie—or rather a majority of one in favour of that party from which the Speaker should not be chosen.

The result of the elections once ascertained, all public interest was concentrated upon the question whether Lord Salisbury would resign at once, or would await the issue of a direct vote. The immediate problem to be faced, by whichever party held office, was the solution of the Irish difficulty; and as it became each day more obvious that the Ministry had nothing to offer but a local government scheme far too restricted to meet with Mr. Parnell's approval, that the Conservatives would find themselves in a minority in the first critical division was a foregone conclusion. On the other hand a few Radicals, led by Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain, seemed disposed to allow Lord Salisbury to remain in office as long as he was ready to propose measures in the principles of which they could agree. But there was no evidence that these views were shared by the bulk of the party, and least of all by Mr. Gladstone, in whose name the battles had been fought by the Liberals, and won in order to replace him in power. Such an arrangement, moreover, would only have been possible were the Irish Nationalists disposed to support the Conservative Government, and of this there seemed no likelihood. To the Liberal leaders they could offer the certainty of an overwhelming majority, whilst

in coalition with the Conservatives they formed only just half of the House of Commons. The whole pivot of the situation lay in the arrangement which Mr. Gladstone might make with Mr. Parnell, and to what extent the former's extended form of local self-government could be fused with the latter's demand for "Grattan's Parliament." The first suggestion of some neutral solution of the difficulty appeared in the *Daily News* (Dec. 12), which proposed the nomination of a small committee formed of the leaders of both political parties and including Mr. Parnell and one or more of his friends, to discuss what sort of legislature it would be wise and safe to set up in Dublin. The idea was discussed with favour in some quarters, but it soon became clear that the Conservatives would hold aloof from any such proposal, even if the Parnellites announced their adhesion. Nor was the unanimous acquiescence of the Liberal party at all certain; for Sir Charles Dilke, following up his first speech, plainly declared (Dec. 14) that in his opinion "Liberal principles were much more likely to prevail if the Liberal party were in opposition in a minority against the Conservative party than if they were themselves in office in a minority." Meanwhile the air was thick with rumours, few of which had even the shallowest basis of fact. Mr. Gladstone, as a Privy Councillor, it was asserted, had addressed a letter to the Queen on the subject of the establishment of a Parliament in Ireland dealing with purely Irish affairs. Lord Ashburne, the Irish Lord Chancellor, had, in concert with Lord Carnarvon, drawn up a scheme of Home Rule; another informant declared that if the Conservatives declined to take up the Irish question on the assembly of Parliament, Mr. Gladstone would state his views, and if these proved acceptable to his followers and the Irish party, he would be prepared to bring in measures based upon them. The authenticity of each of these rumours was denied, after more or less interval; but a very different colour was thrown upon the question by the appearance simultaneously in the *London Standard* and the *Leeds Mercury* (Dec. 16) of what pretended to be an authentic description of Mr. Gladstone's proposed scheme. According to this the lines upon which Mr. Gladstone would be prepared to deal with the Home Rule question were:—the maintenance of the Unity of the Empire, the authority of the Crown, and the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament; coupled with the creation of an Irish Parliament, to be entrusted with the entire management of all legislative and administrative affairs, securities being taken for the representation of minorities, and for an equitable partition of all Imperial charges. One of the guarantees suggested would, it was added, be the nomination of a certain proportion of the Irish members by the Crown.

The last clause was at once declared to be pure conjecture, but the suggestions were otherwise accepted as possibly showing the drift of the ex-Premier's mind at the moment, inasmuch as their publication coincided with the arrival of Mr. Herbert

Gladstone at Leeds from Hawarden, and his consequent interview with his principal local supporters. Mr. Gladstone, however, telegraphed at once all over the kingdom, through the agency of the Central Press :—"The statement is not an accurate representation of my views, but is, I presume, a speculation upon them. It is not published with my knowledge or authority ; nor is any other, beyond my own public declarations."

This denial, however, failed to convince the majority of the public that the scheme described did not in some degree represent a phase, though possibly a passing one, of Mr. Gladstone's views. The scheme, moreover, it was urged, might have been launched as a *ballon d'essai*, in order to ascertain the force and direction of public opinion. If so, Mr. Gladstone had not long to wait. The *Times* thought it would be better for both England and Ireland "to cut the connection absolutely, and make provision for dealing with Ireland as an open foe, than to put weapons into the hands of traitors by the farce of pretending to maintain Imperial unity without power to enforce a single law not approved by a Parliament sitting in College Green, and paid by the sworn foes of England all over the world." The *Standard* prophesied that Mr. Gladstone's conversion would probably lead "to the collapse of his personal influence and the destruction of the Liberal party, and would rank in our annals as one of the most striking instances of political profligacy." The *Daily News*, on the other hand, thought that Home Rule, with certain limitations, easily discoverable under the words of the proposed scheme, might safely be framed. The *Birmingham Post*, recognising that the proposals harmonised with the general growth of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy, declared them to be a new and very serious point of departure, going far beyond the demand for the restoration of Grattan's Parliament. It declared that the first result of an Irish Parliament elected on the existing suffrage would be the extinction of the representative landowners, and their complete severance from the government of the nation ; and that the idea of Mr. Parnell giving guarantees for the protection of the landlords and other interests of the minority was much too ludicrous for serious discussion. The *Manchester Examiner* maintained that Mr. Gladstone's scheme in no way secured the supremacy of the British or Imperial Parliament. The *Newcastle Chronicle* saw in Mr. Gladstone essentially an opportunist, who perceived that the only chance of getting back to power was by conciliating the Irish party. With this object in view, he had prepared a scheme of local government, which they would accept as the means of facilitating their endeavours to secure an Irish Parliament for the management of Irish affairs. The *Scotsman* thoroughly endorsed Mr. Gladstone's desire to face the situation with a great and radical measure of reconstruction for Ireland. "The claim must be conceded," it added, "just as a like scheme must be conceded to Scotland when the Scottish people make up their minds to

present it." The *Spectator*, ordinarily the most uncompromising supporter of Mr. Gladstone, while believing that Mr. Gladstone's views on the Irish question had not been communicated to anyone, asserted that he would probably be surprised to find how many Liberals of the present type might desert him on the proposal to establish an Irish Parliament in Dublin. Home Rule meant the simple abeyance in Ireland of the authority of the Imperial Parliament, involved dishonour to us if we allowed it to go on, and the use of military force if we did not; and the *Spectator* declared that, if we were not prepared for separation, any great step in the direction of Home Rule would be a far greater mistake than passive resistance to Mr. Parnell's policy, even should he turn out Government after Government.

If the press and public opinion were alike misled as to the authenticity of the scheme attributed to Mr. Gladstone, his own immediate supporters and colleagues were not better informed. Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen came to town to confer together on the changed aspect of the Irish question, and the former wrote to the chairman of his election committee to assure him that, whilst no proposals on the policy to be adopted by the Liberal party with regard to the legislative independence of Ireland had been submitted to him (Lord Hartington), yet he saw no reason to depart from the views he had expressed during his canvass. Mr. G. O. Trevelyan preferred to let the Home Rule question rest for a while, recognising that the result of the general elections had left the government in the hands of the coalition which had defeated Mr. Gladstone in the summer. Mr. Chamberlain, speaking at Birmingham (Dec. 17), displayed more than ordinary caution in dealing with the Home Rule question:—"We are face to face with a very remarkable demonstration by the Irish people. They have shown that, as far as regards the great majority of them, they are earnestly in favour of a change in the administration of their government, and of some system which would give to them a larger control of their domestic affairs. Well, we ourselves, by our public declarations and by our Liberal principles, are pledged to acknowledge the substantial justice of the claim. I see in the newspapers some account of negotiations which are reported to have been proceeding between the leaders of the Liberal party in England and Mr. Parnell. I have had no part in any negotiations. I have expressed no approval of any scheme, and I think it very likely that the rumours which affect other prominent members of the Liberal party may be equally groundless. But I have so much faith in the experience and the patriotism of Mr. Gladstone that I cannot doubt that if he should ever see his way to propose any scheme of arrangement, I should be able conscientiously to give it my humble support. But it is right, it is due to the Irish people, to say that all sections of the Liberal party, Radicals as much as Whigs, are determined that the integrity of the Empire shall be a reality and not an empty phrase. To preserve the Union, the Northern States of America poured out their blood and their treasure like water, and

fought and won the grandest contest of our time ; and if Englishmen still possess the courage and the stubborn determination which were the ancient characteristics of the race, and which were so conspicuous in the great American contest, we shall allow no temptation and no threat to check our resolution to maintain unimpaired the effective union of the three kingdoms that owe allegiance to the present Sovereign. Speaking personally, I would venture to say that the time has hardly arrived when the Liberal party can interpose usefully or with advantage to settle this great question. Mr. Parnell has appealed to the Tories. Let him settle accounts with his new friends. Let him test their sincerity and goodwill ; and if he finds that he has been deceived, he will approach the Liberal party in a spirit of reason and conciliation. It may yet be that there is still reserved for our leader the crowning glory of his public life, that he may bring back peace and prosperity to Ireland, and reconcile the races which are now united in these islands under the British Crown." Mr. John Morley, however, took a very different line, and gave expression at Newcastle (Dec. 21) to the views of that section of the Radical party of which he had become the unchallenged leader and spokesman. He ridiculed the idea of keeping Lord Salisbury in office on the chance that he might produce good measures ; and declared his policy to be that of open and immediate warfare with his political opponents. As for the Irish scheme, he declared that anyone could see at the first blush that it was not a scheme which a man of Mr. Gladstone's experience and knowledge would launch, unless with the responsibility of a Minister of the Crown. Admitting, however, that both parties, through their leaders, were committed to giving Ireland a large share of self-government, he expressed himself in favour of its extension, "subject to the limits that are imposed by the safety, the integrity, and the honour of the sovereign realm as a whole." In view of the enormous majority obtained by Mr. Parnell in Ireland, it was impossible to shirk the Irish question. Two things had to be faced—a demoralised Executive in Ireland, and a demoralised Legislature at Westminster. Mr. Morley then passed in review the various alternatives proposed for the management of Irish affairs : (1st) by a Grand Committee of the House of Commons, composed exclusively of Irish members ; (2nd) the establishment in Ireland of provincial councils on a more or less public and elective basis, and the employment of the whole force of the Empire to secure the fulfilment of contracts ; (3rd) to bring the representation of Ireland to an end, and to send over a Governor-General with force enough to make the law respected ; and (4th) the concession to Ireland of some greatly extended government of herself. Mr. Morley did not hide from himself the magnitude of such a task. It would rouse deep passions, it would perhaps destroy a great party ; but those who with himself had the integrity of the Empire and the interests of Parliament really at heart would not shrink from difficulties or be deterred by the dangers which beset their path.

But Mr. Morley's address, although received with approval by

a small section of the Radicals, found little response among the official Liberals. Mr. W. E. Forster wrote that he did not believe that in Home Rule or in any form of Irish Parliament would be found a deliverance from the Irish difficulty, holding that both would be fraught with danger to Great Britain as well as to Ireland. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman thought that the best plan of dealing with the question would be for the leaders of the two great political parties to confer together to ascertain whether a *modus vivendi* could not be arrived at, by which the matter would be raised out of the arena of party strife. These were only a few out of many speeches and letters which "the declaration" had called forth, and they afforded abundant evidence that the Liberal party would be disintegrated were such a scheme to take a definite place in Mr. Gladstone's programme, and to bring to a climax the confusion into which Liberal opinions were seemingly drifting, Mr. Trevelyan closed the year by declaring (Dec. 30) that there was "no halfway house between entire separation and absolute Imperial control. . . . Unless we intended to keep the care of law and order, in all its departments, in the hands of a central government, we had better at once repeal the Union. . . . I can understand granting independence to Ireland as an act of grace, and hoping that good would come from it, however little I might myself share that hope. But to keep up the name and outward semblance of a union, and at the same time to put into the hands of the enemies of that union full licence to keep Ireland in disorder, is a policy which I do not think anyone who really knows the country will approve. And there is another proposal which I see mentioned in a good many newspapers with favour, but which I cannot think that those writers who advocate it have thoroughly thought out. It is proposed to give Ireland a Parliament of its own for Irish legislation, but to admit Irish representatives to the Imperial Parliament to discuss and vote upon Imperial matters." There was, according to these politicians, said Mr. Trevelyan, to be some sort of Imperial veto on Irish matters to prevent them doing violent injustice among themselves, but what would that veto be worth? However anxious we might be to divide the domestic functions of Parliament from its Imperial functions, he would venture to say that the Irish members would not only be absolute masters of their own Parliament in Dublin, but they would be our masters at Westminster as well. While they were very clear in saying what they would not give to Irish demands, they should also be clear in saying what they would give. But although Mr. Trevelyan would concede no Parliament to Ireland, he would give her a freely elected council which should have absolute control over Irish education, elementary, middle, and higher; and to other elective councils he would hand over the management of the bridges, roads, and asylums, and the administration of the Poor Law.

Whatever may have been the attitude of the Conservative leaders towards Mr. Parnell during the autumn, there was no doubt

that the temporary understanding which had existed between them and him had come to an end with the close of the elections. The rumour of Mr. Gladstone's advances towards Home Rule gave the Conservatives the opportunity they had long desired of appearing as the friends of the unity of the Empire; and although some of their party, like Lord Carnarvon, still clung to the belief that Ireland might be ruled by the application of the ordinary law, the spread of boycotting with increased virulence during the closing months of the year left little room for hoping that this confidence could be much longer indulged in with impunity. As a party they exhibited, externally at least, a greater appearance of unity than their opponents, and Lord Salisbury was therefore justified in the eyes of the world in retaining the administration of public affairs until the wishes and intentions of Parliament could be definitely expressed.

Home affairs had for so long absorbed public interest that the development of the colonial and foreign policy of the Conservatives attracted but secondary attention. The recall of Sir Charles Warren at the moment when he was introducing order into Bechuanaland, and making the Boer settlers conscious of the power of the Home Government, was generally condemned as a sign of weakness. Colonel Stanley, however, defended his course of action on the ground that by acting in consonance with the wishes of the Cape Government, he was following out the tactics which his predecessors had successfully applied in New Zealand, of making the colonists understand the responsibilities of their trust. Sir Charles Warren's recall was, however, further complicated and obscured by his relations with Sir Hercules Robinson, of which a fuller account is given elsewhere; but the impression left upon the public mind in England was, that the dangers arising from the filibustering habits of the Boers in the Transvaal had not been permanently averted.

The foreign policy of the Conservatives was marked by more appreciable results, and even Mr. Gladstone had occasion to express his entire satisfaction of the way in which Lord Salisbury had upheld the position and interests of this country throughout the crisis in Eastern Europe. But the first question with which Lord Salisbury had had to deal on assuming office was the Afghan difficulty. In spite of Mr. Gladstone's assurance (May 11) "that the English and Russian Governments had arrived at an understanding substantially satisfactory to both powers," discussions, which at any moment might have degenerated into disagreements, were still going on when the change of Ministry took place. Lord Salisbury at once reversed his predecessor's decision to refer the contested frontier line through the Zulfikar Pass to the Frontier Commission. The points claimed by the Russians would, it was found, practically command the pass, and Lord Salisbury decided that they should remain with the Afghans, whilst certain Afghan positions which hampered the Russian line of communication were handed over to that power. On this basis a protocol was signed

(Sept. 10), and the Commission set to work to mark out the line of delimitation.

The Egyptian imbroglio presented greater difficulties. The pause in the Mahdi's advance was adduced as a cogent reason for the withdrawal northwards of the British troops, and Sir H. Drummond Wolff was despatched on a special mission to the Sultan to ascertain whether Turkey would co-operate in the restoration of order in the Soudan. Advantage was taken of the Sultan's well-known desire for a formal recognition of his rights over Egypt, which, although never annulled, had in fact been set aside. The outbreak of the Bulgarian difficulty, which gave Lord Salisbury an opportunity of re-assuring the Sultan and ranging himself on his side, facilitated the Egyptian negotiations, and a convention was agreed upon between England and the Porte, by which the former power was to temporarily control the administration of Egypt with the sanction of the Porte. On the more serious question of obtaining the co-operation of Turkish troops to suppress the Soudanese, Sir Drummond Wolff found the Turkish Government less tractable, and it was objected as an insurmountable obstacle that the Commander of the Faithful should place his troops under "Infidel" command, in order to attack or withstand co-religionists engaged in a Holy War. Lord Salisbury further took up the question of international copyright. Following the suggestion made at the International Conference, held at Berne in the two previous years and this year, two delegates of the Foreign Office were sent to attend the meeting of the Conference, and a draft convention was settled to be signed at the next meeting (Sept. 1886). The broad principle of agreement is that each of the States of the Union shall accord to the other States composing it the advantages of national treatment, on condition simply of the accomplishment of the legal formalities prescribed in the country of origin of the work, thus abolishing the antiquated form of double registration and deposit. The exclusive right of translation is reserved to the author for a period of ten years after publication, and provision is made for the due protection of musical, artistic, and dramatic copyrights. France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and several other states are known to be desirous of creating the union on this basis; and from the friendly interest manifested by the United States' delegate, who was present for the first time at the last Conference, it was hoped that America, the State of all others most important to the copyright interests of Great Britain, would also become a party to it.

In the troublesome matter of the Newfoundland Fisheries dispute, dating from the Treaty of Utrecht (1714), and unsettled by the Treaty of Versailles (1783), when an informal understanding was come to, which led to constant disputes as to the limits of the French fishing-grounds, Lord Salisbury found another field for his activity. Numerous Acts have been passed and treaties exchanged; land officers of the Crown and Secretaries of State

have exhausted the resources of legal and political knowledge in the defence of their various views, but without producing any definite results. In 1878 protracted negotiations took place between the English and French Governments, but led to no issue. In 1881 another mixed Commission was appointed, but no agreement was arrived at. At the end of 1883 Mr. (now Sir) Clare Ford and Mr. E. B. Pennell were ordered to Paris, to act on a Commission with two French Commissioners. Their labours began in January, and on April 26, 1884, an agreement was signed. The British Commissioners were then sent to Newfoundland to offer explanations to the colonial Government, and Lord Derby expressed a hope that a special meeting of the colonial Legislature would take place, to pass the Acts required to give effect to the provisions of the agreement. The Commission, on reaching Newfoundland, found that the colonial Government required some modifications of the agreement; and when these demands were made known to the French Government the latter required, in return, concessions in other quarters; and in this way the settlement of the fishery question itself was once more imperilled.

On assuming the management of the Foreign Office Lord Salisbury at once recognised the urgency of the question, and pressed the matter so successfully that a new arrangement was signed (Nov. 14) with respect to these fisheries, cancelling the previous proposals (April 24). The main features of the new arrangement are that, while the French Government are not to object to the establishment of different industries on the coast, the French rights of fishing are to be maintained; the police of the fisheries is to be managed by the ships of war of England and France; the French Government abandons the salmon fisheries in the rivers, and French fishermen are to be exempt from paying duty for articles necessary for their fishing. Should this arrangement prove acceptable to the colonial Government, it will put an end once for all to a dispute which has lasted for more than a century and a half.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONDITION OF IRELAND.

The Prince of Wales's visit—The Lord Mayor of Dublin and the stolen standard—Mr. O'Brien at Mallow—The Errington letter—The choice of an Archbishop—The New Ministry—Mr. Parnell's policy—The General Election—Home Rule.

IN the early part of April Ireland was much perturbed by an announcement that the Prince of Wales intended to visit the country. In itself, the fact of a visit from a member of the Royal Family would not appear to be an event of a very alarming character, or one which justified the display of any consider-

able amount of national irritation. But it did arouse the very fiercest indignation in every part of the island where the people claimed to be Nationalists or followed the guidance of Nationalist leaders. This indignation was justified by those who displayed it on the ground that the visit of the Prince of Wales was not merely the ordinary visit of a member of the Royal Family, but was being made use of for a direct political purpose, in order, on the one hand, to bolster up the administration of Lord Spencer, and, on the other, to strike a blow at the popularity of Mr. Parnell, by recalling the Irish people to a sense of the debt they owed to Royalty. Undoubtedly the visit of the Prince of Wales was allowed by some politicians and certain journalists to wear the aspect, to a certain degree, of a political campaign. In certain quarters the visit was openly spoken of, and in certain journals it was openly written of, as an event destined at once to annihilate the faction which followed the leadership of Mr. Parnell. It may, perhaps, be admitted that under the existing circumstances the time chosen for the royal visit was not particularly happy. The Irish people, even those belonging to the least disaffected or the most loyal classes, felt that they had a right to complain of the indifference which the Crown and the Court had for so long a time manifested towards Ireland. Even the most devoted West Briton felt aggrieved at the way in which Scotland was made the recipient of so much royal favour, was sunned so continuously by the royal presence, while Ireland was almost systematically neglected. A very long space of years had passed away since the Queen herself had visited Ireland. The Prince of Wales's own previous visit was rapidly fading out of memory; and until the visit of the Duke of Cambridge in 1884, no royal prince had come to Ireland for a long time.

While the Prince's visit, therefore, was thus looked upon by one section of the Irish people as an act of tardy reparation, it was unhappily made to wear in the eyes of another section the aspect of a new crusade—a crusade against their opinions and against politicians who were undoubtedly very dear to the large majority of the Irish people.

At the time chosen for the Prince's visit the government of Lord Spencer was in especial disfavour with the Nationalist party. The Dublin Castle scandals had aroused the popular feeling against Lord Spencer, who was, by the popular mind, supposed to have done his best to shield certain culprits from justice; and the National party saw in the proposed visit a deliberate attempt on the part of the Government to justify Lord Spencer, and to seal its approval of a *régime* which was undoubtedly most unpopular. There was great uncertainty in the National camp as to how the Prince's visit should be acted upon by the National party. One section of the National leaders declared openly for a policy of decided and marked disapproval. Another section were for holding completely aloof, and regarding the visit with an affected in-

difference and disdain. Some of the National leaders, who were in favour of the more aggressive policy expressed their opinions in very unmistakeable language. The Lord Mayor of Dublin—an official who had been Whig or Tory for so many generations that it was difficult either for Dublin or for London to reconcile itself to the fact that he was now invariably a Nationalist—the Lord Mayor of Dublin declared, in a public meeting at the Phoenix Park, that as soon as the Prince of Wales landed in Ireland he would haul down the flag that always flies from the Mansion House when the Lord Mayor is at home. This bold utterance, while it met with approval from a large proportion of the Irish party, was received with a shout of horror from the Whig and Tory press of Ireland, and was hailed by the London newspapers as a fresh proof of the disaffection which could only be extinguished by the Juggernaut of the royal visit.

The Lord Mayor, however, alarmed by the storm which he had raised, attempted to minimise his recalcitrancy, and to explain away his words. He wrote a letter to the papers in which he declared that he had no intention of offering any insult to the Prince of Wales, and generally expressing regret for the utterances which undoubtedly many advanced Nationalists thought ill-advised and ill-timed. This apparent surrender, however, while it only irritated the National party, seemed, in the eyes of Irish loyalism and English journalism, a fresh proof of the disorganisation of Mr. Parnell's party and of its speedy evaporation before the sunlight of the royal countenance. The Lord Mayor of Dublin soon, however, appeared to regret his apology as much as he had regretted his previous defiant declaration; for he took occasion a little later to right himself in National eyes, and win back his jeopardised position as a Nationalist, by a furious speech which he addressed from the steps of the City Court Hall in Dublin, to a crowd of loyalists who had hissed him.

We may as well state here that this episode of the flag had a curious sequel, ending not perhaps very satisfactorily for the anti-National party. A number of students of Trinity, offended by the Lord Mayor's utterances, made a nocturnal raid upon the garden in Dawson Street, in which the flagstaff stands, just outside the Mansion House, and made away with the piece of bunting which the Lord Mayor had threatened to put to so rebellious a use. When the theft was discovered the National party were at first exceedingly angry, but after a little reflection they seemed to have come to the conclusion that out of evil cometh good, and they promptly prepared a new banner of a fashion very different from the old one. The stranger who now walks through Dawson Street towards Stephen's Green on any day when the Lord Mayor is staying in the Mansion House, will see floating from the flagstaff the green standard, displaying on its folds only the uncrowned harp of gold—in point of fact the very green flag about which National poets and National prose writers had been writing

and raving for more than a century ; and if the stranger, allowing his curiosity to overmaster him, will pause for a moment or two, he will probably see more than one of the passers-by uncover reverentially in salutation of the National banner displayed at the doorway of the chief civic dignitary, who is a Nationalist, whose predecessor was a Nationalist, and whose successor will be a Nationalist.

Counsels of moderation prevailed among the Irish leaders in and out of Parliament, and it was resolved that the National section of the Irish people should take no notice whatever of the Prince's visit. One curious expression of public feeling came into existence at this time. *United Ireland*, the chief organ of the Nationalist party, edited by one of the most advanced of Nationalists, Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., and written largely for by another Nationalist, Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., brought out a special number devoted entirely to expressions of public opinion from prominent Irishmen of all kinds on the Prince's proposed visit. Every Nationalist member of Parliament, every prominent churchman, every president of the local branches of the Irish National League, every Irishman of conspicuous National views, was invited to state his opinions upon the forthcoming royal visit. The invitations were promptly responded to, and filled a copious supplement of several pages and many columns. From the Archbishop of Cashel to the officials of the smallest branch of the League, from the members of Parliament who followed Mr. Parnell to the curate of some remote corner of the island, there came a flood of unanimous disapproval of the Prince's visit. The disapproval was expressed in some cases strongly, in some cases in terms of studied moderation. But the one certain fact which this remarkable publication proved was that a very large proportion of the Irish people resented the visit of the Prince as an insult or as a snare. Almost all the letters, too, agreed in counselling an attitude of absolute indifference to the visit, and abstention from any kind of display of hostility to the Prince himself. It seemed to be generally understood that the part which the Prince was playing in this pageant was a more or less passive one, and that any blame which in Nationalist eyes attached to the visit as a political move belonged not to the central figure, but to the unseen hands which were working the show.

Accordingly the Prince came to Ireland, and the Nationalist party made no sign. There was naturally a great display of rejoicing in Dublin on the part of the loyalist citizens, and a brave show of bunting, and much inevitable enthusiasm. The London press, somewhat unfortunately, chose to regard this pacific reception of the Prince of Wales as a proof that the National party were wholly discredited and defeated in Ireland, and not a few taunts were levelled at the Nationalist leaders for the way in which their plans had failed, and their machinations had been foiled. If it had not been for these somewhat unlucky

articles in London newspapers the visit of the Prince of Wales would probably have passed off from start to finish in unbroken quiet. But certain of the Nationalist leaders conceived that the honour of the cause was at stake, and that it was necessary to make some protest against the Prince's triumphal progress, as an answer to the claims of London newspapers.

Accordingly, Mr. William O'Brien announced his intention of putting in an appearance at the railway station at Mallow at the time when the Prince was to pass through on his way to Cork, in order to present an address to the Prince against the injustice of the rule of Lord Spencer. Authority, forewarned, took care to be forearmed; and when Mr. O'Brien, M.P., accompanied by Mr. Harrington, M.P., Mr. John Deasy, M.P., and Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., and followed by a large crowd of Nationalists, attempted to make his way on to the platform, he came into collision with a large body of police who were stationed there in previous possession. Mr. O'Brien remonstrated, there was something like a scuffle between the police and the Nationalists, and the train which conveyed the Prince of Wales steamed out of the station amidst a medley of incoherent noises, in which the National Anthem and "God save Ireland" mingled in most discordant union. Mr. O'Brien's own personal attempt was baffled, but it set an example; and from that point out the Prince's progress was marked and marred by incessant *contretemps* of a similar and even of a more pronounced nature. In Cork the public protest against the Prince's presence was raised almost to the dignity of a riot, and the utmost efforts of the well-wishers of the Prince could not cancel the fact that in Cork undoubtedly the visit was unpopular in the extreme. It was not until the Prince got fairly into the North that his welcome became anything like general and representative. Even in the North he did not wholly escape from that disagreeable presence of black flags and the other symptoms which had been an unpleasant accompaniment to his stay in the island. Undoubtedly the feeling of almost all parties in Ireland and England was one of relief when it became known that the Prince had at last left Ireland and was safely home again in his own country. It cannot be said that the visit in any way fulfilled the expectations or justified the hopes of those who had promoted it, or of those who had seen in it the final destruction of the Nationalist party.

The angry feeling, however, which the visit aroused was not of a kind which could easily subside again into quietness. The hostility between the Government and the National party was further fomented by the irritation which the Nationalists felt at the alleged interference of the English Government at the Court of the Vatican. What may be called the ancient history of Sir George Errington as *agente raccomandato* was unexpectedly revived by the excitement consequent upon the death of Cardinal McCabe, with the resulting necessity of the election of a new

Archbishop of Dublin, and the publication in *United Ireland* of a very remarkable letter written by Sir George Errington to Lord Granville. How the letter came to the hands of the editor of *United Ireland* was, and remains, a mystery. Its authenticity was never denied, and its publication was certainly unfortunate for any party which had hoped to influence the Vatican against the appointment of a popular successor to Cardinal McCabe. The letter, which spoke of the Pope in terms scarcely becoming when used by a conspicuous Catholic member, undoubtedly made it plain that Sir George Errington and the English Government had been endeavouring to bring pressure to bear at the Papal Court. There was, no doubt, nothing out of the way or unaccustomed in the action of the Government in making such a use of Sir George Errington; but it served to intensify the feeling of hostility in Ireland, and it may have had its effect in furthering the selection of Dr. Walsh, of Maynooth, to fill the vacant Archbishopric in Dublin. The National party undoubtedly regarded the choice of Dr. Walsh as a triumph for them. Dr. Walsh had made himself conspicuous for some time as a cleric of strongly National feelings and sympathies; and his advancement to the vacant chair seemed only to stimulate, instead of restraining, the expression of his sentiments.

The power of the National party was further strengthened by the fall of the Gladstone Government in June. Small though the majority against the Government was, that majority could not have been recorded against them if it had not been for the solid action of the Irish party under the leadership of Mr. Parnell; and the exultation of the Nationalists was great over what they regarded as their revenge for Coercion and Closure.

The new Ministry were peculiarly careful in their dealings with Ireland. Lord Carnarvon was sent over to succeed Lord Spencer as Viceroy, and Lord Carnarvon did his best to remove the painful impression that Lord Spencer's rule had undoubtedly left behind it, by an attitude of studied moderation and courtesy to the National party.

The short period of Lord Salisbury's Parliamentary reign was therefore characterised in Ireland by comparative quiet. The National party, satisfied with what they regarded as their victory, seemed content to allow the new Administration fair play; and the new Administration, on the other hand, was careful to avoid arousing anything like irritation in the country. With the recess, however, the brief breathing space came to a close, and the agitation broke out again with renewed vitality. A great banquet was given to Mr. Parnell in Dublin, at which nearly all the members of his party were present, and in which Mr. Parnell spoke of the coming campaign, and the plans and purposes of the Irish Parliamentary party, with a frankness and fulness greater than he had ever yet made use of. He pointed out to an enthusiastic audience, then and on other occasions, that the

whole strength of the Irish party was now to be concentrated in an immediate struggle for Home Rule, and that for the moment other measures and other plans for the welfare of the country were to be set aside in favour of the greater importance of gaining self-government.

Mr. Parnell's speeches were like the trumpets of the heralds when the lists are to be cleared. They were immediately succeeded by active and energetic preparations for the inevitable General Election. Mr. Parnell, while expressing a strong desire to allow the constituencies all over the country freedom of choice as to their representatives, had urged that, as a general, he had some right himself to suggest the choice of his officers. A series of Conventions were organised throughout all Ireland, taking in every division of every county, and such boroughs as were still left enfranchised by the Reform Bill. These Conventions discussed the claims of the Nationalist candidates, and decided upon the names which were to receive the approval of the National party. The organisation of the National League formed a convenient medium for facilitating such Conventions, the choice of which in all cases coincided with the choice or the expressed desire of Mr. Parnell. When the dissolution at last came, and the country found itself engaged in the General Election, the choice of the Conventions was, in practically all instances, ratified by the decision of the ballot-box. In a large number of cases the Parnellite candidates were returned unopposed, even in Ulster constituencies. In cases where they were opposed, chiefly owing to the action and funds of a body which called itself the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, the action of the opponents only served to intensify the importance of the Parnellite triumphs, for Parnellite candidates were returned against Liberal or Conservative opponents by majorities of thousands against hundreds. When the elections were over, the whole political map of Ireland was completely altered. No less than 85 members were returned to Parliament pledged by their own act to support Mr. Parnell, and to resign their seats whenever the Irish Parliamentary party, considering that they had failed in their duty, called upon them to do so. Even in Ulster, which had been for so long a stronghold of what was called the Ascendency party, Mr. Parnell gained many victories, and came within 28 votes of capturing Derry, and 37 of securing West Belfast. The old Whig connection with Ireland was for the time being completely severed. No single candidate professing Liberal opinions was returned for any constituency in the island. The only members elected to serve in the Parliament of 1886 from Ireland were a vast majority of Parnellites and a small minority of Conservatives. Ingenious persons, who were disposed to regret or to resent the position of things, endeavoured to explain the matter away, and to point out, by ingenious manipulations of figures, that after all Mr. Parnell's victory was hardly a victory, and that the country was not really with him at all. To such testimony as

this, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, with a courageous scorn for subterfuge, replied by publishing a map of Ireland, leaving white all the parts of it represented by Parnellite members, and marking with black those in which Conservative representatives had been elected. The result was that Ireland, as thus delineated, showed in the greater part of its bulk as blank as Sir Tor's shield itself, and that only in a few instances in the north was the all-pervading whiteness relieved by patches of Conservative sable. It was quite clear that, for the time as least, Mr. Parnell's power was greater than ever, his popularity wider, his authority more implicitly obeyed.

From the elections on to the end of the year the events in Ireland were comparatively unimportant. With the cessation of the Coercion Act outrages had certainly not increased, but neither had they entirely disappeared. Moonlighting was still practised in certain parts of the country, and agrarian outrages, some even of a very terrible kind, had to be recorded. In one very remarkable case a farmer named Curtin, who was himself a Nationalist and a member of the National League, was barbarously murdered in his own house by moonlighters after a desperate struggle, in which one of the moonlighters was killed. Some of the accomplices of the outrage were afterwards recognised by Mr. Curtin's sons and daughters, who had bravely defended their house against the attack, and these accomplices were brought to justice. On the whole, however, the year came to an end in Ireland quietly—with the quietness of strained and eager expectation. The result of the elections had altered completely the political aspect of the country, and Mr. Gladstone's complete conversion to the cause of Home Rule, followed as it was by the no less remarkable complete and more sudden conversion of the leading Liberal organ, the *Daily News*, made every Irishman, whether Nationalist or Conservative or Liberal, keenly aware that the question of which Mr. Parnell was the recognised champion and exponent had undoubtedly come, for the first time, within the range of practical politics.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

ACCORDING to Gambetta's calculations the year 1885 was to witness the definitive and decisive triumph of the Republic. The programme of that year was to contain, first, in January, the election of the Senate, the third partial renewal that was intended to have the effect of crushing for ever all the parties hostile to the established Government, and of driving them from their last stronghold.

In the summer the election of the Chamber was to take place by the *scrutin de liste*, that is by a method of voting that would eliminate all lukewarm and obstructive members, and create, throughout the country, one vast political current, and the Government would only have to swim with the stream. Finally December was fixed upon for the election of the President of the Republic; in other words, for the first legal and regular transmission of the supreme power in France since the death of Louis XVIII. Of these aspirations the first and third only were destined to be fulfilled, and the failure of the second was calculated considerably to minimise the value of the other two, so much so that the year 1885 was marked in France by a signal defeat of that fraction of the Republican party that had been in power since 1879, and had dubbed itself "the party of the Government." The causes of this defeat were to be attributed to the evil turn of affairs in Tonquin, to financial embarrassments, and also to the effects of the Royalist propaganda, of which we explained the new organisation last year.

At the opening of the year the resignation of General Campenon clearly showed that differences existed in the Opportunist Ministry with regard to affairs in Tonquin. When General Campenon received his official appointment as Minister of War from Gambetta, at the time of the formation of that Ministry that is usually referred to as 'the great Ministry,' he looked upon the mobilisation of the army, in anticipation of a continental war, as his chief task. Roused by the attacks of the press against the incessant demands for reinforcements for the Tonquin Expedition, he wished to be relieved from the responsibility of the situation,

and he demanded either that war should be formally declared with China by a vote of both Chambers, or that, in accordance with the programme announced at the beginning of the Expedition, the occupation of the Delta only should be undertaken. These differences led General Camponon to resign his post, and General Lewall was appointed in his stead.

This officer commanded the 17th Army Corps at Toulouse. He had formerly directed the course of education at the "École Supérieure de Guerre," and he passed for one of the most accomplished commanders in the French army. His nomination could scarcely help to strengthen the Ministerial party, if it should be menaced, and, moreover, it had this serious disadvantage, that of prematurely using up the services of a man of incontestable military reputation.

The elections for the renewal of the final third section of the Senate ought to have taken place on the first Sunday in January, but the delay of the Senate in voting for the new organic law had obliged the Government to put off the convocation of the electors till Jan. 25. The result was that the opening of the session of 1885 was a mere form.

The senators who had to be re-elected were impatient to return to their respective departments, and the deputies were anxious also to use their influence in the choice of their colleagues in the Upper Chamber—M. Leroyer having been re-elected President of the Senate, and M. Henri Brisson in the Chamber of Deputies. The members of the Opposition lost no time in calling upon the Government to explain its politics in the Far East. To the first interpellation of the extreme Left and the extreme Right M. Jules Ferry replied that the object of the Government was to compel China to repair the mischief caused by her aggressive action, and to take sufficient guarantees for the pacific attitude of the Tsung-li-Yamen. The elections of the Senate (Jan. 25) were peculiarly interesting. Owing to the decision arrived at with regard to the Congo, in August 1884, and to the new organic law of the Senate, passed in December, the number of senatorial electors had been increased by more than one-third in the large towns, and, according to all appearance, the Government would reap the benefit of this innovation. The question was whether the Opportunist party would gain by the new elections, or whether the Left Centre, still a powerful party in the Upper House, would maintain its numeric strength. The departments called upon to vote belonged to the "A" series, those comprised in the alphabetical list of departments in France from "Ain" to "Gard" inclusive.

In some of the other departments also there were certain death or retirement vacancies to be filled up. Thus, in the department of the Seine, the struggle for the seat vacated by Colonel Labor-dère between the two fractions of the Republican party was long and fierce. The Opportunist candidate was M. Spuller, Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies, one of Gambetta's most faithful friends, and deputy for Paris. The Radicals had two

candidates: M. Georges Martin, a member of the Municipal Council of Paris, one of the chiefs of the autonomist party, and M. Ferdinand Gâtineau, whose principal claim was the part that he took in the overthrow of Gambetta's Cabinet in 1882. The first ballot was inconclusive. M. Spuller had a large, but not an absolute, majority; but in the second ballot, M. Gâtineau having withdrawn, M. Georges Martin was elected. This result was significant of the leanings of the Paris voters, and pointed to a Radical success in the department of the Seine at the general elections. The final results of the Senatorial elections showed that of 84 seats 63 had been carried by the Republicans and 21 by the Monarchists—a negative gain of 17 seats by the former. In the chief towns, moreover, the Republicans polled 47,700 votes, against 23,800 given to their adversaries.

Thus the limited suffrage against which the Republicans had fought so energetically when it was instituted by the National Assembly in 1875, had become so materially modified in ten years, that the Republic gained twice as many votes as all the Monarchist parties combined. Amongst the distinguished men who on this occasion lost their seats were the Duc de Broglie, M. Fourtou, and M. J. Brunet, all of whom had been members of McMahon's "*Gouvernement du Seize Mai*." This brilliant victory gave M. Ferry's Ministry sufficient power, without striking a blow, to repress the Anarchical demonstration that occurred on February 9 in the Place de l'Opéra. The pretext for that meeting was the deplorable condition of the unemployed. A deputation of the working men of Lyons had been sent to Paris to make known to the Government the miserable condition of the labouring classes in that city, and to appeal to Parliament to remedy the evil. To these M. Tony Révillon, Deputy of Belleville, replied by proposing a vote of twenty-five million francs to relieve the most urgent cases. This socialistic scheme was frustrated by the energetic opposition of the young Minister of the Interior, M. Waldeck-Rousseau, who emphatically declared that the vote of twenty-five million francs would fail to relieve the miseries of the workmen in large towns, but would create a dangerous precedent and ill-will. The delegates sent to the Chambers were not allowed to be present at the debates; and the alarm caused by the affair had the effect of moving the Chamber of Deputies to pass a law (268 to 190) regulating public demonstrations and street police. This fit of energetic repression, however, rapidly passed away, and the project was not destined to survive the Ferry Ministry. While the Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies vainly attempted to draw the Government into the path of State Socialism, the Protectionists endeavoured to carry out their programme of the previous year. M. Georges Graux induced the Chamber (Feb. 25) by a majority of 308 against 173, to impose a tax of three francs per quintal on all foreign wheat imported into France, the Minister of Agriculture, M. Méline, earnestly sup-

porting the proposal. The vote once taken, everyone expressed dissatisfaction, the agriculturists finding the protection insufficient, whilst the free-traders protested against a law that, in point of fact, taxed the consumer. This did not, however, prevent the Chamber, a few weeks later, voting a tax of twenty-five francs per head on all oxen imported into France.

The funeral of Jules Vallès, a former member of the Paris Commune, supplied the opportunity for a demonstration and for the unfurling of the red flag. Several other ceremonies of a similar character were disturbed by the exhibition of seditious emblems. Beyond a small number of very zealous revolutionary fanatics, the greater number of the rioters consisted of foreigners and men already condemned for crime. To meet these recurring ebullitions of popular feeling, by which the month of March was frequently marked, the Ministry, accused of weakness by the moderate organs of Republican opinion, announced the intention of bringing in a bill on seditious emblems, and urged the Senate to pass the bill on returned convicts, and having so far eased their conscience they returned to the more purely political discussion of the bill on the *scrutin de liste*. The members composing the group of the "Republican Union" were the strongest partisans of this measure, but they found themselves opposed on this point by the greater part of the other Republican groups, who dreaded this form of suffrage, as less advantageous in individual cases. The objectors urged, with some show of probability, that in those departments where the population was chiefly rural the Republican party would be completely defeated, and that consequently vast portions of the country would have no Republican representatives. In spite of their warnings and opposition a measure confirming the *scrutin de liste* was carried (March 23) by a large majority.

After such a success, the Ministry might reasonably have considered itself safer than ever, and might have looked forward with confident hopes to the general elections. But it was precisely at this moment that M. Ferry was overthrown. His defeat was the outcome of the Tonquin business, and a curious example of the rapidity with which panics spread in Paris. Since the commencement of the year the reinforcements sent to Tonquin amounted to about 40,000. General Brière de l'Isle, after capturing Lang-Sön, had returned to Hanoi, charging General de Négrier to drive the Chinese to their frontier and to take possession of the gate of China. In an offensive attack by the Celestials General de Négrier was wounded, and Colonel Herbinger, who had taken the chief command in his place, at once ordered Lang-Sön to be evacuated. The news of the first reverses reached Paris on the eve of the day (March 28) when the Cabinet policy was being bitterly arraigned in the Chamber; but the President of the Council did not think it advisable to communicate the whole of the despatch to Parliament or to the newspapers. The despatches that followed, two days later, were so alarming that everyone lost his head, and M. Ferry

himself considered the situation desperate. His friends advised him to resign without a contest, and his colleagues hastily endorsed that proposal. When the step was past recall it transpired that, but for those who surrounded him, and in whom he had most confidence (especially the heads of the staff of the *République Française*), M. Jules Ferry could have weathered the storm, for a few days at least, and in the interval further information showed that the danger of the situation had been grossly exaggerated, and that the Chinese were asking for a cessation of hostilities. Meanwhile the news of the evacuation of Lang-Sön, vehemently commented on by the journals antagonistic to the Ministry, had produced an effect out of all proportion to the importance and the results of this episode of the campaign. An enormous crowd had collected (March 30) in the Place de la Concorde and at the entrance to the Chamber of Deputies, and cheered the orators who were known to be systematically opposed to the colonial policy of the Government. Its proposal to vote a credit of 150,000,000 francs was met by an interpellation by M. Clémenceau and the members of the Extreme Left, leading up to a vote of censure. After discussion, the Chamber having given priority to the demand for an interpellation, the Ministry hurriedly withdrew, and the following day (March 31) the *Journal Officiel* announced that the resignation of the Ministers had been accepted by the President of the Republic. Thus fell the second Jules Ferry Cabinet, having lasted two years and one month (Feb. 1883 to March 1885).

During his first term of office this statesman had passed the Education Bill and established the protectorate of France in Tunis, and during the second he had striven to organise the Republican party of the Government, and to add to the foreign dependencies of France by annexing Tonquin and Madagascar. In order to secure a solid majority for the Government, he had endeavoured to induce the party called the "Republican Union" to combine with the moderate members of the Radical Left and the Democratic Union (formerly the Left Centre). Hence some of his efforts appeared inconsequent, and he was accused of giving too many pledges to the Moderate Republicans at one time, and of making too many promises to the Radicals at another. The Radicals ended in absolutely refusing their adherence, and some of them, former followers of Gambetta, completely separated themselves from his successor at the head of the Opportunist party. The Republican majority of the Chamber, thus split up into two nearly equal groups, might at any moment, by voting with the Opposition, checkmate the Ministry and render any Government impossible. The serious effects of this severance were most marked in the debate on the Tonquin business, and gave a special interest to the ministerial crisis that set in on March 31.

The Government that had to be formed would, according to all appearance, conduct the general elections. The Opportunist

party, which had had the direction of affairs, possessed a numerical importance that made it impossible to form a majority without it, and still more impossible to obtain one in opposition to it. It was necessary therefore to assign a large proportion of portfolios in the new Ministry to the Opportunist party. On the other hand it was not thought advisable, on the eve of the general elections, to effect abrupt changes among the Prefects nominated by the Opportunists. The effect of such a policy would have been more keenly felt in the provinces than even the ministerial crisis itself. It was, moreover, admitted that the Radicals were justly entitled to certain concessions and that the new Ministry must be prepared for conciliation.

M. de Freycinet was the first selected to undertake this delicate task. Three years had elapsed since this statesman had been defeated, by the refusal of the Chamber to combine with England in suppressing the revolt of Arabi Pasha. The bitter feelings created by the part he took in the fall of Gambetta had died out. He had coquetted with the Extreme Left and counted many personal friends in the Democratic Union. He opened negotiations therefore with the most influential members of the various Republican groups. He offered concessions first to the Moderate then to the Advanced Republicans. The Opportunists claimed, above all, the Ministry of the Interior, whilst the Radicals refused to support any combination that would give the post to one of that party. After five days of fruitless efforts, M. de Freycinet abandoned the idea of forming a Ministry, and M. Constans was next called upon to undertake the task, but in less than twenty-four hours he was convinced of his inability to untie the political knot.

M. Grévy then appealed to M. Henri Brisson, a deputy for Paris, who had succeeded Gambetta, first as President on the Budget Commission, and afterwards as President of the Chamber, and enjoyed a high reputation. His austere character and seriousness of speech, the unswerving honesty of his political life, and the great influence he exercised over his colleagues, indicated him as a fit candidate, not for the dangerous functions of President of the Council, but for the higher dignity of the Presidency of the Republic.

It was quite evident that M. Brisson's acceptance of office, far from increasing his prestige, was calculated rather to diminish it, and at first he declined the delicate task M. Grévy imposed on him. But in the face of the impossibility of forming a Government with other combinations, he consented to use his authority in the service of the Republican cause. His refusal indeed might have seriously affected the opinion that was entertained of him, and would have appeared so inexplicable that he was forced to accept the unwelcome task. A few days later (April 6) the *Journal Officiel* published a list of the new Cabinet: President of the Council and Minister of Justice, M. Henri Brisson; Interior,

M. Allain Targé; Foreign Affairs, M. de Freycinet; Finance, M. Clamageran; Public Works, M. Sadi-Carnot; War, General Campenon; Marine, Vice-Admiral Galiber; Commerce, M. Pierre Legrand; Public Instruction and Worship, M. René Goblet; Agriculture, M. Hervé Mangon; Posts and Telegraphs, M. Sarrien. This list was modified a few days later by the resignation of M. Clamageran, who was replaced in the Finance Office by M. Sadi-Carnot, and M. Demole became Minister of Public Works. For the first time since 1877, M. Cochery, formerly Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, had no place in the Ministry. With the exception of MM. Brisson, Galiber, Demole, Hervé Mangon, and Sarrien, all the other ministers had held office in former Republican cabinets. MM. Allain Targé, Sadi-Carnot, and Campenon had formed part of the Gambetta Ministry; M. Goblet had been Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet of January 30, 1882 (Freycinet), and M. Pierre Legrand had been the colleague of M. Fallières.

The programme of the new Cabinet could not be expected to aim at a far-reaching policy, or to undertake important reforms. Coming into power on the eve of a general election its primary duty was to husband its strength and to endeavour to reconcile the various fractions of the Republican party, a task which recent discussions rendered most difficult. The vote for 150,000,000 francs required for the Tonquin Expedition was promptly voted, and thereupon both deputies and senators returned to the provinces, where the session of the *Conseils Généraux* was about to take place. This session, called the Easter Session, is the less important of the two, because the Departmental Assemblies content themselves on this occasion with examining current affairs, whereas in the month of August the official elections are held and the vote of the Budget for the departments taken. The adversaries of the Government, however, more particularly those in the western departments, desired to seize this opportunity to raise objections to the Tonquin Expedition. In this way, the policy the Right meant to pursue at the general election was clearly manifested, for both the Royalists and the Bonapartists plainly declared themselves opposed to foreign expeditions.

Meanwhile military preparations were pushed forward. Two divisions were made ready for active service, whilst a reserve brigade was ordered, in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, to be amalgamated with the camp of the Lancers, for the purpose of gradually preparing the men for the Indo-Chinese climate. The appointment of General de Courcy as commander-in-chief of the expeditionary corps was well received; his reputation as a commander and as a skilful strategist being alike deserved.

If some of his partisans regretted to see him start, because in case of mobilisation, France would lose the services of an energetic soldier, most of them were of opinion that his sojourn in Tonquin would be of short duration, and that he would soon bring

the marauders to terms. He was invested, moreover, with full civil powers, and would be in a position to claim the assistance of the fleet, and had authority at the Court of Annam, as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. Such a concentration of power in one individual was the exact reverse of the policy adopted by the Ferry Cabinet at the opening of the Tonquin Expedition in 1883, when the three necessarily rival powers of General Bouet, Admiral Courbet, and M. Harmand were placed in juxtaposition.

In the interval, however, the position of parties had completely altered; and the Government had now adopted at home as its watch-word a rallying cry—the concentration of the Republican forces. This policy was all the more necessary as the Monarchist party were assuming a threatening attitude. A central committee, divided into two sections, was formed to prepare for the elections; that for Paris, headed by M. Ferdinand Duval, formerly Prefect of Police, under the Government of “Moral Order;” the other for the departments presided over by M. Lambert de Sainte-Croix. As the progress of the reaction was specially to be feared in the Nord, the Republicans of that part of the country called a large political meeting at St. Pol (May 3), where the principal speaker was to be M. Ribot. M. Ribot was one of the last remaining representatives in the French Parliament of the old Left Centre. Thrown out by the Opportunists, the statesmen of that group had no special reason to regret the recent ministerial crisis, but it remained to be seen whether they would combine with the Opportunists and the Radicals against the Royalists and Bonapartists, or whether they would persist in isolating themselves from other groups. M. Ribot’s address was a veritable political manifesto; he insisted on the necessity of supporting the Republic, pointed out the mistakes that had been made in diplomacy, finance, and home policy by former Cabinets, and wound up by declaring his readiness to give his adhesion to anyone who offered satisfactory assurances of firmness and conciliation.

As a matter of fact it was not difficult to perceive that any change of policy would be specially advantageous to the Radicals; but if their demands were pushed to too great lengths they might force the Government to make advances to the Moderates.

When, therefore, the Chambers reassembled on May 4, no one was much surprised that M. Floquet (who had been elected, not without difficulty, President of the Chamber of Deputies, in the place of M. Henri Brisson) should inaugurate his accession to the presidential chair by an address of singular moderation. A member of the Radical Left, with a decided leaning towards the Extreme Left, he had distinguished himself under the Empire by the most determined opposition to the Imperial Government, and during the Exhibition of 1867, had made himself conspicuous by shouting in the face of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, “*Vive la Pologne, Monsieur!*” Since the Republic he had been a

member of the Municipal Council of Paris, and afterwards Prefect of the Seine : and as such he had ingratiated himself with the Municipal Council, by flattering their projects of autonomy. Finally, after the death of Gambetta, he had been one of the principal promoters of the bill for the proscription of the Princes, which had been rejected by the Senate. The correct and dignified attitude which from the first he assumed at the head of the Chamber proved that, even amongst the extreme parties, the necessity for union was felt. He was succeeded as Vice-President by M. Anatole de la Forge, who, without being actually inscribed in any of the groups, was supposed to be inclined to the Extreme Left.

The members of this party, led by M. Clovis Hugues, were not slow in calling upon the Government to inaugurate their accession to power by granting a full and entire pardon to all political offenders. Some of these, such as Mlle. Louise Michel and Prince Pierre Krapotkine, the Ministers were prepared to pardon at once ; but they refused to restore to full civil rights such men as Cyvoct—who threw a bombshell into a café at Lyons, in 1883, and killed several persons—and the authors of the dynamite outrages at Montceaux les Mines.

At the same time, M. Delafosse, a Bonapartist deputy of Calvados, took the initiative of a proposition to impeach the members of the Ferry Administration, as having violated the constitution by making war upon China without having formally called upon Parliament to vote its declaration. It was at first proposed to bring forward these two bills together as interdependent, and so to compel the Government to declare the amnesty, if they wished to save the heads of M. Ferry and his colleagues. This conjunction of the late President of the Council with Anarchist leaders appeared so grotesque that it had to be abandoned.

The death of Victor Hugo, on May 22, and the manifestations of the Communists in the cemetery of Père-La-Chaise gave the Government the opportunity of affirming its political standpoint, and of detaching from the Extreme Left all those who were not systematically hostile. The death of the great poet had produced the most profound emotion, not only throughout France but, one may say, throughout the world. No man had been so popular in Paris, and it was decided that the State should accord him a national funeral. For more than a week it seemed as if ordinary life were suspended in Paris. People's clubs, corporations, schools, groups of all sorts, prepared to form a marvellous *cortège* for the deceased poet, and the freethinkers claimed the vaults of the Pantheon for his tomb. After hesitating for some days, the Government decided (May 26) to decree the secularisation of the Pantheon. The decree of 1852 by which Prince Napoleon, then President-dictator, had restored the building (dedicated to St. Geneviève) to the purposes of religious worship, was repealed, and the ecclesiastics

who had charge of it were ordered to remove all the consecrated objects contained therein, and amongst them the shrine and relics of St. Geneviève. This measure was looked upon by the Catholics as an odious provocation. Victor Hugo had chosen to die, as he had so long lived, a freethinker. His family had excluded from his death-bed the priests who wished to visit him; they had even declined the visit of Monsignor Guibert, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris. These well-known incidents, added to the extraordinary pomp of the funeral ceremony, were calculated to make a powerful impression on the masses, and still further to augment the ever-increasing number of secular interments. On this ground, M. de Ravignan proposed, in the Senate, a vote of censure on the Government on the subject of the secularisation of the Pantheon. According to this spokesman of the Right such a measure ought only to have been passed by a vote of both Chambers, and not by a simple decree. M. Goblet, Minister of Instruction and Public Worship, had no difficulty in proving that if, in 1791, on the occasion of the funeral of Mirabeau, an Act had been passed, for the first time, to secularise the Pantheon for the sepulture of great and distinguished men, it had been alternately restored to the purposes of Roman Catholic worship and secularised by simple decrees; thereupon the motion of censure of M. de Ravignan was rejected by 189 to 67 votes. A more serious misgiving arose in many quarters lest the Anarchists and Revolutionists should seize this opportunity once again to hoist the red flag. The exhibition of this seditious emblem on the occasion of a ceremony at once official and popular would have an exceptional importance; for one of two things was inevitable, either the State authorities must oppose such a display, in which case sanguinary combats would ensue and the grandeur of the pageant would be marred, or they must tacitly permit it, in which case such proof of weakness might well be considered as a veritable abdication, and the patriotic societies might be encouraged to come into dangerous collision with the revolutionary party. But it so happened that the Revolutionists had to celebrate, after their fashion, the anniversary of the "blood-stained week" of May 1871, commemorating the fall of the Commune. Their meeting took place, as usual, at Père-La-Chaise (May 24), when large reserves of police were posted in the side alleys of the cemetery, in order to assist the agents in the event of the red flag being unfurled. The Revolutionists, very numerous and excited, paid no heed to the warnings they received to conform to the laws; the agents of the police seized the red flags and carried them off. A skirmish ensued, described by the advanced journals as "the massacre of Père-La-Chaise." In the municipal council an "order of the day" was proposed, censuring the Prefect and the police agents, who had opposed the hoisting of the red flag. But as it was discovered, on investigation, that almost all who had been wounded in the skirmish belonged to the police, it appeared that they had acted more on the

defensive than the offensive. This fact rendered the complaints of the Revolutionists ridiculous, whilst it showed that the Government intended to make the law respected. The revolutionary party accepted the position, and vigorous measures having been taken to ensure order at the funeral of Victor Hugo, no remarkable incident occurred to mar the effect of the stately ceremonial. The funeral fête (June 1) was one of the grandest and most imposing in the annals of Paris, and was described as an apotheosis, not only of Victor Hugo, but of democracy itself.

In the Chamber of Deputies (June 4) the proposition of MM. Delafosse and Laisant, involving the impeachment of the Ferry Ministry, was discussed. After the failure of the compromise concerning the pardon of political offenders a kind of partial coalition had been effected between the Extreme Left and the Right, with the view of multiplying the new ministerial majority, and of placing the Brisson Cabinet in the dilemma of either pronouncing against the Tonquin Expedition, and so embroiling itself with the members of the Republican Union, or of declaring itself in favour of this expedition, and thus appearing to adopt M. Jules Ferry's policy.

The discussion of this proposition was one of the most scandalous of the session. M. Floquet, reproached by the Right with being systematically hostile to them, threatened to resign. Finally, the proposition was rejected by 305 votes against 141, made up of members of the Right, supported by those of the Extreme Left.

Some days later the Ferry Administration achieved two posthumous successes. The Chamber adopted (June 10) the bill on the *scrutin de liste*, as amended by the Senate, and on the following day (June 11) ratified the treaty of Tien-Tsin. The bill on the *scrutin de liste* had undergone, in the Upper Chamber, a very important modification, which greatly irritated the most advanced Republicans. The Senate agreed that the number of the population of the departments should be taken as the basis of representation, but decided that from this census foreigners should be excluded, and that the number of French citizens alone should determine how many deputies each department should elect. This amendment, it was calculated, would diminish by about 35 members the number of deputies in the following legislature. In those departments where the greater number of foreign workmen congregated and the most advanced opinions prevailed, the Extreme Left thought themselves certain of success. Deprived by this manœuvre of the accession of strength on which they had counted, the Extremists would willingly have abandoned the measure altogether, but the majority insisted upon its being proceeded with, and in due course it became law. As for the treaty with China, prepared by the Ferry Administration, its acceptance by the Court of Peking had transpired a few days after the fall of the Ministry. It was, therefore, not surprising that the partisans of the late Cabinet

took advantage of the unexpected termination of the Eastern imbroglio, to say that the Chamber had been too anxious and impatient in overthrowing the Ministry.

The Chamber next turned to the consideration of those financial questions of which a settlement before the end of the session was imperative. The Budget proposals had been, at last, laid on the table (May 10). The change of Ministry having entailed several alterations, especially with regard to the votes for the Army and the Navy, it was expedient to show a general agreement between the receipts and expenditure, in order to conceal the financial difficulties and the actual deficit. On the other hand it was impossible to impose any new taxes, as for several years past promises of relief of taxation had been held out. Want of time had prevented the heads of departments drawing up definite and economical proposals, and, moreover, to obtain any substantial reduction of the amounts required would have created so much dissatisfaction that the result might have been fatal to the interests of the Republican candidates at the impending elections.

The principal interest consequently centred in the vote for Public Worship. In the Cabinet the supporters of the measure for separating Church and State were in a majority, and the Minister of Public Worship in particular, M. René Goblet, had long been a convert to this idea. Nevertheless, on the present occasion, avoiding all discussion on the subject and announcing his intention of bringing forward this important question shortly, he asked the Chamber of Deputies to pass the Church Budget in its integrity, as approved by the Budget Commission. The Chamber was not more eager than the Ministry to enter upon the discussion of financial reforms, and the result was that the entire Budget was voted without any pretence even of serious criticism or opposition.

By a curious coincidence the decree reorganising the government of Tunis was promulgated (June 23) at the moment when the strained relations between France and Italy seemed most threatening. On the same day M. Depretis accepted in Rome the task of forming a new Cabinet, and it was certain that M. Mancini would not be a member of the new combination.

A quarrel had taken place at Tunis between Italian residents and French officers, owing to some manifestations in a theatre; and at Marseilles the Italian mail steamer, the *Solunto*, had been seized by order of the tribunal of commerce of that town, in spite of the protestations of the Italian consul. These international grievances promptly resolved themselves into a conflict between the French authorities at Tunis. The Italian officer who had insulted the French officers was arrested and was taken before the Correctional Tribunal, composed solely of French judges, in accordance with the recent abolition of consular jurisdiction. The magistrates sentenced him to a few weeks' imprisonment. General Boulanger, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Occupation in Tunis, considering the punishment inadequate, caused an "order of the day" to be read to the troops, in which he censured

the judges for their leniency, and ordered the officers to take the law into their own hands if they should be attacked.

This order caused great excitement, first because it betrayed a serious disagreement between the civil and military authorities, and, secondly, because it might give rise to more serious quarrels between the French soldiers and the natives or foreign subjects residing in Tunis. General Boulanger was summoned to Paris to account for his conduct, and M. Carbon, the French Minister, obtained a decree by which the civil power obtained the ascendant over the military authority in the regency.

According to this decree the resident Minister was to be regarded as representing the President of the Republic, and both the civil and the military authorities were placed under his control. In consideration of the services that France had undertaken to perform, he was to be invested with the powers of a governor of a colony. All the correspondence was to be carried on through him. He was at once the guardian and the diplomatic agent, on all points where the stipulation of the Treaty of Kasar-Saïd had maintained the autonomy of the Tunisian State.

On his return from Italy M. Jules Ferry seized the first opportunity to re-enter the parliamentary arena. In the protracted debate (July 26–30) on the vote of credit of twelve million francs for the war in Madagascar, he was called upon to defend the policy of his Government. M. de Lanessan, previously member of the Paris Municipal Council, had been selected to read the report of the Commission on the proposed vote. Formerly a declared opponent of M. Jules Ferry and of the Opportunists, he had suddenly become a convert to the proposal to extend the possessions of France in the East, and had drawn upon himself the attacks of M. Georges Perrin and M. Camille Pelletan. M. Jules Ferry replied by a speech *pro domo suâ*, that was all the more *à propos* because the very day he was addressing the Chamber, the President of the Republic was receiving with distinguished honours and military music the new Chinese Ambassador, Hsu-Tin-Tchang, who came solemnly to ratify the diplomatic relations between the Celestial Empire and France.

M. Clémenceau next spoke, and endeavoured to show in what complications the French army had for some months past been involved. Not only was Tonquin unpacified, but Annam had risen in arms, and General de Courcy had narrowly escaped being captured at Hué. The inopportune overthrow of Noradom, king of Camboja, by M. Thomson, the Governor of Cochin-China, had caused a revolt in that kingdom which had been hitherto pacifically inclined, and the new military commander at Saigon, General Bégin, as temporary governor, could hardly maintain order in Cochin-China itself. The President of the Council, M. Brisson, in reply, declared that the Government had positively determined to maintain the rights, interests, and honour of France, and promised to adopt the best methods for governing the new dependencies; and the vote of credit was ultimately agreed to by a majority of 231 against 142, nearly all the members of the Right having abstained from voting.

This was almost the last act of the session. The bill for placing the marine infantry at the disposal of the Minister of War passed the second reading; but the much-needed bill for the reorganisation of the colonial army failed to pass the Senate, and was postponed indefinitely.

Although the exact date of the elections still remained unsettled, the Radicals lost no time in opening the campaign by putting forward the candidature of General Thibaudin, in the Nièvre. Selected as Minister of War by Jules Ferry in 1883, in order to force the Princes of Orleans and the Bonapartes out of the army, M. Thibaudin had lost his official post, apparently on account of his attitude during the manifestations against the King of Spain, Alphonso XII., but in reality on account of his sympathies with the Radicals.

Since his retirement from office he had been on the unattached list, but had not refused to have his name inscribed on the list of Radicals, despite the law prohibiting officers of the army in active service from taking part in election campaigns, either as electors or as candidates. Called upon either to resign or to remain neutral, General Thibaudin wrote to his committee to withdraw his candidature, but by so doing he placed the Government in the position of again opposing the Radicals. Thus, whilst the members of the Cabinet, particularly M. Allain Targé, Minister of the Interior, persistently urged the necessity of uniting the Republican forces, the breach between the camps was widening, and the two groups were broken up by constant internal dissension.

At the outset two large committees were formed. M. Clémenceau, the grudgingly recognised chief of the Radical party, set about organising a progress through France, and the Ministerialists, on their side, in answer to the call of Jules Ferry, formed a committee, which, meeting first in the Rue de Babylone, earned at once the nickname of the "Babylonians." Their first step was to unite the Opportunists and the Republicans, but M. Ribot, invited to attend a meeting of the committee, could arrive at no common basis of agreement with that body, which styled itself the "National Republican Committee."

The electoral campaign was nevertheless carried on with great zeal by the Republican party and with great skill by the Monarchists, who, leaving the Republicans to fight furiously on questions of colonial policy and administration, employed all the force of their polemic on two points that were of personal interest to the entire Republican party, namely, the deficit in the Budget, and the anti-religious politics of the Republic. Clear and precise statements, plainly showing the new charges that pressed on the country, were placarded all over France. The Comte de Paris subscribed two million francs towards the cost of the propaganda, and most of the important members of the reactionary party contributed to the central fund in Paris, so that every possible effort was made by the enemies of the Republic. What helped the

Monarchists more even than their activity and their money, were the dissensions in the Republican party.

In a speech made at Mans at the inauguration of a monument erected to Chanzy and to the Army of the Loire, M. Allain Targé vainly urged the Republicans to forget their differences and to unite in facing their adversaries. M. Clémenceau had meanwhile started on his tour, and was holding meetings in those departments where the success of Radical candidates seemed possible. M. Jules Ferry, who had been applauded at Bordeaux (Aug. 30), was hissed a few days afterwards at Lyons, and an *émeute*, caused by the miserable condition of the people, ensued (Sept. 8).

There was discord, however, in the very midst of the Radical party also, and the causes of its weakness were not long in becoming intensified. To palliate this schism the chiefs of the party called a full meeting at the Masonic Lodge of the "*Grand Orient de France*," and a programme was drawn up which was to be imposed upon the candidates. The principal article was the convocation of a "Constituent Assembly" for the purpose of elaborating a constitution that would suppress the Senate and the President of the Republic. The legislative body was to consist of a single permanent assembly elected by universal suffrage, and one-third to be renewable every year; and the nation was to be asked to sanction the new constitution by a vote. In this way it was hoped to introduce the doctrine of the Jacobins into the Radical programme. It was easy, however, to foresee that even the most advanced of the various parties would raise objections to this course. Dissident committees were established in Paris, and every important journal submitted its own list of candidates for the choice of the electors. The logical results of these divided counsels were not long in showing themselves. The elections of the 4th October exposed an astounding progress of monarchical sympathy. Out of ninety departments (not including the colonies that were safe to vote for the Republicans), returning 574 deputies, the first *scrutin* showed that of 317 definite elections, the Republicans had elected 138 and the Reactionists 179. What magnified the importance of this result was the way in which the members were distributed. With the exception of the Somme, the Seine-Inférieure, and Isle-et-Vilaine, the Loire-Inférieure and the Gironde, all the departments situated on the coast were won by opponents of the Republic, and broad zones in the interior, formerly Republican strongholds, were now represented by Bonapartists and Monarchists. The triumph of the Reactionists seemed to be assured. But this triumph was so startling, and the manifestations that ensued were too marked for the Republican party not to see the wisdom of closing their ranks. Surprised at first at their successes, the Monarchists concluded too hastily that the Republic would not last. It was the first time since Feb. 8, 1871, that the onward march of the Republican party had received a check. The Monarchists imagined that threats would crush their adversaries, and their journals loudly proclaimed

their intention of taking up the fight against existing institutions once more. This language had the effect of rallying the Republican forces. The Republican journals, with the exception of the *Journal des Débats* and the *National*, made common cause. They agreed that for the second ballots (Oct. 18) they would publish in each department single lists, containing, without distinction of shades of opinion, the names of all the Republican candidates who had obtained the greatest number of votes. This discipline was maintained, except in the Seine-et-Oise and the Cantal. The effect was analogous to the great precedent of 1877, and out of 268 seats, the Republicans won 243, leaving only 25 to the Conservatives.

Reckoning the colonies, the new Chamber consisted of 381 Republican deputies and 201 Monarchists of all shades. The Republican party had recovered its energy, and among the most significant defeats of the second ballot were those of MM. de Broglie, de Meaux, de Fourton, Caillaux, and Decazes, reactionary ministers during the presidency of Marshal MacMahon. In the interval which elapsed before the assembly of the Chamber (Nov. 10), several efforts were made to concentrate the forces of the various parties. The Comte de Mun, leader of the clerical party, proposed to unite all the Monarchist parties in one Catholic group, that would concern itself chiefly with opposing revolutionary principles. Disavowed by the Pope, who was alarmed at the consequences of the hostile attitude of the clergy, Comte de Mun was forced to give up his project, and in the new Chamber the Bonapartists and the Royalists were divided into four parties, agreeing only in general hostility to the Government. The Republicans were not less alive to the necessity for unanimity. M. Edouard Lockroy, who had been elected at the head of the poll, at the first *scrutin de liste* of the deputies for Paris attempted to form a complete coalition of the members of the Left, and with this object in view he invited all the Republican deputies of the "Grand Orient" to elaborate one comprehensive programme, but the Radicals alone responded to this call. The Opportunists still clung to their "National Republican Committee," presided over by Senator Tolain, although the Ministry turned a deaf ear to the counsels emanating from the self-satisfied group. Two members of the Ministry having failed at the elections, and having filled the vacancies caused by the defeat of M. Pierre Legrand and M. Hervé Mangon, they met at the Chamber (Nov. 16) with a ministerial declaration of their proposed policy. In this lengthy document three points only called for special remark. The Government attributed the comparative success of the Monarchists to three causes: a want of unanimity among the Republicans, the weakness amounting to culpability of a great number of functionaries, and the intervention of the clergy in the elections. It therefore appealed to the Republicans to combine their efforts to save the Republic, and stated that the Government pledged itself

to punish severely all untrustworthy functionaries, and that a bill would be proposed for separating Church and State. "If, as we surmise, the majority should vote against the separation, it will be our duty energetically to defend the rights of civil society ; to use, without passion, but with firmness, the means with which the law provides us, in order to recall to their duty towards the Government of the country such members of the clergy as may forget it."

This was the first occasion when, in a ministerial declaration, the Cabinet had expressed itself so plainly with regard to the Catholic clergy. Acts soon followed words, and in a great number of departments, at the instance of the prefect, the Minister of the Interior deprived of their stipends such factious priests as the bishop refused to remove. Moreover the Chamber annulled the elections in those departments where the influence of the clergy had been most active.

The first trial of strength in the new Chamber arose on the election of the committee on the Tonquin credit (Nov. 24), when a coalition between the Right and the Extreme Left showed itself. Out of 33 members of the committee 24 were in favour of the policy of evacuation, and only 9 were opposed to the ministerial programme. According to parliamentary precedent this nomination seemed to imply that the new Chamber would definitely set aside colonial policy.

From all sides, from the municipal councils, the chambers of commerce, the trade guilds, the clubs, protests were sent to the Tonquin Commission, some in favour of evacuation, some in opposition to the recall of the troops. The Commission set on foot a searching inquiry, and called upon a great number of the general officers, both of the army and the navy, who had served in Tonquin or in Cochin China, to express their opinions. The results of this investigation were to remain secret until the committee had decided what depositions should be printed, but a considerable portion of the numerous deputies on the committee being also journalists, could not resist the temptation of communicating to their readers such documents as favoured their own opinions. Amongst many indiscretions of this sort, the worst, perhaps, was the publication of the evidence of General Brière de l'Isle, who had been Commander-in-Chief at the evacuation of Lang-Sôn, and asserted that Colonel Herbinger was an habitual drunkard, and that during the retreat particularly, he had been in a state of intoxication for several days together.

The outcry aroused by the publication of these depositions favoured the purpose of the Extreme Left, which was to defer the debate upon the Tonquin business until after Congress had met to elect a President of the Republic. The Brisson Ministry embarrassed M. Clémenceau and his friends, by declaring itself, with unexpected energy, against the evacuation of Tonquin. The Cabinet, moreover, still possessed sufficient influence in the Chamber to obtain the credits necessary for the continuance of

the occupation of Tonquin. This first vote, too, was of more than ordinary importance, inasmuch as it created a precedent, and in some degree committed the new Chamber to the ministerial policy. It was known that M. Brisson desired to resign at once, but by delaying matters till the end of December the time for the meeting of Congress would have arrived; and whatever the result of its vote might be, the Ministry would be obliged to place their resignation at the disposal of the President of the Republic. Matters might then be so arranged as to place the power in the hands of a sort of transition Cabinet, which might solve the colonial problem, and so clear the course for a homogeneous Ministry selected from the Radical party. Once established in power they would apply themselves energetically to carrying out those measures of reform at home which were demanded by the Extreme Left. To ensure the success of these tactics, an endeavour was made (Nov. 28) to induce the Chamber to vote as "urgent" a proposition of M. Barodet to appoint a select committee of 22 members to classify the promises made by candidates to their constituents; to make out the list of electors for 1885 and to draw up a programme of such reforms as were considered essential. M. Brisson, however, remained steadfast, and insisted that the discussion of the necessary credits should take place before the meeting of Congress. To this the Chamber, after an animated discussion, consented, and ended by voting, though only by a majority of 273 to 269, the amounts required for Tonquin and Madagascar (79,634,488 frs.).

Such a majority in reality was equivalent to a moral defeat of the Government. Moreover, on examining the votes, it was found that amongst the *white bulletins*, i.e. those in favour of the vote of credit, were the names of some deputies who were actually absent, and who had not authorised anyone to act as their proxies; the most singular case, perhaps, being that of M. Franconie, a Radical deputy of French Guiana, who was at sea when the voting took place and who would probably have voted against the measure. Nevertheless, the vote of credit was carried, and, on Dec. 26, the Senate confirmed it almost without discussion.

The meeting of the National Assembly at Versailles (Dec. 28) to elect a President of the Republic was a foregone conclusion so soon as it became known that M. Grévy would offer himself for re-election. A few Radicals only, spoke in favour of electing some other candidate, but none of the journals encouraged this idea. The deputies of the Right wished to profit by the meeting of Congress, to offer their objections, on the ground that the elections in four departments having been annulled by the Chamber of Deputies, a considerable portion of French territory was not represented on such an important occasion. The President of the Senate, M. Leroyer, however, who, in accordance with the rule of the constitution, was called upon to preside over the National Assembly, categorically refused to entertain any such

objection. Although well inured to tumults after his experiences in 1884, when he presided over the debates in Congress on the revision of the constitution, M. Leroyer had considerable difficulty in maintaining order; and ultimately the ushers were ordered to guard the steps of the tribune, and to prevent the Monarchist orators from mounting. After a stormy sitting, that lasted three hours, the vote was taken, and M. Grévy was again elected President of the Republic by a majority of 457 out of 589 votes.

Two days afterwards (Dec. 30) the *Journal Officiel* announced that the Brisson Ministry had resigned, and thus the year ended with a ministerial crisis; for it was certain that the outgoing Premier would refuse to head the next Cabinet; and it was impossible to conjecture what combination could be devised which could constitute a desirable Government. The political axis of France had entirely shifted. The compact phalanx of Monarchist deputies obliged the Republicans to use the utmost circumspection; and in less than a year the Republic had passed from an attitude of attack to one of defence. It remained to be seen whether the new Chamber would yield a working majority to a Government composed of members so different in origin and aims. It might therefore be said that the year 1885 in France had propounded the question of government, of which the year 1886 would have to find the solution.

Unquestionably the most difficult problem propounded to French statesmen had been to establish an equilibrium in the Budget. In the Finance Bill (Aug. 8) for the financial year 1886, the total of expenditure amounted to 3,178,982,236 francs. Of this the service of the Public Debt absorbed 1,333,750,653 francs, of which 429,526,439 francs were appropriated to the floating debt and the Sinking Fund.

A large proportion of the Treasury Bills that had to be redeemed with these resources, had fallen due in the previous year, but there still remained a little over 100,000,000 francs available for the redemption of the bills of the current year. This fact enabled those who approved the Republican Budget to maintain that the deficit was more apparent than real, and that a portion of the taxes was devoted to liquidating the debts of the State. But the interest on, and the redemption of, Treasury bills at short dates alone amounted to 122,500,000 francs, and a part of the sums thus repaid to the creditors of the State was lent again to the "Trésoriers-payeurs-généraux."

The Budgets of the several ministerial offices absorbed the following sums:—

The Ministry of Finance	19,035,000 francs
" " Justice	38,102,800 "
" " Foreign Affairs	14,163,900 "
" " Interior	66,850,339 "
" " Posts and Telegraph	2,081,182 "
" " Commerce	20,753,582 "
" " Agriculture	23,686,470 "
" " Public Works	113,893,867 "

for both ordinary and extraordinary expenditure. The latter, by the way, scarcely exceeded 14,000,000 francs, showing, therefore, a remarkable decrease in the construction of railways and canals.

The three departments which entailed the greatest expenditure were:—(1) Public Instruction, 192,157,273 francs, of which 132,000,000 francs were devoted to education, 14,000,000 francs to the fine arts, and a little over 46,000,000 francs to Public Worship. (2) The Marine and the Colonies, 237,687,262 francs, of which 37,000,000 francs were devoted to the colonies. (3) The Ministry of War, which hitherto had constantly been increasing its expenditure, now stood at 574,788,438 francs, showing a reduction of over 20,000,000 francs from the amounts of preceding years—an economy all the more remarkable since supplementary credits had been almost entirely suppressed.

The total revenue was estimated at 3,016,087,060 francs, showing a deficit of 172,835,176 francs on the assumed receipts. But for the past three years the actual revenue had always fallen short of the original Budget-estimates, and, therefore, assuming this to continue, the actual deficit for 1886 would prove little less than 200 million francs, to be met either by the reduction of expenditure hitherto deemed indispensable, or by an increased taxation. Taxation, it was urged on all sides, was already most onerous, the French taxpayer bearing a more crushing weight of taxation than any other citizen of the civilised world. Moreover, the general commercial and industrial depression is especially felt in France, rendering the collection of taxes very difficult. It seems, therefore, that the boasted elasticity of the Budget, on which so much was said in the good years from 1875 to 1882, has reached its limit; and that the most imperative duty of the new Ministry will be to find a stable equilibrium between revenue and expenditure, if they do not wish to jeopardise irreparably the very existence of the Republic.

II. ITALY.

The principal events in the history of Italy in 1885 were the despatch of the Expedition to colonise the shores of the Red Sea, at the beginning of the year, and the passing of the bill for the equalising of the land-tax at its close. These apparently independent events were, in truth, closely allied, and they coloured the whole political horizon. It was not merely for the sake of flattering national vanity, or of freeing the *Consulta* from the embarrassments of the alliance with the three empires, by coming to an understanding with England, that Signor Mancini entered into negotiations with the Foreign Office, and promised the appearance of an Italian fleet and army on the Egyptian shores of the Red Sea.

The same motives that actuated the Cabinet of Berlin to find

new channels for the stream of German emigration, impelled the Italian Cabinet also to seize points whence Italian colonisation might spread into the interior of the African continent. With the spread of financial and agricultural distress throughout Europe, the condition of the rural population of Italy had become pitiable. The prices of all commodities had been steadily rising, whilst the wages of the agricultural labourers persistently fell lower and lower. Simultaneously, anarchical doctrines began to find supporters in Lombardy, Romagna, and in the south of the kingdom.

In the eyes of the Government, the simplest remedy for this disastrous state of things seemed to be emigration, under conditions advantageous not only to the emigrants but also to the Government; and consequently the opportunity offered to Italy of taking her part in colonial enterprise was gladly seized.

The terms of the treaty entered into between Signor Mancini and Lord Granville were published in the *Gazetta di Torino* (Jan. 1): "Italy will assist England in her enterprises in Egypt, and will raise her voice on behalf of England in the European Council for the settling of the Egyptian question, on every occasion when England appeals to her. Italy will occupy all the territory on the shores of the Red Sea lying between the port of Massowah and the French colony of Obock. In the event of any political question relating to Tripoli, England undertakes to favour the occupation of that country by Italy. England agrees, moreover, to encourage Italy in founding colonies and in taking possession of territory on the West Coast of Africa." In the early part of January the Expedition, which had been some months preparing, left the Italian port for its destination, and at the re-opening of the Chambers (Jan. 15) the deputies Renzis and Brunialti at once questioned the Government as to their intentions. The Minister of Foreign Affairs declined to give any explanation, and the Chamber then turned to the discussion of the State contracts with the railway companies. While, however, one of the members of the Opposition, Signor Baccarini, ex-Minister of Public Works, harassed the Minister of Finance with his animadversions, Signor Crispi (Jan. 29) returned to the subject of the Government colonial policy, and angrily reproached the Ministry with having decided too late on the alliance with England. It was in 1882, and not in 1885, argued Signor Crispi, that this decision should have been arrived at; and Italy would have gained by being already for some years in possession of prosperous colonies. Criticism ceased however, when it became known that (Feb. 5) Admiral Caimi had occupied Massowah, and that Assab would soon be similarly treated; and the two posts were forthwith placed under the military jurisdiction of the army corps of Bari.

The Porte had sent a note meanwhile (Feb. 3) requesting the Italian Government to explain its intentions with regard to the Red Sea, but the only answer obtainable from the *Consulta* was an assurance of its intention to respect all international rights.

Foreign affairs having thus been temporarily disposed of, the President of the Council was suddenly interpellated by the Deputy Lucca, in the name of 132 of his colleagues, on a far more urgent subject. "The Chamber," ran the resolution, "being seriously concerned about the state of agriculture and the condition of the agrarian population, and considering it necessary to alleviate its sufferings and provide against any further distress that may threaten the prosperity of the nation, calls upon Government to suggest prompt and efficacious remedies."

Signor Depretis besought the Chamber to postpone the discussion of this proposition until after the vote for the railway contracts; but the Opposition refused to adopt this proposal, and Signor Cairoli's motion for "urgency" was carried by a large majority. Signor Depretis, however, was more successful in carrying an amendment, that the question should be discussed until the debate on the railway contracts had been brought to a close. The following day (Feb. 3) the Minister of War, General Ricotti, announced to the Chamber that the Prime Minister had been seized with a violent attack of gout in his arm, and as it would be impossible for him to take part in the discussion, he asked that it might be deferred for a month. This announcement led to a scandalous scene. Signor Nicotera accused the Ministry of indifference to the sufferings of the country, and the Deputy Delvecchio proposed that the discussion on agrarian distress should be deferred till after the clauses in the Railway Contracts Bill relating to the subject of fares. The Minister of Public Works, Signor Genala, opposed this, and was supported by the Chamber, which adopted his view by a majority of 186 to 133 votes.

The evening sittings during the month of February were consequently devoted to the discussion of the tariffs of the Mediterranean railway, in the course of which the doctrines of State Socialism were boldly advocated, and *reduced* travelling fares were demanded on behalf of the most widely differing classes, such as teachers, pupils, actors, members of patriotic societies, &c.

These obstacles as to details, although thus delayed, did not defeat the measure, which was carried by the Government by 296 against 203 votes.

The importance of this bill was proved by the keenness with which it was discussed. The debate occupied altogether sixty-five sittings, many of which were not over till seven in the evening, a late hour for Italy. No less than 132 speakers took part in the debate, amongst whom the Minister of Public Works had addressed the Chamber 130, Signor Sanguinetti 106, and Signor Baccarini 99 times.

Thanks to this victory, the Depretis Cabinet acquired a greater authority in the subsequent development of the agrarian crisis and the debates arising thereon. Throughout the northern provinces the agitation increased as the winter advanced. At Casale and Iantua, assemblages of starving peasants (*contadini*) were dispersed with difficulty. Lombardy especially was in an alarm-

ing condition, strikes were taking place amongst the agricultural labourers, and the Socialist leaders profited by the distress among the small proprietors to urge them to acts of violence. In March, 1877, the Italian Parliament had ordered an inquiry into the condition of agriculture throughout the kingdom. After a protracted investigation its report, when published, was the reverse of satisfactory. Many causes had combined to bring about this result. On the one hand a diminution of the profits obtainable from the soil by either landlords or farmers was established, and on the other an increase in the burdens thrown upon the land. The diseases of the silk-worm, of the vines, and of the fruits called *agrumi* (acid fruits generally, such as oranges, lemons, &c.) had largely reduced the production.

The competition of China and of India had ruined the silk-worm nurseries, and the rice-fields in part of Lombardy. The abolition of the forced currency had depressed prices, the enormous expenditure of the army and navy had destroyed the equilibrium of the Budget, and finally the disproportion of the land-tax was so oppressive that in many provinces the small proprietors saw their fields confiscated to the Treasury because they could no longer pay the imposts.

The discussions on the agrarian crisis had offered a fine field for the declamatory and somewhat theatrical character by which, in the Italian Parliament, all the great debates of this kind are marked. Nearly 80 speakers inscribed their names at the commencement of the discussion. The greater number of these dwelt upon the causes of the crisis with which they were most familiar, officially or privately. Almost all declared that the principal reform to be accomplished in order to remedy the disastrous state of things was the equalisation of the land tax, the *perequazione fondiara*. This term requires explanation. If Italy is unified politically, it is far from being so fiscally. There are in the kingdom 22 different official valuations of property, dating from the early years of the century. The land tax is apportioned and collected in 22 different ways, hence great inequalities are to be found in two closely adjoining provinces. Whilst the taxes are very heavy in Upper Italy (where the land was already highly cultivated even before the annexations), they are relatively light in the southern provinces, where for some years a fruitful source of wealth has been found in the extensive cultivation of the vine.

Further, the communal authorities have unlimited power of levying the tax of "the additional centimes" for local purposes, and over this the State has no control. Thus, in certain communes, the imposts which the proprietors have to pay are enormous. There are communes where the municipal taxation is nine times greater than that of the State. In the province of Cremona an instance was given of a property with a net revenue of 5,684 lire, paying 3,374 lire in taxes.

The need of establishing some unity of system has occupied

the attention of every Cabinet ever since the first proposal was brought forward by M. Bartozi in 1861, and every Ministry has had its scheme of dealing with the *perequazione fondiaria*, each in its turn going to join its stillborn predecessors in the parliamentary archives. Signor Magliani seized the present occasion to offer his solution of the difficulty. The moment was favourable. The parliamentary field was at length free from the interminable debates on the railway contracts. So much of the spring session as would not be required for the debates on the Budget might be devoted to the discussion of the land laws. But fate decided otherwise. During the months of March and April, agrarian riots, resembling the "*jacquerie*," had disturbed the province of Mantua, and these were followed by a scarcely less serious outbreak of the students at the University of Turin, arising out of the arrest of some of their body by the city authorities. By the firmness and moderation of the Prefect of Turin and of the Rector of the University, order was at length restored, but this *émeute* showed the urgent necessity of carefully watching the active propaganda carried on by political parties, even in the higher schools of the kingdom. The reopening of the Chambers coincided very nearly with the grand fêtes given by the municipality of Naples on the occasion of the inauguration of the great reservoirs of the Serino at Capodimonte. The municipality of that city, by far the most densely populated in the kingdom, had obtained from the State, after the epidemic of cholera in 1884, a grant of 36,000,000 lire for sanitary purposes. With this money in hand the municipality at once obtained possession of the sources of the Serino, and set about restoring the great aqueduct built under the Emperor Claudius for the fleet at Misenum, and their completion of the work was made the occasion of great rejoicing. Signor Nicotera protested warmly in the Chamber against these fêtes, which he considered inopportune. All the winter time, he declared, had been lost by the municipal authorities in Naples, who had neglected to cleanse the hotbeds of infection which existed in the city, and a return of the previous year's epidemic might be expected in the summer. Under these conditions, all festivities and expenses were, he maintained, out of place. This criticism, however, did not prevent the Chamber from sending a deputation to represent it at the fêtes, which were chiefly noticeable for the warmth of the reception recorded to the king. During this time, Signor Mancini was struggling against the *Pentarchy*, that had vowed his destruction. The pretext chosen by them was his colonial policy, which was made the object of many acrimonious attacks. The debate on the Budget of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Aug. 7) afforded one of such pretexts. It was opened by an interpellation brought forward by the Deputies Camporeale, de Renzis, and Cairoli. Signor Mancini contended that the colonial policy of Italy was extremely moderate, and was not likely either to originate international disputes or to create financial embarrassments, and

that the Government would carefully avoid any compromising undertaking. But the Opposition would not be satisfied by such vague disclaimers. Signor Camporeale demanded the production of the diplomatic correspondence exchanged on the occasion of the Red Sea Expedition, and SS. Cairoli and de Renzis brought forward motions of want of confidence in the Minister. On the following day Signor Mancini was so violently attacked by Signor Sonnino Sidney, the editor of the *Rassegna*, that the President of the Council was forced to intervene, and by maintaining the unanimity and conditional responsibility of the Cabinet for the foreign and colonial policy of the Government, he at once raised the debate to a higher tone by demonstrating the advantages that had accrued to Italy from her alliance with the central Powers. The expedition to Assab clearly showed that this alliance was not an irksome bond, and that Italy had preserved intact her liberty of action. But if the Government wished to preserve its independence in relation to foreign countries, it certainly could not relinquish it in the face of party opposition, and this it would be doing were it prematurely to declare its intentions. At that moment he could say no more than that the Ministry was determined to defend the honour of the Italian flag. This lengthy discussion closed by a vote of confidence proposed by Signor Tajani, by which the Chamber accepted (188 to 97) the ministerial explanation. The firm attitude adopted by Signor Depretis had defeated the tactics of the *Pentarchy*, who were conscious of certain underhand manœuvres, originating in the ministerial majority itself, but guided by a fraction of the Right against Signor Mancini. In the midst of these plots and intrigues grave news arrived from Africa. Notwithstanding the reassuring statistics published by the Minister of War, concerning the health of the troops in Africa, it became known that the garrison of Massowah, and also that of Assab, were suffering from epidemic diseases. Lieutenant-General Ricci, sent on a mission of inquiry about the end of February, had given certainly a very favourable report, but it had been drawn up before the hot season had so severely tried the endurance of the troops. The complaints of the soldiers at once aroused the sympathies of the ladies of the Italian section of the Red Cross, and subscriptions were collected to send gifts in kind to the expeditionary troops. The Government, however, considering that Italy was in a state of peace, refused to accept these aids. The material condition of the troops was not bettered by this refusal. Moreover, the Negous of Abyssinia, after having received the Italian deputations favourably, suddenly assumed a hostile attitude, and massed his troops in the immediate vicinity of the Italian posts. This bad news gave the Opposition fresh spirit, and a fresh attack was made on the Minister of Foreign Affairs, when the discussion of the Budget for his department came on. Nevertheless, the Chamber of Deputies, after a very warm discussion, voted (June 17) the required credits, but by a majority of 4 votes only.

Signor Mancini, who had been especially attacked, considered this majority unsatisfactory, and he therefore tendered his resignation. Signor Depretis and the rest of the Cabinet, considering themselves as *solidaires*, resigned at the same time. The ministerial crisis lasted exactly one week. It was thought for some days that *Transformism* had had its day, and that Signor Depretis would definitely relinquish public life, in accordance with his long-announced intention. The King summoned Signor Biancheri, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and proposed to him to take the Presidency of the Council. On his refusal the idea was put forward of forming a Cabinet under General Cialdini; whilst a more numerous group of the deputies of the Left favoured the idea of a Cabinet presided over by Signor Nicotera. But the Old Left and the Pentarchy would only have been able to carry on a Government by detaching a number of Liberal votes from the new majority. It remained to be proved whether or not Signor Depretis still preserved his influence over the coalition that he had formed, and the next sitting (June 22) proved that the position of the late Premier in the Parliament was as strong as ever.

The Chamber having concluded the discussion of the Budget of Public Works, passed on to that of the Revenue. Signor Baccharini declared that, in face of the ministerial crisis, it was not competent for them to vote a Budget for the entire year; but, in order to avoid the necessity for the exercise of the Royal prerogative, he proposed, if the Chamber thought well, to vote for four months, or even for only one month, the amount of the imposts to be collected. Signor Crispi supported this scheme, and then the Pentarchy found themselves irretrievably committed to this. Signor Minghetti came to their rescue, however, by alleging that this plan would prove impracticable; and Signor Depretis demanded that the Budget for the entire year should be voted. This was carried on the motion of Signor Zerbi, and the ex-Premier was left, as ever, master of the situation. No one, therefore, was surprised to learn the next day that the Cabinet, which had so recently resigned, was to resume office, the only portfolio changing its holder being that of Foreign Affairs, which the President of the Council retained provisionally in his own hands, together with that of the Interior, whilst Signor Diego Tajani (the deputy of Salerno), who had played an important part during the parliamentary debates of the session, replaced Signor Pessina in the Ministry of Justice. The effect of this crisis had thus been to diminish the influence of the historic Left in the Cabinet, and correspondingly to increase the hopes and the exactions of the Right, for the Ministry of Justice, conferred on Signor Tajani, had not the importance of that of Foreign Affairs, and Signor Magliani was therefore the only Minister who had formed part of Signor Depretis' first Cabinet in 1881. Almost immediately after these events the session came to an end, and the recess was prolonged far into November.

The press, through the autumn, found ample sustenance for its polemical ardour in the pontifical rescript against the use made by the Italian Government of the funds of the "Society for the Propagation of the Faith," in the discussions of the Sanitary Congress, and the re-appearance of the cholera at Naples and elsewhere, and above all, in the addresses of the parliamentary leaders in the provinces. Signor Tajani profited by the parliamentary vacation to attempt a complete remodelling of the judicial staff. He began by introducing small changes, which aimed at neutralising provincial and local favouritism. But all the while he was elaborating an extensive plan of judicial reform. There exist in Italy five Courts of Cassation (derived from former Governments), in Turin, Florence, Naples, Palermo, and Rome, and below these are twenty-four Courts of Appeal. In spite, however, of this abundance of tribunals, causes are protracted to a scandalous and disheartening length. Signor Tajani, taking the English Bench as his model, desired to have a small number of highly-paid judges, but chosen from the most eminent advocates. The project, admirable in theory, aroused from the first moment the jealous opposition of local interests, and it at once became apparent that it would be necessary to create a strong current of public opinion, in order to combat the objections that would be raised.

Before the Chambers reassembled the Cabinet was completed, by the nomination of General Count Robilant to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This diplomatist had been accredited as Italian Ambassador to Vienna, from 1871 to 1885. He had played an important part in the political negotiations which had ended by associating Italy with the policy of the three Emperors. His entry into the Ministry, desired by the Chancellors of Germany and Austria, suggested that the Italian Government had no intention of swerving from the imperial policy at a time when the Eastern question was assuming a menacing aspect.

Parliament, on its reassembling, lost no time in applying itself to serious work. The President of the Council and the Minister of Finance brought before the Chamber a measure preparatory to the proposed total reform and equalisation of the land-tax. This measure, known as the "Financial Omnibus," consisted of several clauses, of which the principal were the lowering of the price of salt by twenty centimes per kilogramme, the reduction of one-tenth of a franc in the land-tax, and a proportionate augmentation of indirect taxation. After comparatively slight opposition, this Bill was carried by 158 votes against 145.

The attention of Parliament was next turned to its troops in Africa. General Gené, on taking the command at Massowah (Dec. 2) had issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, in which he said: "The Government has strongly insisted on my devoting all my attention to the development of your resources, and particularly of your commerce—the source of prosperity for all, and the only object which the Italian expedition to your country had in view."

This proclamation, and the way in which it was followed up, clearly indicated that the Italian Government was no longer content with a mere military occupation, but that it intended to assert its sovereignty, and this evolution gave rise to an interpellation, presented by the deputy Canzi (Dec. 8). To this both Signor Depretis and the Count de Robilant replied. The former declared that the occupation of Massowah was not inconsistent with the principles so often laid down by the Government, namely, those of a commercial, not a mere conquering, policy. The Minister of Foreign Affairs said that Italy would imitate Germany, whose protective action follows, not precedes, its commercial enterprises with the natives. Whilst refusing to state the precise instructions given to General Gené, the Count de Robilant declared that Italy intended to continue to occupy Massowah and Assab, and that her object in founding colonies was that she might have a definite point to which she could direct the stream of emigration.

The journals of political economy discussed this ministerial theory. Italy, they urged, could not be compared with Germany in respect of emigration, for more than half the Italians who went to seek their fortune in foreign countries were only temporary emigrants, attracted chiefly to France by the prospect of higher wages and the great public works there, returning regularly every summer to their own country. Moreover it was from the small proprietors that the largest contingent of soldiers was drawn, and Italy had no advantage to reap from the disappearance of this class of citizens. But these criticisms produced little effect upon the public, and the credit of the Ministry remained unshaken. The Cabinet, moreover, had made a good impression by its proposal to relieve the small landowners from the pressure of the land-tax, which weighed so heavily on them. The moment was all the more favourable, for it provoked the Opposition to a general discussion upon the project of a fundamental equalisation of the land-tax. Moreover, the deputies of the South, although opposed to this particular proposal, were for the moment pacified by the long-desired opening of rapid communication between Naples and Rome; and, as a final consideration, Signor de Robilant had been too short a time in power, and the exterior situation was too critical, to permit the Left Opposition to bring about a ministerial complication, even if it were possible, which was very doubtful. The Minister of Public Instruction, Signor Coppino, had acquired no small credit for his University reforms, and the Minister of Finance had received a special mark of approbation from his colleagues of the monetary convention assembled at Paris.

The debate on the equalisation of the land-tax was thus opened under favourable auspices, and after a short preliminary discussion the Chamber, by 275 to 168 votes, passed a resolution (Dec. 17), proposed by the Commission and approved by the Government, laying down the fundamental principles for the new law. On the same day at the Vatican the Diplomatic Act was

signed regulating the question of the Caroline Islands, in accordance with the conclusions arrived at by the Pope, in his capacity of mediator. This fact was looked upon by the Catholics as a proof of the prestige acquired by Leo XIII. Its reception was compared to that of the Encyclical of Nov. 1, addressed especially to France, wherein the Sovereign Pontiff, whilst maintaining the rights of the Church and the doctrines of the *Syllabus*, affirmed that Catholicism was not necessarily inherent in any particular form of government, and only asked from modern states freedom and the protection of its secular rights.

Budget.—The Budget of Receipts for the financial year from July 1, 1885, to June 30, 1886, was estimated at 1,696,407,922 lire, of which the ordinary receipts were 1,456,173,074 lire and the extraordinary 240,234,848 lire. The land-tax appeared in this total for 125,644,330 lire, to which must be added 66,200,000 lire for taxes on buildings. Thus the Italian State derives a grand total of taxation from house and land of 191,844,330 lire.

In France if we add to the land-tax, properly so called, the impost on doors and windows (paid by the tenants), we arrive at a total of 225,432,400 francs—a nearly equal amount for the two countries, allowing for the difference of area and population. The customs duties in Italy produced only 178,000,000, as compared with 341,000,000 in France; the tobacco monopoly, 176,300,000 lire in the one country as against 375,478,000 francs in the other. The Lottery, a special institution in Italy, produced only 72,500,000 lire, whilst it cost 51,000,000 for management.

The amounts estimated as required for the service of the various ministerial offices during the year were:—

	Ordinary	Supplementary
Treasury	717,365,997	34,104,715 lire
Finance	178,247,031	1,337,885 „
Justice	33,780,462	105,900 „
Foreign Affairs	7,552,368	69,200 „
Public Instruction	32,163,137	1,996,605 „
Interior	59,515,483	4,536,710 „
Public Works	73,711,210	221,833,286 „
War	215,043,773	34,750,000 „
Marine	58,814,647	18,660,000 „
Agriculture	11,559,009	1,165,353 „

The interest on the public debt amounted to about 530,000,000 lire; the remainder of the sum required for the Treasury being for the service of the floating debt and the Civil List.

The accounts for the financial year thus showed a presumed deficit of 10,904,847 lire. But it was impossible to predict how far the policy of the Cabinet might affect the general result; the Budgets of War and Marine being specially subject to personal influence. The actual Minister of War, Lieut.-Gen. Ricotti, has hitherto been regarded as a partisan of the Prussian school of tactics; he has adopted the German regulations for the Italian staff. Holding the doctrine that the true defence of a country consists in its army rather than in its fortifications, he devoted a

sum of 5,000,000 lire out of an annuity granted by the Chambers till 1891, for the purposes of fortification, in order to increase the infantry regiments by ten men to each company.

In the Navy Budget large votes were taken, to be expended in the construction of ironclads; but the foreign contractors whose tenders for the hulls of the vessels were accepted were obliged by their contracts to construct them on Italian territory, and consequently had to organise building-yards of their own in that country. Under these conditions, Italy looks forward to be relieved before long from the heavy tribute she has hitherto paid to foreign contractors.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

I. GERMANY.

IN Germany public attention was this year mainly occupied with foreign and colonial affairs. Of internal questions the most interesting was that of the increase of the protective duty on corn, which formed the subject of a long and animated debate in the German Parliament during the month of February. Prince Bismarck's speeches on this occasion were marked by their usual boldness and originality. The predictions made by the opponents of the duty six years ago—that its effect would be to increase the price of corn—had, he said, been completely falsified. Corn was now cheaper than it had been at any time during the present century. He did not agree, however, in the opinion that the cheapness of corn necessarily makes a country happy or prosperous. If this were the case the Russians and Roumanians would be better off than the French and the Belgians. If prices continued to fall, of which there was great danger, owing to the competition of India and other countries, the people whose existence depends upon agriculture—constituting in Germany 26 out of 45 millions—would be ruined; and it was mainly in order to arrest this further fall in prices that the increase of the protective duty on corn was proposed. It would also stimulate production in the country, and even if the importation of corn were absolutely prohibited, Germany would be able herself to produce the 40,000,000 cwt. of corn which she now imports. If he had not introduced protective duties six years ago, not only the agriculture, but all the manufactures of Germany would have perished, and the crash would have taken place earlier if the Government had not been able to give employment to German industry by means of the French milliards. Finally, speaking of free trade in England, the Prince remarked that the worst landowners are not those who live on their estates, but who live in the capital, and take no interest in their estates except in so far as they derive an income from them. “If England, by adhering to her present policy with regard to

corn duties, should allow her landowners to be gradually ruined, I do not believe that this would be advantageous to the future of the country or the prosperity of the rural population. The landowners will then live in town on their rents, summer and winter, without knowing anything of country life, or at most will leave town only for a fashionable outing. I regard it as one of the most essential advantages of German life that a great part of our wealthy classes live in the country all the year round, and carry on agriculture directly and for themselves." The Government proposal to increase the duty on wheat from one to three marks was ultimately passed by a large majority.

On May 6 an interesting debate took place in the Prussian Diet on an edict issued by the Government ordering all Poles who were not Prussian subjects to be expelled from the country. This edict was carried out with great severity, many Poles who had resided in Prussia for years, and had established themselves in trade or in a profession, having been sent across the frontier with their families at very short notice; and the arbitrary conduct of the Prussian Government in the matter excited great indignation in Russia and Austria, to which country most of the Poles affected by the edict were sent. The total number of persons banished exceeded 34,700, of whom the majority were Russian subjects. Many others emigrated to America on finding that they would not be exempted from the decree. No charge of conspiracy or disloyalty was made against any of the exiles, nor were the poorest of them banished as paupers, for all were either earning their living or had means of support. Most of them belonged to the working classes, and many had served in the Prussian army and still belonged to the Landwehr. At Breslau, a non-commissioned officer who had been twelve years on active service, applied for leave to enter the Reserve. His application was granted, but he received an order of expulsion together with his discharge. The population of some of the rural districts of Polish Prussia was decimated; 6,000 of the inhabitants of Inovraclav were banished, and in one village of 850 inhabitants 500 only were allowed to remain. In the mining districts work had to be suspended, owing to the wholesale expulsion of pit men, and at Dantzic, which is the chief centre of the corn trade between Russia and the West, great losses were caused by the banishment of clerks in banks and merchants' offices. Some of the hardest cases were those of workmen who had for years been members of mutual relief societies, and had paid the prescribed percentage of their wages to secure a provision for old age. These men now lost all the fruits of their thrift, and as most of them spoke only German, having resided so long in Prussia, it would have been difficult for them to find employment in Poland or Russia.

The Home Minister, Herr von Puttkamer, said, in reply to an interpellation on the subject, that the measure objected to was dictated by State necessity, and that the Government could not

tolerate the presence in Prussia of large numbers of Poles who were not Prussian subjects any more than it could that of Danes in Schleswig-Holstein or of Frenchmen in Alsace-Lorraine. The only reason why the edict was issued was that it was necessary for the political security of the State, and for the maintenance of German nationality and German culture. During the last fifteen years there had been a very considerable increase of the Polish element in East Prussia and the adjoining districts of West Prussia. The German element had increased by from 1 to 5 per cent., the Polish had increased by from 8 to 11 per cent. The consequence was that heavy expenses had to be incurred for Polish elementary schools, and the wholesale importation of Polish labourers had led to the emigration from the country of German labourers, as they could not work for such low wages as the Poles, who for the most part had become the tools of a propaganda for securing the preponderance of the Polish element. The Minister was repeatedly hissed while making this speech, and the leader of the Clerical party, Dr. Windthorst, pointedly denounced the cruelty of the Government, but after some discussion the matter was dropped.

On December 1 a further interpellation on the subject was brought forward in the German Parliament by the Poles, supported by the Clericals, the new Liberals, the Alsace-Lorrainers, and the Social Democrats, asking whether "the Imperial Government has taken, or means to take, steps to oppose the further execution of the measure." This motion was met by Prince Bismarck with a declaration from the throne which produced considerable excitement in the House. On being asked by the President whether he was prepared to answer the interpellation, the Prince read an Imperial message declaring that the interpellation is "based on the legal assumption of there being a Government in Germany constitutionally capable of taking action to prevent the carrying out of measures which have been ordered by us in our kingdom of Prussia with regard to the expulsion of subjects of foreign States," and that "the fact that this legal supposition, as proved by the signatures to the interpellations, is regarded as correct by the majority of the members of the Reichstag hitherto in attendance, imposes on us the duty of emphatically maintaining our rights in the kingdom of Prussia, and the rights of all our confederated allies in respect of their sovereignty." The message proceeded to state that, like all the confederated princes, the King of Prussia had willingly sacrificed important and extensive rights to the German Parliament and the cause of German unity, that he did not regret these sacrifices, but that he is resolved to protect the rights of his hereditary crown as they stand under the Federal treaties, as well as those of his confederated allies; that "there exists no Government in the Empire entitled, under the control of the Reichstag, to claim supervision, as this interpellation endeavours to do, of the exercise of the

rights of sovereignty enjoyed by the individual States of the Confederation, in so far as the right to exercise such supervision has not been expressly conceded to the Empire"; and that the Emperor-King therefore feels compelled to express to the Reichstag his conviction "that the view adopted by the majority of the deputies . . . in supporting the interpellation in question is at variance with the German constitution," and to declare "that in case of any endeavour being made to carry the same into effect," he will "maintain and defend against such endeavour the rights of each of the Federal Governments, as recited in the Treaty of Confederation." Prince Bismarck added, on his part, that, for the reasons set forth in the Imperial message, he must decline to enter into a discussion of the interpellation before the German Parliament, though he would not shrink from a debate upon the subject in the proper place, namely, the Prussian Parliament; and that the administrative measures referred to had been taken in virtue of the Emperor's right, as King of Prussia, to protect the German element in his border provinces against the flood of persons of foreign nationality who were settling there, to its detriment. That right was the outcome of the King of Prussia's sovereignty, and one of the objects of the Treaty of Confederation was to protect the right in question against all who might attack it. The King of Prussia would have been entitled to claim the assistance of the Empire in the assertion of this right, had it been contested by other countries. But this had not been the case; on the contrary, foreign countries had entered into friendly negotiations with his Majesty on the subject. The Chancellor further asserted that it was "entirely beyond the competence" of the German Parliament "to call the kings of Prussia and Bavaria, or the grand-dukes of Baden and Hesse, to give an account of the way in which they exercised their sovereign rights within their own particular dominions"; and that the representatives of their respective Governments could not therefore condescend to answer "an interpellation based on so evidently mistaken a theory of the Imperial constitution." He then left the Chamber, together with the other members of the Federal Council.

This summary proceeding effectually silenced the authors of the interpellation, and the House passed to the other business before it. When, however, the Foreign Office estimates came on, and Prince Bismarck returned to answer any criticisms that might be made upon them, Herr von Windthorst, the leader of the Centre party, took the opportunity of reverting to the Polish interpellation. On the Chancellor's salary coming to the vote, he made a speech against the expulsion of the Poles, representing that the measure was mainly directed against the Catholics, 90 per cent. of the expelled Poles being of the Romish faith. Prince Bismarck, in reply, entirely repudiated this view. The question with which the Government had to deal in the eastern provinces of Prussia was, he said, primarily one of race, and had nothing

whatever to do with religion. "The measure is one of extraordinary necessity and wisdom, and should other countries seek to frustrate it, we would appeal to the constitutional support of the Reichstag."

On May 9 a long debate on the position of working men took place in the Reichstag. The question on this occasion was that of prohibiting work on Sundays, a bill to that effect having been brought in by the Ultramontanes and the Socialists. Prince Bismarck strongly opposed the scheme on economical and political grounds, and also in the interest of the working men themselves. He would not object to an inquiry on the subject, as proposed by the National Liberals, but the present proposal was quite indefinite. It was not a complete bill, but only an outline to be filled in by the Federal Council, and its rejection by that body would enable the coalition of Ultramontanes and Socialists who supported it, to pose as the friends of the workmen and to cast discredit on the German Government represented in the Council. The real question was whether any advantage would accrue to the workman by this compulsory Sunday holiday under police supervision. That question could only be answered by its being addressed to the workmen themselves; and he was sure that those workmen who, by the nature of their work, had been obliged to labour on Sundays, and who would lose 14 per cent. of their wages if Sunday labour were abolished, would answer it in the negative. They would certainly not bear such a reduction of their wages without a murmur; and the result of the proposed measure would be greatly to aggravate the deplorable conflicts between employers and employed. It would also diminish by one-seventh the production of the country, and thereby inflict a heavy loss on its manufacturers. Moreover, a Sunday spent in pleasure was, among the working class, likely to be followed by a Monday spent in drink. England and the United States had been cited as examples of countries whose manufacturing industry was more extensive than that of Germany, and yet where no work was done on Sundays. "But the industrial prosperity of these countries is due to other causes than the Sunday holiday. England would not enjoy so great an industrial superiority over Germany if her coal-fields and her iron mines were not in close proximity to each other, and if she had not enjoyed the blessings of civilisation long before Germany did. Even in the time of Shakespeare, about 300 years ago, there was a degree of prosperity, culture, and literary development in England far above what we possessed at that time in Germany. The Thirty Years' War had a retrograde effect on Germany more than on any other nation; and I cannot admit that Englishmen are better Christians than the Germans. . . . If the keeping of the Sunday had not been from time immemorial an English custom, I doubt very much if any Government or Parliament would now be strong enough to make it compulsory. . . . For my part, the English Sunday has always produced an unpleasant impression upon me;

I was glad when it was over, and judging by the way the Sunday was passed in England, I think Englishmen were so too. Here in our villages we are glad to see the people enjoying themselves in their Sunday best, and we thank God that we are not under the compulsion of the English Sunday. Some forty years ago I came to England for the first time, and I was so glad to land, after a bad passage, that I whistled a tune. ‘Please don’t do that,’ said a fellow-passenger. ‘Why not?’ I inquired. ‘Because it is Sunday!’ The result of this speech was that the bill was shelved *sine die*, pending the inquiries suggested by the Chancellor; and as the answers since received to these inquiries have for the most part been opposed to the bill, there is no prospect of its reintroduction for the present.

The most important financial measure that has become law in Prussia during the year is that introduced by Prince Bismarck in 1883 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1883, p. 242) for a graduated income-tax. Under this law there are 17 different rates of the tax, commencing with a rate of about $3\frac{1}{3}d.$ in the pound for incomes of 80*l.* to 90*l.*, and ending with a rate of $7\frac{1}{3}d.$ in the pound for incomes of over 500*l.* a year. Relief is provided, to the extent of half the rate originally imposed, in “special circumstances,” such as continued illness, misfortune, and expenditure in the maintenance and education of children, or in the relief of indigent persons dependent on the taxpayer for support. The incomes of all Prussians, or foreigners resident in Prussia (except members of royal families and diplomatic and official personages), including all incomes derived from lands, trades, and avocations exercised in Prussia, and all salaries, pensions, &c., payable by the State, are liable to the tax. Allowance is made for insurance and wear and tear of premises and machinery, and for the expense of collection of the income. Incomes from investments are exempt when they amount to less than 2,000 marks (100*l.*), while the exemption for incomes from trade applies only to incomes amounting to not more than 1,200 marks (60*l.*). The assessing of the tax is primarily entrusted to parochial committees, at the head of each of which is a special commissioner appointed by the Government, who directs the assessing business and is charged with the duty of representing and looking after the interests of the State. From the decision of these parochial committees there is a right of appeal to an appeal commission, over which presides an officer appointed by the Minister of Finance, the other members being appointed by the provincial authorities for a period of six years. A further appeal is permitted to the Minister of Finance, but only on points of law or supposed violations of the rules of assessment. Fraudulent or incorrect returns are punishable by a fine equal to from four to ten times the amount of the tax due.

Another important financial measure was the new law on exchange duties (Börsensteuer). The fixed stamp introduced by the law of July 1, 1881, had not proved very productive, and the

large profits of speculators on the various exchanges had remained untaxed. By the new law purchases of stock, shares, foreign bank-notes, &c., are subject to a duty of one-tenth per cent., and purchases of goods at the various exchanges, if not produced by one of the contracting parties, are taxed at the rate of one-fifth per cent. All such purchases are to be recorded in a document stating the names of the contracting parties, their residences and the nature of their business, the price of the goods, and the date of delivery. Purchases of goods not exceeding 600 marks (30*l.*) in value, or not quoted habitually on the exchanges, bills of exchange, and sales of foreign bank-notes and money, if sold for cash payable on the day of purchase, are exempt from the tax; and any evasion of it is punished by a fine of fifty times the amount due.

The elections for the Prussian Parliament took place in the month of October, and resulted in increasing the majority of the Conservatives, Free Conservatives, and National Liberals. The members of these parties had 236 seats in the former Parliament, and their numbers were increased at the elections to 271. The members of the Centre, on the other hand, with the Poles, Guelphs, Danes, and other members of the Opposition, were reduced from 197 to 162. It was possible, in the former Parliament, for the Centre to obtain a majority in religious questions by detaching some extreme members of the Conservative party. Under the new distribution of party strength in the House this is no longer the case, as the Centre with their allies are in a minority of over 100.

Considerable excitement was caused in May by the question of the Brunswick succession. The last reigning Duke of Brunswick died in October 1884 without issue, and the next heir being, under the established order of succession, the Duke of Cumberland, only son of the King of Hanover, he declared himself the rightful successor to the vacant throne. As, however, the duke has long been at the head of the movement in Hanover whose object is to separate that country from Prussia, Prince Bismarck introduced a motion in the Federal Council to the effect that the Duke of Cumberland's accession to the throne of Brunswick "would be incompatible with the internal peace and security of the Empire." This motion, which was based on Art. 76 of the German Constitution, providing that questions in dispute between German States shall be settled by the Federal Council on the application of one of the contending parties, was almost unanimously adopted by the Council. The Brunswick diet then decided to place the government of the duchy under a regent, and after some negotiation Prince Albrecht of Prussia was unanimously elected regent on Oct. 21.

The death of Field-Marshal von Manteuffel, on June 17, made a vacancy in the important post of Governor of Alsace-Lorraine. Under the late field-marshal the government of this province was a purely personal one; he interfered in every detail of the administration, and did his best to make his rule a benevolent despotism, with the declared object of converting Alsace-Lorraine

“in a few years into the most German of German lands.” His policy, however, only had the effect of stimulating and increasing the dissensions between the local population and the numerous emigrants from the other side of the Rhine. He ostentatiously favoured the chiefs of the anti-German party in the hope of gaining them over to the Government, and by so doing he alienated the German officials without making any converts among the opponents of the annexation to Germany. “The present state of affairs in Alsace-Lorraine,” wrote an eminent journalist in that country shortly after Field-Marshal Manteuffel’s death, “shows a lamentable result of fifteen years’ German rule. The German immigrants feel like strangers in the midst of strangers; the local population is uncertain and confused with the recollection of a troubled past and the prospect of an obscure future; the Government has alienated its former friends, and has filled with mistrust and discontent the officials who are its natural supporters.” The new Governor, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst, German Ambassador in Paris, did not enter upon his duties till November, so that he had not sufficient time to inaugurate a new policy before the end of the year. The Prince has for the last twenty years played a conspicuous part in German politics. After the war of 1866 he proposed that Bavaria and the other South German States should unreservedly co-operate with Prussia as the new leader of Germany. He was then appointed Bavarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, which post he held until 1870, when the Ultramontanes drove him from office, in consequence of his strong opposition to the dogma of Infallibility. He was appointed ambassador in Paris in succession to Count Arnim in 1874, was third plenipotentiary for Germany at the Berlin Congress, and presided at the Berlin Conference on the Greco-Turkish frontier dispute.

Prince Bismarck’s foreign policy during the year was chiefly occupied with colonial questions. The Congo Conference concluded its labours in the month of February, and the following were the decisions at which it arrived:—

1. Freedom of commerce shall be established in the basin and mouths of the Congo, on the whole coast line between the colony of Gaboon and the province of Angola, and in the countries between the Congo basin and the Indian Ocean, subject, however, to the assent of their rulers. (This applies the principle of freedom of commerce, of religious worship, and of missionary and educational establishments, to Lake Nyassa and the adjoining districts. Freedom of commerce was defined to mean that no import nor transit duties should be levied, that the imposts should be moderate and solely intended for administrative needs, and that there should be absolute equality of treatment as regards duties and taxes, residence, liberty to trade and travel, use of roads, railways, coasting trade, and religious freedom. Provision was made for the free exercise of all forms of religion, and for the encouragement of religious, scientific, and charitable institutions and enterprises,

and it was stipulated that the administrative Powers should watch carefully over the well-being of the natives. The prohibition of import duties is to be revised after twenty years, the representatives and delegates, including those specially representing commercial interests, having unanimously been of opinion that it would be a mistake to lay down a rule that a fiscal system by which import duties are prohibited and export duties permitted should remain in force for all time in spite of the expected development and civilisation of the country.)

2. The free navigation of the Congo shall be regulated by an International Commission, and as regards the Niger, England shall apply the principles of free navigation on the lower river, and France on such portions of the upper river as may be under her control. On both rivers the flags of all nations shall be free to navigate and to carry on coasting trade without differential treatment, and shall be entitled to free transit, no tolls or duties being enacted except such as may be necessary to provide for payment for services rendered to navigation. In time of war, ships and goods, except contraband of war, under all flags, neutral or belligerent, shall also be entitled to free transit.

3. The Signatory Powers will use their good offices, in case of a war in which one or more of the belligerents should hold territory in the free basin, to obtain a neutralisation of such territory during the war by special arrangement. As regards states whose entire territories are in the free zone, such as the newly-formed Free States of the Congo, the Signatory Powers specially engage to respect their neutrality if they declare themselves neutral states. In case of difficulties arising respecting territory in the free zone, the difficulty shall, in the first instance, be submitted to mediation.

4. Portugal shall extend her sovereignty to the southern bank of the Congo, and France shall advance the coast-line of her Gaboon colony to the Chiloang, where she meets the frontier of a strip of territory reserved to Portugal on the coast north of the Congo, the latter Power withdrawing, in favour of the International Association, all claim to the north bank of the Congo and to a certain portion of the adjoining coast-line.

5. Any Power undertaking a sovereignty or protectorate shall notify the fact to the other Signatory Powers.

6. The Powers exercising influence in the conventional basin of the Congo shall suppress slave gangs and slave markets.

7. Foreigners shall enjoy without distinction the same rights and treatment as subjects of the State exercising sovereign rights.

8. No Power is to institute monopolies or special privileges of any kind in the conventional basin of the Congo.

The claims of certain German subjects in the Fiji Islands in connection with the annexation of those islands by England in 1874, which had for many years been the subject of representa-

tions from the German Government, were finally settled by a mixed Commission, composed of Herr R. Krauel and Mr. R. S. Wright, on April 15. The result was that these claims, amounting to about 140,000*l.*, were cut down, with the consent of both Governments, to 10,620*l.*

The difficulties which arose between Germany and England with regard to the German acquisitions in the Cameroons and New Guinea were not so easily disposed of. During a debate in the German Parliament (Jan. 10) on a vote of 180,000 marks for a steamer and steam-launch for the Governor of the Cameroons, Prince Bismarck said that, on the 24th November, 1884, he had received from the West African Syndicate at Hamburg a complaint of the conduct of the representative of an English firm, Messrs. John Holt and Co., and of the English vice-consul, Mr. Buchan, as endangering the peace of the German protectorate at the Cameroons. The representative of the firm in question had recently been ordered out of the French settlement of Gaboon for a breach of the peace, and the Syndicate proposed that the German Government should take similar steps in the matter. A despatch on the subject was sent to Count Münster, for communication to Earl Granville, who, the Prince had no doubt, would condemn these proceedings just as much as he did. Earl Granville's instructions, however, to bring about a good understanding between the English and the Germans at the Cameroons had had "no effect;" the Hamburg Committee complained that the English consul had ceased to exert any authority over the natives, and that as the German consul had not yet the necessary means to do so, the natives had repeatedly attacked the Europeans, and had even taken one English captain prisoner. "While the English consular authorities had formally held aloof from interference, Messrs. Hewett (the English consul) and Buchan have placed actual difficulties in our way; one by exciting the natives against us, the other by endeavouring to bring under British authority the territory surrounding our settlement. If thus isolated, our settlement can have but little value." In consequence of these representations, the commander of the German squadron had been ordered to "punish the native excesses against the captain of an English merchant-vessel," and Lord Granville was again communicated with on the subject. Since then, as announced in a telegram from Rear-Admiral Knorr, the ships *Bismarck* and *Olga* had, on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd December, put down risings of the negro factions in the Cameroons. The negro minority, encouraged by the English residents, who had supplied them with arms and voluntarily placed their factories and missions at the disposal of the hostile tribes, having insulted the German flag and plundered and menaced the German factories, the Admiral had considered it necessary to make an immediate display of armed force. King Old Bell Town and Hickory Town were burnt on the 20th. On the same day the insurgents attacked Schmidt's factory, tore

down the German flag, and murdered a German settler. The men of the *Olga* then stormed the heights opposite Bell Town under a heavy fire, with a loss of one killed and eight wounded, drove the natives into the bush, and burnt Joss Town to the ground. The Admiral had further reported that during the engagement the German forces had been fired at out of English factories and missions from under the English flag, and that the ringleaders had found shelter there. Moreover, a Pole, named Rogozinski, having proposed to Consul Hewett that the Cameroon mountain district and the adjoining coast should be taken under British protection, the consul had accepted the proposal, and M. Rogozinski had then proceeded to the spot in the British gunboat *Forward* and signed treaties with the native chiefs, excluding from the supremacy of Germany the hill range and the coast between Old Calabar and Victoria. It would appear, the Chancellor continued, that the assurance of the British Government that they had no intention of making annexations behind the German colonies at Biafra, did not prevent English subjects and agents from taking an opposite view. Under these circumstances he was ready to abide by the decision of the country, and either take energetic measures or abandon the scheme once for all. Dr. Windthorst, the leader of the Centre party, having suggested that it would be dangerous for Germany to attempt to become a naval power at a moment when she is surrounded by enemies, the Chancellor proceeded: "Where are those enemies? I see around us none but friendly States. . . . Our relations with England are good. It is not to be wondered at that the English, conscious that 'Britannia rules the waves,' should look on with astonishment when their cousins, the land-rats, suddenly take to seafaring; but this astonishment is by no means shared by the governing circles in England. They have some difficulty in moderating at once the expression of astonishment of all their subjects, but we are still on our old traditional friendly relations with England, and both countries are well advised to maintain those friendly relations. If the British Government were to assume completely the same views with regard to German colonial policy as those of many of the English, it would scarcely be possible for us, without meeting with strong opposition in Germany, to support English policy in other matters which interest England closely. We would perhaps then be compelled to support those who, without wishing it, are antagonistic to England, and to establish a certain system of *do ut des*; but I believe that we live, and will continue to live, in relations with England which will render the statement that we are surrounded by enemies quite inapplicable to the present situation. . . . The possibility of a war with England I absolutely deny. It does not exist at present; none of the questions which are at present in dispute between us and England are of that importance which would justify a breach of the peace between the two countries, and I know no other cause for dispute which could

arise between us and England. As far as I can look back, we have only once in our history been at war with England. That was in the year 1805–6; the situation at that time was a thoroughly unnatural one, as Prussia was under the compulsion of an all-powerful France. In my diplomatic experience I can find no ground for a possible breach of the peace between us, unless in the case of some wholly incalculable Cabinet being at the head of affairs in England, which would recklessly attack us. This is not the case now, and, judging from the traditional political wisdom of the British nation, it is not probable that such a case could ever arise. . . . Our differences of opinion with England will never, at any time within human ken, assume such a gravity as to exclude the possibility of a settlement by frank good-will and able and prudent diplomacy, such as we, for our part, shall certainly employ.”

Shortly after this speech there was published at Berlin (Feb. 6) a “White Book” on German interests in the South Seas, which showed that in that quarter also there had been disputes between England and Germany. In a despatch, dated Sept. 19, 1884, Earl Granville had declared that, in consequence of an exchange of opinions with the Colonial Governments, it was the intention of Her Majesty’s Government to proclaim an effective protectorate over all the coast of New Guinea not in possession of the Netherlands, except that portion of the north coast lying between 145° east longitude and the southern frontier of the Dutch possessions, this protectorate including the small islands adjacent to the coast. The line of 145° was, Lord Granville added, fixed upon in order to include the territory of the natives of the coast whose petition to the Queen for protection was regarded by the Cabinet as the chief reason for undertaking the responsibility of a protectorate of New Guinea. To this the German Government replied that such an extension of British protectorate was unexpected, as being in contradiction to Earl Granville’s accepted proposal to appoint commissioners to settle the Anglo-German differences in the South Seas; and Lord Granville then announced that the British protectorate would be restricted to the south coast and the adjacent islands. Some unofficial negotiations having taken place between Mr. Meade, of the English Colonial Office, and Prince Bismarck on the subject at the end of last year, the latter instructed Count Münster “to leave Earl Granville in no doubt as to the fact that the German Government is unable to harmonise the ‘after-attempts’ of England and Australia to hamper German enterprise in North Guinea, with the previous pledges of England to restrict her protectorate to the south coast.” On Jan. 20 Prince Bismarck telegraphed to Count Münster that the reported intention of England to occupy the northern coast of New Guinea, from Huon Bay to East Cape, would be opposed to German claims, and would be in contradiction to the assurances given by Earl Granville on the subject; and on Jan. 26 the Chancellor instructed

Count Münster to declare to Earl Granville that "if the British Government are still unaware of the German intentions, in the way of further annexation east of Huon Bay, this can only be attributed to the fact that our communications on the subject have not met with that attention on the part of the Government which we expected from the friendly relations existing between the two countries."

Almost simultaneously with the issue of the "White Book," a treaty concluded between the representative of the German Government and the Government of Samoa was published, of which the following are the chief stipulations:—

1. A German-Samoan Council of State to be established, consisting of the German consul, two Samoans, and two Germans appointed by the consul. This council will lay down rules with regard to offences committed by Samoans against Germans, or persons in the employment of Germans, which rules will be promulgated by the King and vice-King.

2. A German officer to be appointed secretary to the King, and adviser in all matters affecting the German residents. He will also exercise the functions of a judge.

3. A police force, under the German officer above referred to, to be established for the supervision of the prisons and the protection of the German plantations.

The irritation felt by Prince Bismarck at the manner in which Lord Granville had conducted the negotiations in the Samoan and other questions was sharply expressed in a speech made by him in the German Parliament on March 2. Referring to the lukewarm support which he had met with for his colonial policy in the Reichstag, he remarked that the tone of the English official correspondence with Germany had certainly become less friendly under the influence of the late German parliamentary debates—whether *post hoc* or *propter hoc* he would leave undecided. The letter from the King of Samoa to the Emperor, and other important documents, had been published in the English blue-books before his Majesty had received them, and Earl Granville had recently expressed himself in Parliament as if the German demands would force England to abdicate all liberty of action in colonial matters. He further complained that since the summer of 1884 he had received 128 English despatches, containing altogether 700 or 800 pages. "We did not receive," he added, "so much from all the other foreign governments together in the twenty-three years I have been Foreign Minister. Every nation and Government has the right to do business in the manner it considers useful, but a foreign policy chiefly made up of printed and published notes, sometimes written in order favourably to influence your own Parliament, entails the danger of writing somewhat to impress Parliament, and not exclusively the foreign governments." It was probably in order to prevent further correspondence of this kind with regard to the questions then at issue

between England and Germany that the Chancellor entrusted his son, Count Herbert Bismarck, who had been invited to England by Lord Rosebery, with an informal mission to Her Majesty's Government; and the success of this mission and that of Lord Rosebery to Berlin which followed it, combined with the frank explanations of Lord Granville and the friendly sentiments towards Germany expressed by Mr. Gladstone, speedily removed the tension which had existed between the two nations.

The arrangements made between Prince Bismarck and Lord Granville with regard to the colonial relations of England and Germany were formulated in a series of despatches published in the month of June, and extending from April 25 to June 16. The first of the questions thus settled was that of the respective spheres of action of England and Germany in New Guinea. It was agreed between the two Governments that the boundary between the British and German protectorates in New Guinea should be, as regards the north-eastern coast, the point of intersection of the 8th parallel of south latitude, and as regards the interior, a line starting from the coast near Mitre Rock on the 8th parallel of south latitude, following that parallel until it is intersected by the meridian of 147° east longitude, proceeding thence in a straight line in a north-westerly direction to the point of intersection of the 6th parallel of south latitude with the 144th meridian of east longitude, and thence continuing in a west-north-westerly direction until it meets the point of intersection of the fifth parallel of south latitude with the 141st meridian of east longitude. The area on the German side of this line is about 67,000 square miles, and on the English side, about 63,000 square miles. As regards the west coast of Africa, the arrangement was as follows:—Great Britain engages not to make acquisitions of territory, accept protectorates, or interfere with the extension of German influence, in any part of the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, or of the interior districts, to the east of the right river-bank of the Rio del Rey, or of a line striking direct from the source of that river to the left river-bank of the Old Calabar or Cross River, and terminating, after crossing that river, at a point about $9^{\circ} 8'$ longitude east of Greenwich, marked "Rapids" on the English Admiralty chart. Germany engages not to make acquisitions, accept protectorates, or interfere with the extension of British influence in that part of the coast of the Gulf of Guinea which lies between the right river-bank of the mouth of the Rio del Rey and the British Colony of Lagos, nor in the interior to the west of the line traced in the preceding paragraph. Each power agrees to withdraw any protectorates already established within the limits thus assigned to the other, a reservation being specially made as to the settlement of Victoria, Ambas Bay, which will continue to be a British possession, unless the German Government should be able to come to a satisfactory arrangement with the Baptist missionaries there, in which case Her Majesty's

Government would be ready to agree to its being included in the territories to be placed under German protection. Germany further engages to withdraw her protest against the hoisting of the British flag at Santa Lucia Bay, and to refrain from making acquisitions of territory, or establishing protectorates, on the coast between the colony of Natal and Delagoa Bay.

A reciprocal engagement was also entered into as to the trade of the two countries in the respective protectorates. Customs duties are to be levied solely for the purpose of meeting the expenses necessary to enable the two states to carry out the obligations imposed upon them by the protectorates, and are to be as moderate as possible. There shall be no differential treatment of foreigners or foreign goods, and no less than four months' notice shall be given by the local authority of the adoption of any change in the customs' tariff. The provisions of the second paragraph of the fifth article of the Act of the Berlin Conference relative to the Congo, securing protection to the persons and property of foreigners, are to be applied to the protectorates now in question, and there is to be no differential treatment of foreigners as to settlement or access to the markets, which matters are to be subject to administrative dispositions in the interests of commerce and of order. By the above arrangements a strip of coast about 100 miles long, extending from the Rio del Rey to the settlement of Victoria, falls to Germany, together with the two tributaries of the above river and the fertile land on their banks, the river Rumby, the Bamboko and Bibandi districts, and Bota, a possession of no small value, as it has a harbour well adapted for commercial purposes.

Scarcely, however, had the differences between Germany and England been settled with regard to the western coast of Africa, when fresh complications broke out on the eastern coast. The whole of the territory on that coast from Cape Delgado to the mouth of the Juba river is claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar as part of his dominions ; but the German East African Company, which had acquired certain districts within these limits from the native chiefs, refused to recognise his claim, and one of these chiefs, the Sultan of Vitu, placed himself by treaty under the protection of the German Emperor. Upon this the Sultan of Zanzibar sent 600 troops and several guns to Lamu Bay, off Vitu, and hoisted his flag in the territories of Chagga and Kilimanjaro. Herr Rohlf, the German Consul-general, made representations to the Sultan on the subject at the beginning of June ; but the Sultan, acting, it was said, on the advice of the British Consul-general, Sir John Kirk, gave no heed to these representations. The German naval squadron, consisting of five vessels with 1,600 men and about 40 guns, was then ordered to the coast of Zanzibar ; and on August 11, Commodore Paschen, the commander of the squadron, presented an ultimatum to the Sultan. The result was that the Sultan acknowledged the supremacy of Germany over the territory

in dispute, and withdrew his troops (August 14). Subsequently, on December 20, a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation between Germany and Zanzibar was signed on board the warship *Bismarck*. This treaty contains a series of important provisions, chiefly in promotion of the interests of the Hanse towns and the new continental possessions of the German East Africa Company, which had purchased the whole of the coast from Cape Gardafui to Cape Delgado. The importation of certain articles, including agricultural implements, and materials for the construction and working of railways and tramways, is to be absolutely free. Another treaty was signed on December 24 by the representatives of France and Germany for the delimitation of the territories of the two countries in the north-west of Africa. By this arrangement Germany made extensive concessions to France, as she not only pledged herself to make no further annexations in that region, but recognised the French possessions near Liberia, and ceded to France a large district south of the Cameroons, where the German flag had been hoisted. France, on her side, recognised the sovereignty of Germany in the districts occupied by her between the Rio Campo and the Rio del Rey, the frontiers of the German possessions in the Cameroons being, on the north, a line from the Rio del Rey to Birme, and on the south, a line from the Rio Campo to the Congo State.

The arrangements made during the year with regard to German protectorates abroad were notified to the German Parliament in a memorandum distributed among its members on December 3. This document lays particular stress on the fact that Germany does not intend to colonise in the manner usually adopted by European countries. The colonies are to be administered as much as possible by the trading companies which undertake to develop their resources, the Empire having an unrestricted right of surveillance, and affording all the necessary protection. The memorandum further states that a governor (Baron von Soden) has been sent to the Cameroons, and two commissioners to Togo and Angra Pequena. The governor of the Cameroons is assisted in his administration of the colony by a board consisting of three settlers chosen annually. Membership is obligatory, and, if necessary, the governor can call into his council one or more native chiefs. As far as possible, local usages are to be observed in administering justice, but the German common law is to be the guide in doubtful matters. Houses dealing in spirits of any kind are bound to pay 2,000 marks a year for the necessary licence. An export duty of 5 marks is levied on every tun of palm oil sent from the Cameroons, and one of half that amount on every ton of palm kernels. Pilotage is compulsory, tonnage dues are payable by all vessels, and frauds on the customs authorities are punishable by penalties five times the amount of the duties to be levied. The territory acquired by the East African Company, which comprises about 3,000 square German miles, and includes Usuguha, Usagara,

and Ukami, is to be administered by the Company under the protection of the German Empire. The memorandum further announced that an Imperial commissary had been sent to Angra Pequena, Herr Lüderitz having sold his possessions there to the "German Colonial Company for South-West Africa."

With regard to foreign affairs Prince Bismarck showed a marked desire, especially after the formation of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, to be on good terms with England. In a remarkable speech made on March 2 in the German Parliament, the Chancellor contradicted a statement reported to have been made by Earl Granville in the House of Lords, to the effect that he (Prince Bismarck) had advised England to take Egypt. He declared that he had often been asked whether he would give advice to England about her policy, but had always declined to do so, because such advice would involve a certain responsibility towards other cabinets. He had been further asked whether he would express an opinion in the matter; and he had then replied that if he were an English minister he would not advise the annexation of Egypt. He well understood the necessity of England having a certain secured position in this link between her European and Asiatic establishments; but, in his opinion, unless she violated treaties, she could gain such a position only by the help of the Sultan. He would, therefore, if he were an English minister, seek the mediation of the Sultan, and obtain through him a position in Egypt securing English interests. Should England, however, wish to annex Egypt, the only means of doing so without coming into collision with the Powers, and especially with France, would be for her to become the "leaseholder" of the Sultan in Egypt. He had added that in any case Germany would not regard it as her duty to prevent an English annexation of Egypt; but at the same time he had recommended England to be cautious, and to respect treaties and the rights of the Sultan. "England's friendship is more valuable to us," he added, "than the future of Egypt."

The relations of Germany with France during the year were on the whole satisfactory. Some alarm was caused in August by an article in the semi-official *Nord-Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* referring to a proposal, in the *Temps*, to strengthen the French cavalry on the south-eastern frontier. "The fear is forced upon us against our will," said the Berlin paper, "that France is only waiting for a favourable opportunity to make a descent upon us, either single-handed or in alliance with others. Abroad everyone knows that Germany has no intention, under any circumstances, of attacking her neighbour; but no one can rid himself of the apprehension that the longing in France for a day of revenge still offers a means by which every French party man can carry his countrymen with him. This circumstance, and the contingency that a peaceably disposed Government may find difficulties created for it by an appeal to the spirit of revenge, lead us to fear that our French neighbour places no higher value on her friendship

with Germany now than at any time during the last two hundred years." On the day after the appearance of this article, the Rector of the University at Berlin remarked, in a speech proposing the Emperor's health, that in 1813, when the King called Berlin to arms, the students were the first who obeyed, and that 1870 had proved that the patriotic traditions of the University had never died out. He wished for peace, but if the arrogance of their neighbours were to pass from daring words to daring deeds, "they would learn that the old spirit still lives." About the same time a statement was published showing that the number of officers of the Germany navy in active service was in 1885 more than three times as great as in 1873. The officers on the effective strength in the former year numbered 2 vice-admirals, 6 rear-admirals, 26 captains, 52 corvette-captains, 102 first-lieutenants, 166 second-lieutenants, 86 sub-lieutenants, and 113 midshipmen; there were 102 war vessels (including seven ironclad frigates, and five ironclad corvettes), with 570 guns, and 17,000 sailors, engineers, and marines. The petulant outburst of the Berlin semi-official organ does not, however, appear to have been in any way justified by the acts or intentions of France, and it was generally believed that the real motive of the article was to enable Prince Bismarck to carry his proposals for an increase of the German cavalry, and other additions to the German army.

Another cause of discussion between the two nations—only, however, of a temporary character—was the expulsion from Alsace-Lorraine in August of M. Rothan, a native of Strasburg who had served France in various diplomatic posts, and is the author of several historical works. In one of these—"L'Histoire Diplomatique de la Guerre Allemande"—he argues that the Franco-German war was deliberately contrived by the Prussian Government; but the real reason of his expulsion appears to have been his election as one of the vice-presidents of M. Deroulède's anti-German *Ligue Patriotique*.

A serious dispute occurred between Germany and Spain on account of the establishment of a German protectorate, in the month of July, over the Caroline Islands, the suzerainty over which has been claimed by Spain since the seventeenth century, although she has never been in actual possession of them. The German Government repudiated this claim, asserting that the only attempt known to have been made by Spain to obtain a recognition of these islands as Spanish territory was resisted by Germany and England in notes simultaneously sent to Madrid by the two Powers in 1875, and that the Spanish Government never raised any objection to the protest then made by those Powers. With characteristic boldness the German Government speedily followed its words by deeds. While some Spanish vessels were preparing to occupy the island of Yap, a German gunboat suddenly appeared off the coast at nightfall on Aug. 25, landed a body of armed men, hoisted the Imperial flag, and placed all the islands between the

equator and 11 degrees north and 164 degrees east of Greenwich under German protection. This included the Caroline Islands, the Pelew Islands, and Strong Island. The commanders of the Spanish war-vessels protested and were afterwards recalled and tried by court-martial, but the Germans remained in possession of the island. Friendly assurances were, however, given to Spain by the German Government, which promised that if the island had been really taken possession of by Spain before the arrival of the German gunboat, Germany would recognise it as a Spanish possession. The Spanish Government, on its side, apologised to Germany for the attack made on the German legation by the populace of Madrid on learning the news of the seizure of Yap by the Germans. In a despatch dated Aug. 31, Prince Bismarck further explained to the Spanish Foreign Minister that numerous German factories had for a long time been established in the Caroline Islands, under the belief that the islands were not claimed by any European Power; that these factories would never have come into existence if it had been known that the islands really formed part of Spain's colonial possessions, as within these possessions foreign trade is subject to disadvantages which render such settlements impossible; and that the Germans settled in the Carolines, being without any protection whatever, had repeatedly petitioned the Imperial Government for the protection of Germany. In consequence of these petitions official inquiries had been instituted, which resulted in showing that important interests were possessed in those islands by Germans and Englishmen, but that the Spaniards had no connections there at all. As Spain had neither established manufactories nor any other institutions in the Caroline Islands, and had not exercised any rights of sovereignty there, the Imperial Government had considered itself justified in regarding the islands as being independent, and, therefore, according to European views, ownerless, and it had accordingly placed German commercial interests there under an Imperial protectorate, as it might have done in any other ownerless territory. Prince Bismarck added that he was willing, under these circumstances, to enter into an examination of the Spanish claims in the way of friendly negotiation, or, if an agreement should not be thus attainable, to refer the dispute to the arbitration of a Power friendly to both parties. In consequence of this latter proposal, negotiations were entered into with the Pope, who, on Sept. 27, consented, at the request of the Emperor William and King Alfonso, to accept the task of mediator between Germany and Spain. The Pope's decision was given on Nov. 16. He recommended Spain and Germany to renew their direct negotiations with each other on the understanding that Germany should recognise the sovereign rights of Spain over the Pelew and Caroline Archipelagoes, and accept in return the liberty of trade, of navigation, and of colonisation, together with the grant of coaling and naval stations, which Spain had expressed

her readiness to offer to Germany. This was practically a decision in favour of Spain, which Prince Bismarck, feeling that he was in the wrong, had anticipated in offering to submit the question to the Pope's arbitration. The result was embodied in a protocol, signed by the two Governments on Nov. 26. This document recognises that the Caroline Islands are under the sovereignty of Spain, fixes the limits of the Pelew and the Caroline Archipelagoes, and establishes rules for the liberty of trade and navigation; and it grants to Germany the right of forming agricultural colonies, and gives her possession of certain coaling and naval stations in the Caroline Islands.

In the Eastern questions, both European and Asiatic, the influence of Prince Bismarck was cast on the side of peace. Although the general feeling in Germany as regards the Afghan dispute was on the whole favourable to Russia, the Chancellor gave no encouragement to the war party at St. Petersburg; and in the events which followed upon the revolution in Eastern Roumelia, his chief aim appears to have been to hold the balance between the rival tendencies of Russia and Austria. His interview with Count Kalnoky at Varzin in August had no reference to the Eastern question, the chief matter discussed between the two statesmen being the establishment of a commercial union between Austria and Germany; and he sedulously held aloof from the arrangement made between Russia and Austria at Kremsier. But when the revolution at Philippopolis and the Servo-Bulgarian war upset all the calculations of the diplomatists, the German Chancellor used all his efforts to prevent the spread of the conflagration. He first joined Russia and Germany in their endeavours to re-establish the *status quo*; and when events showed this to be impossible, he strove to efface the bad impression produced by the removal of the name of Prince Alexander of Bulgaria from the Russian army-list, and while seconding the efforts of Austria to prevent the further progress of the Bulgarians on Servian soil, supported England in her wish for the recognition of the union between Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia.

II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The first political incident of the year in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was a newspaper strike at Vienna, caused by an order issued by the President of the Reichsrath, Dr. Smolka, forbidding the admission of reporters to those portions of the Chamber which are reserved for deputies. The new building erected by Herr Hansen during the past year for the sittings of the Reichsrath was so defective from an acoustic point of view, that most of the members were almost inaudible in the reporters' gallery; and the reporters consequently had to come down into the body of the House to interview the members, so as to enable them to report their speeches. This practice appears to have led to some abuses, as the reporters in

several cases communicated to their newspapers reports of private conversations between members which they overheard while they were ostensibly seeking information as to the speeches which had been delivered. One of the deputies, Herr von Schönerer—a bitter enemy of the press, and especially of the Jewish community, to which most of the Viennese journalists belong—complained to the President of the House that the presence of reporters among the members rendered all confidential communications impossible, and requested that, under these circumstances, they should be restricted to the gallery reserved for them. The President then issued the order above referred to, upon which the reporters, both for the Viennese and the provincial papers, decided to absent themselves from the House altogether. The result was a complete victory for the press. The President censured Herr von Schönerer for having “insulted the press representatives,” and withdrew the objectionable order.

Another disturbance, caused by the antagonism between the Germans and the Slavs, took place in the Austrian Reichsrath on March 18. An excited debate had for some time been going on upon the Budget, the members of the German minority having violently denounced the policy of Count Taaffe and his Slavonic and clerical supporters. Herr Klotz, who had been recently returned at a by-election, and had in a former speech used very strong language against the Government on account of its treatment of the German nationality in Bohemia, now accused the Ministry of reducing the Germans “to the condition of helots, like the Italians in Dalmatia and the Ruthenians in Galicia.” Upon this M. Czerkavski, one of the Polish deputies, rushed across the floor of the House, and shaking his fist at Herr Klotz, exclaimed, “Leave the Ruthenians alone!” The whole of the German members then sprang to their feet, while the ministerialists rose to protect M. Czerkavski, and a general fight would probably have taken place if two of the deputies had not seized M. Czerkavski by both arms and forced him to leave the House. Much time was wasted in these unseemly squabbles, and when the Reichsrath separated for the general election but little business had been done.

The elections began at the end of May. As usual, clerical deputies were elected in all the constituencies of Upper Austria, Tyrol, and the Vorarlberg, where the Ultramontane party is supreme. In the various districts of Vienna the conflict lay chiefly between the Jews and their opponents, the great majority in each constituency being Liberal. In the Jewish district of the city serious riots took place, but in the others the election was viewed with comparative indifference. Vienna has nearly a million inhabitants, of whom 46,000 only are voters; and of these two-thirds only came to the poll, and then only when they were fetched in carriages by the party canvassers. Professor Süss, the Jewish candidate, to whom Vienna owes her water-supply from

the Styrian Alps and the Danube regulation system, which saves a wide district from inundation, was elected by a majority of 700 over the anti-Semitic candidate; but in the manufacturing district of Mariahilf an anti-Semitic lawyer, Herr Pattai, obtained a majority over his Jewish rival. The new Reichsrath was formed of 192 ministerialists, 132 opponents of the Ministry, and 29 "savages," voting sometimes with the Government, sometimes with the Opposition. Among the ministerialists are a number of so-called "democrats," who advocate a policy of reconciliation between the nationalities as the only means of securing unity of action for the monarchy abroad and its prosperity at home. Of the "German Liberal party," formed out of the old constitutional party, the representatives of the great landowners incline to the Government, and those of the town districts to the Opposition. Between them are the representatives of the villages and chambers of commerce. The great landowners wish, above all, to retain the present electoral law, which gives them exceptional privileges, and they therefore support the Government against the Radical leanings of the Opposition, though they do not approve of Count Taaffe's policy of decentralisation. At the same time they are Austrians first and Germans afterwards, and it is this which causes them to be detested by the German Radicals (who represent many of the towns), even more than the Poles and the Czechs. A "German club" was formed, to bring all the German deputies together, but it was soon found that nationality was in this case a very insufficient bond of party union, and that there were such irreconcilable differences of opinion among the German members of the Reichsrath that any united action on their part was impossible.

Both the Cisleithan and the Hungarian Parliaments were opened on September 23. Shortly after the meeting of the former, the anti-Sclavonic deputy, Herr Klotz, again violently attacked the Government, this time on account of alleged acts of favouritism towards the Czechs, and of persecution of German soldiers by their comrades of the Czechish nationality. Count Taaffe indignantly repudiated these accusations, but several instances have since been reported of fighting between German and Czechish soldiers; and the animosity between the two nationalities was greatly exasperated by the riots which took place at a gymnastic meeting at Königinhof, on August 23, at which several persons were killed and wounded, and which led to the arrest of thirty-eight of the aggressors, who were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment. Another heated debate, caused by the uncompromising attitude of the German party, arose on the ninth paragraph of the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, asserting the expediency of developing still further the autonomy of the kingdoms and provinces composing the Empire; but, notwithstanding the protests of the Opposition, the paragraph was adopted, by a majority of 173 to 149.

Considerable excitement was caused by the withdrawal, on

Nov. 7, of Baron Conrad von Eybesfeld from the post of Minister of Education. This was universally regarded as a triumph of the Slavs and the Clericals, as the late Minister was opposed to the attempts made by those parties to induce the Government to return to the old system, under which the schools were under the control of the clergy and the provincial diets, and refused to vote for the paragraph in the address of the majority, asking that the diets should be given more extensive powers with regard to educational legislation. His successor, Dr. Paul Gautsch, director of the Oriental Academy at Vienna, is a man of no political antecedents, and is believed to have been selected by Count Taaffe as a willing instrument of his policy of conciliation.

Among the bills passed in the Hungarian and Cisleithan Parliaments during the year, the most important were the bill for the reform of the Hungarian Upper House (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1884, p. 304), which was carried in the Lower House, on the terms agreed upon by the Upper, by 219 against 133 votes; the anti-Socialist Bill; and the Explosives Bill. The Anti-Socialist law forbids the formation of clubs and unions shown to be dangerous to the existing organisation of the State and of society, and empowers the authorities to dissolve all associations of that kind. Even charitable societies are to be placed under strict Government control; their property may be confiscated, their meetings watched, their books and records supervised, and their managing boards suspended at will. Members of societies proved to have subversive tendencies may be punished with two years' hard labour. The authorities are empowered to dissolve public meetings, to forbid public festivities, and to confiscate periodicals or pamphlets, if such meetings, festivities, or publications are of a socialistic tendency. Persons participating in the meetings or festivities referred to may be punished with two years' imprisonment, and anyone in possession of socialistic prints, or concerned in their publication, with from six months' to three years' hard labour. The persons accused of the above offences are to be tried without a jury, and the law is to remain in force for five years. The Explosives Law prohibits the fabrication or selling of explosives without authorisation, and prescribes ten to twenty years' imprisonment for the illegitimate use of explosives causing danger to property, health, or life, and penal servitude for life if death is the result of the offence. If the fatal consequences of his act could have been foreseen by the offender, he is liable to capital punishment. Persons conspiring to use explosives, even if their design is not carried out, are punishable with from five to ten years' penal servitude, and corresponding penalties are laid down in the case of accomplices and instigators. Offences under this law are to be tried by a jury.

A good deal of ill-feeling towards Germany was created in Austria-Hungary during the summer on account of a convention concluded by Prince Bismarck with Spain by which lower duties

were to be levied on rye imported from that country than on rye imported from Austria. This measure was not very important in itself as regards the effect it would produce on Austrian commerce, but it was looked upon as an aggravation of the crisis from which the trade of Austria with Germany was suffering in consequence of the recent wholesale alterations in the German customs-tariffs, by which high protective duties were imposed on most of the goods imported into Germany. A movement was set on foot in both halves of the monarchy for the imposition of retaliatory duties, but the Governments at Vienna and Pesth strove to allay the general discontent by opening negotiations with Prince Bismarck with regard to his favourite project of an Austro-German customs-union. The chief obstacle to this project is that the Treaty of Frankfort stipulated that in any customs-tariff established by Germany, France should be treated on the same footing as the most favoured nation. Count Kalnoky's meeting with the German Chancellor at Varzin in August is supposed to have been mainly connected with the negotiations that had been passing between the two Governments on the subject, but no definite settlement had been concluded at the end of the year.

Another matter which gave rise to much complaint in Austria was the action of the German Government in expelling from its territory many of its Polish subjects who had settled there. Yielding to the strong feeling which was expressed as to this measure, the Government addressed a circular to the local authorities directing them to make inquiries as to the foreigners residing in Austria (most of whom are Germans), and strictly to enforce the law against them in all cases where they should be found not to possess the documents necessary for proving their nationality as well as their personal identity. On Oct. 18 Count Taaffe, the Austrian premier, answered an interpellation which was addressed to him on the subject in the name of 126 members of the Reichsrath. He said that immediately on receiving the news of these expulsions, the Austrian Government had requested information from Berlin as to the reason and extent of the measure. The Prussian Government had replied that it regarded such acts as of a purely internal or domestic character, and that they were occasioned by the changes in religion and nationality produced among the population of the East Prussian provinces by the influx of Poles from the adjoining countries. Under these circumstances the Austrian Government did not at present see its way to taking any further steps in the matter, as the attitude taken up by Prussia was such as to preclude any hope of success from an appeal to International Law or to the existing commercial treaty with Germany. Count Taaffe added that he would interfere in cases of exceptional hardship in order to obtain a mitigation of the Prussian decrees; that his interference in some cases of this kind had proved successful; and that such persons as were compelled to

return penniless to Galicia would be sheltered and temporarily relieved by the government authorities there.

The tension caused by these incidents in the relations between Austria and Germany was soon forgotten in the all-absorbing interest of the Eastern question. What passed at the interview between the Emperors of Austria and Russia at Kremsier cannot at present be stated with certainty, but there can be little doubt that some sort of agreement was arrived at between the two Emperors, with the tacit sanction, if not at the instigation, of Prince Bismarck, with a view to reconciling the rival pretensions of the two powers on the Balkan peninsula. A pause in the conflict of influence between them had occurred during the movement of the Russian troops towards Afghanistan; but the result of the dispute between Russia and England as to the Afghan frontier was far from satisfactory to the Russian nation, and some *solatium* had to be provided for the disappointment of the national aspirations in that quarter. This would doubtless have been found in the union of Bulgaria with Eastern Roumelia under the auspices of Russia—an event which would both have given satisfaction to the Panslavist party and have greatly increased the already waning influence of Russia on the Lower Danube. For this increase of influence Austria was, it was believed, to be compensated by an accession of territory “au delà de Mitrovitza”—to use the expression of the Treaty of Berlin—as far as Salonica. But party passions and the intrigues of disappointed office-seekers outstripped the always tardy manœuvres of diplomacy. The East Roumelian revolution was in the first instance directed against Gavril Pasha, the tool of Russia; the union with Bulgaria was used as a means, not an end, and it was carried out, not by Russia, but by her enemies. Under these circumstances both Austria and Germany, though they had no objection to the union “in principle,” were obliged to side with their Russian ally in opposing it. At the reception of the Austro-Hungarian delegations on Oct. 24 the Emperor laid a stronger stress on the friendly relations between Austria and Russia than he had ever before done. He spoke of the “close and confiding relation which exists between the sovereigns of the three great adjacent Empires,” and, as regards the Eastern crisis, referred to his “earnest endeavours to maintain the legal state of affairs guaranteed by treaties as the basis of peace . . . and to restore in the Balkan States that legal order whose unexpected violation conjures up serious dangers for the quiet and well-being of the inhabitants.”

The first detailed statement of Austrian policy with regard to the East Roumelian revolution was made by M. Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, in the Parliament at Buda-Pesth at the beginning of October. He said: “In our view of the Berlin Treaty, the Signatory Powers are obliged to restore harmony as far as possible, and to prevent any infringement of the balance of power in the Balkan peninsula as created by this treaty. Further, we have

never concealed our opinion that in case of such disturbance, in order to safeguard the rights of Turkey, no other Power would be entitled to interfere by force; but I must add that if the Austro-Hungarian Government resolved to interfere, I would concur in that policy." He added that "no intention exists in any quarter of making use of the events in Bulgaria for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or for any further advance on our part into Turkish territory;" but that Austria "should and must reserve to herself freedom of action." Further statements on the subject were made by Count Kalnoky and Herr von Kallay, at the beginning of November, to the Hungarian delegation. They represented the necessity for both Austria and Russia to remain on good terms with each other, and expressed the determination of the Government to adhere to the Treaty of Berlin if possible; but they at the same time admitted that, in the event of an alteration of the treaty, Servia and Roumania would be entitled to compensation. This policy was approved by the members of both the Austrian and the Hungarian delegations, notwithstanding the strong antagonism to Russia which exists among the Poles and Hungarians, and to a smaller degree among the Germans of the monarchy. The approval of the Hungarian delegation, however, was given with the proviso that no attempt should be made to restore the *status quo* in Eastern Roumelia by other than peaceful means, and the importance of maintaining Austrian influence in Servia was specially insisted upon. On this point Count Kalnoky made a significant statement to the Hungarian delegation. He denied that Austria had declared she would not protect the interests of Servia if she made any attempt to occupy the territory claimed by her before the close of the Berlin Conference. "The King of Servia," he said, "has the right, as an independent sovereign, to declare war without our interference. Our relation to Servia is that of a friend and well-wishing neighbour, who gives friendly advice without claiming decisive influence. Both Servia and Greece have been advised by us to exercise moderation under present circumstances. We could not promise to protect Servian interests unconditionally, for such a promise would make us, as the protecting State, dependent on the resolutions of its smaller, aspiring neighbour. No such promise, therefore, was given; but when we learnt that the Servian Government had resolved on mobilising its army, and that the whole population had enthusiastically approved that measure, we felt it to be our duty promptly to announce at Belgrade that if Servia should begin any action on her own account, it would be at her risk and peril. Further, we did not conceal our opinion that an armed entry into neighbouring territory would involve the violation of treaties and a breach of the peace."

There is no reason to doubt the correctness of this statement, which disposes of the charge that Austria had instigated the invasion of Bulgaria by the Servians. She might, no doubt, have

prevented the war, as she afterwards prevented the Bulgarians from pursuing their victory on Servian soil. But by so doing she would have incurred the bitter enmity of the Servians, whose good-will, as her nearest neighbours, with a large population of their own nationality inhabiting her new provinces, it was her interest to conciliate; and she could not be expected to incur such a risk *pour les beaux yeux de la Bulgarie*, especially as neither Russia nor Germany objected to a war the result of which, in general opinion, would probably be to restore that *status quo* which they had declared it to be their main object to preserve. When, on the other hand, the calculations of the diplomatists were once more foiled by the unexpected victories of the Bulgarians, the step taken by Austria to save her *protégé* from further humiliation was fully concurred in by her allies, and to all appearance the union of the three Empires was at the end of the year as firmly established as it had ever been.

CHAPTER III.

EASTERN EUROPE.

I. RUSSIA.

The new year began in Russia with the issue of an ukase which spread consternation in the Polish provinces of the Empire. In 1863, when the Polish insurrection was at its height and "Russification" was the order of the day, General Mouravieff, Governor of Lithuania, known as "the hangman," issued a decree forbidding the transfer of landed property, whether by purchase, mortgage, or lease, to any person of Polish extraction. This decree was never abolished, but after the suppression of the insurrection it became practically obsolete, and numerous estates which have since changed hands are now in the possession or occupation of Poles. The ukase referred to, however, not only revived General Mouravieff's decree, but declared that all transfers of property made to Poles since the decree was issued are null and void, thereby reducing many Polish families to poverty. The ukase was applied to the governments of Kieff, Podolia, Volhynia, Wilno, Kowno, Grodno, Witebsk, Mohileff, and Minsk, covering a territory almost as large as England. While thus striking another blow at a nation whose vitality seems to increase the more it is oppressed, the Russian Government made a large bid for popularity among the peasantry of the Empire by abolishing the poll-tax. This tax was introduced by Peter the Great, and has ever since furnished a considerable portion of the imperial revenue. As each commune is made responsible for the regular payment of the tax by all its members, no peasant can leave his village without the permission of the commune, which frequently makes him pay exorbitant sums for a pass, when he wishes to make a journey for the purpose of seeking work or improving his business. This evil will dis-

appear together with the tax, which will cease to be payable on the 1st of January, 1887, involving a loss to the revenue of 50,000,000 roubles.

Home politics in Russia were this year almost entirely eclipsed by the prominence assumed by the Government in the Afghan and Bulgarian questions. After the English Commission for the delimitation of the Afghan frontier on the side of Russia had waited for some months in the bleak and inhospitable regions of the Murghab and the Heri-Rud for the Russian Commissioners, who delayed their arrival on various pretexts, M. de Giers, being pressed by Lord Granville on the subject, announced, about the middle of January, that Russia considered it "absolutely indispensable that a definite zone should be decided upon before the Commissioners could begin operations." On Jan. 29 the Russian engineer, M. Lessar, was despatched to London, to take part in the negotiations with the British Government on the subject, as he was well acquainted with the districts through which the frontier was to run. The line proposed by M. de Giers to be drawn between the respective spheres of action of the two Governments, and which was to form the basis of the negotiations, was as follows:—

Starting from a point on the right bank of the Heri-Rud about ten versts south of Zulfikar, the line would run by Kehrizi Elias to the rivulet of Yegri-Geok, then follow the crest of the heights along the right bank of that rivulet as far as the ruins of Chaman-i-beid and of the hills from the right bank of the Kushk as far as the Havuzi Khan, whence it would proceed to the north of Merutchak, follow the crest of the heights which to the north border the valley of Kaisor, and to the west that of Sangalak, and leaving Andkhoi on the east, would run to Khoja-Saleh on the Amou-Darya.

M. de Giers further stipulated that the Penj-deh oasis should be included in the Russian sphere of action, and that the Ameer of Afghanistan should not erect fortifications which might become a source of menace to the inhabitants on the other side of the frontier.

While these negotiations were going on, the Russian troops made a further advance to Sari Yazı and the Zulfikar Pass, on the plea that the Afghans had advanced to those points. M. de Giers, in reply to representations made by the British Government on the subject, replied (Feb. 24) that the Russians could not withdraw from their positions, but that the Russian officers had been instructed carefully to avoid conflicts with the Afghans. The Russians next advanced to Ak Robat and Pul-i-Khisti, notwithstanding the protests of the Afghans and the members of the British Commission. The situation now became very menacing, especially as Lord Granville, in a despatch dated March 15, had objected to the line of frontier proposed by M. de Giers as a basis of negotiation, had laid down as the frontier advocated by the British Government a line from Shir Tepe, on the Heri-Rud, to

Sari Yazı, on the Murghab, and thence along the skirts of the fertile land of Maimene and Andkhai to Khoja Saleh, and had suggested that the inquiries of the commissioners should be restricted to a zone between the two proposed frontiers—a suggestion which Russia, in a despatch from M. de Giers dated March 27, refused to accept. The English view was based on M. de Giers' proposal in 1882, "that the boundary of Afghanistan from Khojah Saleh to the Persian frontier in the neighbourhood of Sarakhs should be formally and definitely laid down," and on the claim of the Ameer of Afghanistan to the possession of Penj-deh, which, according to Lord Granville, "had formed part of Afghanistan ever since Afghanistan became a kingdom." Russia, on the other hand, held that the possessions of the Ameer, Shere Ali, in 1872-3 should be adopted as a basis in the demarcation of the frontier, that the frontier should be marked out in conformity with the geographical and ethnographical conditions of the territory, and that the whole tribe of the Sarik Turkomans, of which a portion had already submitted to the Russian authorities, should be included within the Russian sphere of action. This strong divergence between the views of the two Governments brought the negotiations to a standstill, and the attitude of the Russian troops towards the Afghans in their vicinity daily became more hostile. Colonel Alikhanoff, the Russian commander, after addressing some insolent missives to the Afghan General at Penj-deh, obtained reinforcements and encamped in front of Ak Tepe. As, under these circumstances, the danger of a collision appeared imminent, an agreement was entered into (March 17) between the Governments of England and Russia, under which the Russian forces were not to advance from the positions which they occupied, provided the Afghans, on their side, did not advance or attack, "or unless there should be some extraordinary reason for their advancing, such as a disturbance at Penj-deh." M. de Giers at the same time gave positive assurances to the British Government that Russia had no designs whatever on Herat, and pointed out that although the "strategic frontier" of Afghanistan was, in the opinion of the Russian Government, the ridge of the Borkhut mountains, Russia was prepared to accept as the frontier a line fifty miles north of that ridge.

But while the Russian Foreign Office was profuse in conciliatory despatches, the Russian War Department was suspiciously active. Troops and military stores were sent daily in the direction of Merv, and the construction of the military railway from Kizil Arvat to Askabad was pushed forward with the utmost activity. On March 30 the long-dreaded collision between the Russians and the Afghans took place. General Komaroff, who had taken over the command from Colonel Alikhanoff before Ak Tepe, attacked the fortified positions of the Afghans on both sides of the river Kushk, and the latter were completely defeated, losing 500 killed, the whole of their artillery, two standards, and their whole camp,

with stores and baggage. The attack is stated by the general to have been made "in consequence of provocative and openly hostile actions on the part of the Afghans"; but repeated complaints had been previously made by Sir Peter Lumsden and other members of the British Commission of similar conduct on the part of the Russians, and in any case the attack seemed to be a positive breach of the agreement of March 17. After the fight the Russians returned to their former position at Dash Kepri, but they organised "a temporary administration" in Penj-deh, "to prevent anarchy."

An explanation of the incident having been called for both by the Russian and the British Governments, General Komaroff asserted that it was the Afghans who had begun the fight by advancing from their positions, in violation of the agreement of March 17, and that the Russians had only acted in self-defence; while Sir Peter Lumsden categorically denied all the allegations made by General Komaroff in support of that assertion. Lord Granville then proposed that the question whether England or Russia had misinterpreted the agreement should be submitted to arbitration. The Russian Government was very unwilling to adopt this course, but, in view of the increasing war feeling in England, it was decided at an Imperial Council held at Gatschina on May 2, at which the Emperor, the grand-dukes Vladimir and Alexis, and all the ministers were present, to accept the British proposal. This helped to clear the situation, though as a set-off to the above concession on the part of Russia, it was announced that General Komaroff had been presented by the Emperor with a golden sword studded with diamonds, "in recognition of the excellent measures taken by him as commander of the troops of the Murghab division, of the equal foresight and decision exhibited by him in the action against the Afghans, and of the courage and valour he had shown in the affair at Dash Kepri" (May 14). The arbitration, however, never took place; there was some talk of the King of Denmark being appointed arbitrator, but the matter seems to have been allowed quietly to drop after the effervescence in England had subsided.

The negotiations as to the frontier were now resumed, and they dragged on until August. England agreed, with the concurrence of the Ameer of Afghanistan, to give up his claim to Penj-deh, provided Russia gave up hers to Zulfikar. Russia accepted this arrangement, but when the frontier had to be traced in accordance with it, a new difficulty arose, the Russians refusing, on the plea of military necessity, to give up a portion of the pass of Zulfikar which they alleged contained the only practicable road between the military posts on their side of the frontier. The difficulty was at length settled by a compromise. On Sept. 10 a protocol was signed by which one outlet only from the Zulfikar Pass—that to the south—was to be left in the possession of the Afghans; the second outlet, to the east of Zulfikar, and to the

north of Akrobat, being handed over to Russia. The frontier commissioners were to commence their labours on Nov. 10, on the lines thus accepted by the two countries, and it was stipulated that the armed escort of each Commissioner should be limited to 100 persons, much umbrage having been expressed in Russia at the magnitude of the escort which had accompanied Sir Peter Lumsden. The Russian Commission, consisting of Colonel Kuhlberg, M. Lessar, seven officers of the Survey department, two officers of the general staff, and other officers and men, arrived at Zulfikar at the beginning of November, and were joined there by Colonel Sir J. W. Ridgway and the other English commissioners. They at once began the work of delimitation, and were still engaged upon it at the end of the year. But though the frontier difficulty was thus in a fair way of settlement, Russia did not relax her efforts to bring her troops within striking distance of Afghanistan. The necessary plans were made for continuing the line of railway from the shores of the Caspian as far as Merv; telegraphic communication was established with Sarakhs; and the garrisons between Askabad and the new frontier were considerably strengthened. On the side of Persia, too, Russia established military posts in the province of Khorassan, notwithstanding the protests of the Shah; and the line of telegraph from Askabad to Sarakhs was laid, to a considerable extent, through Persian territory.

A remarkable letter from St. Petersburg, published at the end of the year by the *Nord*, the semi-official organ of Russia at Brussels, gave an interesting account of the Russian view of the Eastern question, both in Asia and in Europe. "It is impossible," said the writer, "for a great power coming into forced contact with half-savage countries to trace for itself limits where to stop. After the conquest of Turkestan, Russia's Asiatic domain, separated from the Amoo-Darya, which forms its natural frontier, by semi-vassal states, was complete; but the right flank of her position, the Turkoman steppe, remained exposed. She had to take it in order to consolidate her position, although this cost her 25,000,000 roubles. English officers had incited the Turkomans against Russia; they had armed, organised, and taught them to fight behind entrenchments. The Russian Government had to occupy the Turkoman steppe, in order to ensure its own territories against attack. These pioneers of English policy rendered a great service to Russia by teaching the Turkomans the art of fortification. If they had not concentrated and entrenched themselves at Geok Tepe, the Russian troops would have been obliged to carry on incessant and fruitless campaigns against these enemies, who can disperse themselves in the desert like birds. But when they furnished a precise and determined objective, the superiority of the Russian soldier soon got the better of them. The rest followed naturally. The Russian Government could not arrest the logical development of events.

As to the prospects of Russia in the Balkan peninsula, the Russian Government has never abandoned its traditions; but these have been modified by time. The work commenced by Catherine II. is now terminated, or nearly so, and most of the Christian nationalities of the Balkans are emancipated or protected against Mussulman oppression. Russia's only interest in the peninsula is to assure the pacific development of the nationalities delivered by her, and to render the closing of the straits efficacious, under the guardianship of the Sultan. It would not be of any advantage to her to throw them open, in order to enable her to play the part of a maritime power in the Mediterranean; and the security of the Black Sea, for which the closing of the straits is the only effectual guarantee, is to her a vital question." The observations here made as to the objects of Russian policy in Eastern Europe go far to explain the apparent inconsistency of Russia's conduct with regard to the East Roumelian revolution. Seeing that the unionist movement was throughout fostered by Russian agents and had the sympathy both of official and non-official Russia, it seemed strange that, when the movement had effected its purpose, Russia should not only have striven to undo the union, but have withdrawn her officers from the Bulgarian army and struck the name of the Prince of Bulgaria out of the Russian army-list. For this there were two principal reasons. The reaction produced by the assassination of the Emperor Alexander II. after the introduction of a series of Liberal reforms, created an aversion in all branches of the administration, from the Emperor downwards, to every manifestation of revolutionary spirit. Although, therefore, the union of Bulgaria with Eastern Roumelia was a recognised object of Russian policy, it was only so provided it were attained by means which Russia would consider legitimate, i.e. by a diplomatic arrangement entered into by Russia with other powers, such as the one said to have been projected at the meeting of the Russian and Austrian Emperors at Kremsier in August. Instead of this, the persons by whom the union was carried out were the opponents of the Russian party, and rebels against the government of Gavril Pasha, Russia's *protégé*. The Czar accordingly repudiated and endeavoured to nullify the acts of persons who were both revolutionists and enemies of Russia. Moreover, the East Roumelian revolution led to a war between Servia and Bulgaria which endangered the friendly relations between Russia and Austria; while the internal condition and financial necessities, to say nothing of the political plans, of Russia imperatively demanded a policy of peace and of intimate alliance with that power, at least until the reorganisation of the Russian army is complete. Considerable irritation was also felt at the Russian court at what seemed to be a breach of faith on the part of Prince Alexander, who while on a visit to St. Petersburg in the summer had assured the Czar that he had not in any way countenanced the unionist

movement nor had any intention of doing so. Further, it was stated in the *Official Messenger* of St. Petersburg that Prince Alexander, in recently addressing a regiment which had just arrived at Philippopolis, had said, in a loud voice, that he considered the day on which he at last saw the national troops under the command of Bulgarian officers exclusively was the happiest in his life, and had at the same time spoken contemptuously of the Russian officers, accusing them of having left their posts in the hour of danger. This statement, though it was afterwards contradicted, naturally produced great indignation in Russian military circles at the time it was made, and it is believed to have been the immediate cause of the Emperor's decision to strike the Prince's name from the Russian army-list. At the same time the Czar was careful to distinguish between the Bulgarian people and their Government. In answer to the Bulgarian delegates who waited upon him at St. Petersburg at the beginning of October, he asserted that the feelings of Russia towards Bulgaria had not undergone any change, notwithstanding the conduct of the Bulgarian Government. The idea of a union between the two provinces was a reasonable one, and was in accordance with the wishes of Russia; but he could not approve the means which had been resorted to with the object of bringing about such union, and his Government would do its best to maintain order in conformity with the interests of Bulgaria, and to save her from the dangers with which she was menaced. An Imperial order, issued at St. Petersburg on Dec. 1, added a compliment to the valour of the Bulgarian troops. "Although," it said, "the Emperor is deeply afflicted by the fratricidal war in Eastern Europe, he considers the abnegation, perseverance, and love of order displayed by the Bulgarian and Roumelian troops to be worthy of high praise;" though he at the same time attributed their "military qualities and heroic martial spirit" to the efforts of the Russian officers who had trained them. The angry feeling which existed in Russia towards the Bulgarian Government immediately after the revolution gradually waned, in fact, under the influence of the Bulgarian victories and the conspicuous bravery and skill shown by Prince Alexander. The ground seemed prepared for an arrangement which should, on the one hand, bring about the recognition of the union by the Powers, and, on the other, secure the maintenance of Russian influence in Bulgaria; though at the end of the year the Russian Government still maintained its uncompromising attitude towards the prince of that country.

II. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

The only event of any importance in the home affairs of Turkey during the first half of the year was the resignation by Photiades Pasha of his post as governor of Crete (to which he had

been appointed for five years in 1884) on May 15. The reason of this somewhat unexpected step was that the Cretan Assembly had, on its first meeting in the year, passed a vote of want of confidence in the governor of the island; and directly the majority were informed of Photiades' resignation, they sent a telegram to the Porte begging that Photiades should be removed from his post "on account of incapacity"—an allegation which it would have been difficult to substantiate, seeing that he had been re-appointed to the governorship after having held it for five years,—and that an efficient administrator should be sent in his place. The minority of the Assembly, on the other hand, telegraphed a request to the Porte that Photiades should be retained in the governorship. The result was the dismissal of Photiades and the appointment of Savas Pasha, although the whole of the Cretan Assembly protested against it.

While the Greeks in Crete thus continued their old conflicts with their Turkish rulers, those in the Greek kingdom showed equal animosity in the party struggles among themselves. On Feb. 18 the Opposition took the opportunity of the absence of several ministerial deputies on account of the Carnival, to propose a vote of want of confidence in the Tricoupis Ministry. The Government met this vote with a motion for the adjournment of the debate, but unsuccessfully, and the vote was passed by a majority of 108 to 104. The Ministry then resigned, and the King sent for M. Delyannis, the leader of the Opposition, who was charged with the formation of a new Cabinet. A great demonstration of the opponents of M. Tricoupis took place on this occasion. Upwards of ten thousand persons, carrying flags and other party emblems, followed M. Delyannis to the King's palace, with the object of inducing him to consent to a dissolution of the Chamber. M. Delyannis, on his arrival at the palace, represented to the King that the disorder of the finances and the depression of trade had been caused by the extravagant policy of the Tricoupis Ministry and of the majority which supported him, and that a new Parliament as well as a new Ministry would be necessary to remedy these evils. The King, however, declined to appoint a new Ministry on such terms. M. Tricoupis then resumed office, but failed to obtain a vote of confidence from the Chamber. He then declared that, after what had passed, he considered it necessary to appeal to the country, and the Chamber was accordingly dissolved.

The elections which took place in April resulted in the return of 140 Opposition candidates against 100 ministerialists. M. Con-tostavlos, the Foreign Minister, who in 1880 was Greek envoy in London, was not re-elected, and at Athens two seats only out of eight were retained by ministerialists. The Cabinet again resigned, and on May 2 a new Ministry was formed. M. Delyannis became President of the Council and Minister of Finance and Foreign Affairs; M. Papamichalopulo, Minister of the Interior; M. Mavromichali, Minister for War; M. Antonopulo, Minister of

Justice; M. Romas, Minister of Marine; and M. Cygomalas, Minister of Public Worship. But the new Ministry did not long enjoy its popularity. Time was wasted in party squabbles, and the session of the Greek Parliament was extended into July. In order to get through the work as early and speedily as possible, the sittings were made to begin at seven in the morning; but this had not the desired effect, for the Opposition only criticised the ministerial measures at greater length. The debate on a Government bill for altering the excise duty on wine lasted from 7 A.M. till 10 P.M., after which a member of the Opposition, M. Eutaxias, proposed the adjournment of the House, on the ground that it was impossible to give so important a bill due consideration when the thermometer stood at 90°. This was too much for the patience of the ministerialists, one of whom, M. Koritzis, remarked that if the honourable member was intoxicated, as he presumed he must be from the tone of his speech, he had better go out to cool himself. M. Eutaxias rejoined that he would not argue with an idiot, and this disgraceful scene ended in a fight between the Opposition members and the ministerialists, which had to be stopped by the police. After passing the budget, the Chamber was prorogued on July 30. M. Delyannis, the premier, expressed the hope that a balance would be established between the revenue and the expenditure by the year 1886, but in financial circles this expectation was regarded as a very sanguine one. One of the last acts of the Chamber was the appointment of a commission of inquiry on the administration of the Tricoupis Ministry, at the instigation of M. Tricoupis himself. Shortly after the prorogation another illustration occurred of the bitter party feeling that prevails in the Greek kingdom. M. Delyannis requested the king to dismiss his favourite aide-de-camp, Colonel Hadjipetros, on the ground that he had expressed opinions favourable to the Tricoupis Ministry when the question of a dissolution was pending. The king hesitated to comply with this demand, upon which M. Delyannis pointed out that under the constitution the *personnel* of the Court is to be composed of individuals in whom the Ministry has confidence, and threatened to resign if his request was not granted. In order to prevent a new ministerial crisis, the king then dismissed Colonel Hadjipetros, who had been for twenty-two years in his service.

In foreign affairs, the year began with an outrage on Mr. Nicholson, British *chargé d'affaires* at Athens, who, while walking on Jan. 18 with his wife in a park which was not open to the public, was grossly insulted, and afterwards struck, by a gendarme. The king, on being informed of the incident, immediately sent one of his aides-de-camp to the English Embassy to express his deep regret at the outrage, and the gendarmerie assembled in full uniform in the square opposite the British Consulate to witness the public dismissal from the service of the offender.

The relations of the Porte with England during the year were

on the whole satisfactory, though the Sultan's attitude was, in this, as in all other public matters, reserved and suspicious. The view taken at Constantinople of the dispute between Russia and England as to the Afghan frontier was that it boded no good to Turkey, and great irritation was felt at the ultimatum addressed by Lord Granville to the Porte, on March 28, stating that if the representative of Turkey did not sign the Egyptian Financial Convention within forty-eight hours, Egypt would cease to form an integral portion of the Ottoman Empire so far as the payment of the tribute was concerned. It was stated that Saïd Pasha had decided to keep back Turkey's signature at the instigation of Russia; but, be this as it may, the ultimatum produced the desired effect, and no further obstacle was raised by Turkey, either to the convention or to the loan which followed it (March 29), although the Sultan only consented to sign the convention on the condition that he should not thereby abandon the right of taking the necessary measures for the defence of Egypt, and that the question of the expenses of the English occupation should not be dealt with by the convention. The result was that the prestige of England at the Turkish Court was considerably increased; and the mission of Sir H. D. Wolff to Constantinople contributed still further to strengthen English influence on the Bosphorus.

A dispute broke out in July between France and Roumania on the subject of a new customs-tariff introduced by the Ministry of M. John Bratiano, which was formed on Feb. 14. France addressed a menacing note to her representative at Bucharest on the subject, pointing out that this tariff would be very injurious to French trade. After long negotiations, in the course of which the French envoy, M. Ordega, justified the reputation he had gained in Morocco for persistent and unbending advocacy of French interests, retaliatory duties were imposed by France on exports from Roumania. In the month of October, however, M. Ordega was withdrawn, and a more conciliatory diplomatist, M. Coutouly, was appointed in his place, with the result that the relations between the two countries were again placed on an amicable footing.

The political history of Eastern Europe during the latter part of the year turned entirely on the East Roumelian revolution and the war between Servia and Bulgaria which followed it. The movement for a union between Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, fomented by the Panslavist committees in Russia and the Russian officers in Bulgaria, had during the rule of Aleko Pasha made considerable progress; and his resistance to Russian intrigue made him so unpopular at St. Petersburg that, although his re-appointment was desired by the Eastern Roumelians and supported by several of the Powers, Russia strongly opposed it. When M. Gavril Christovitch, a *protégé* of Russia, was appointed governor (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1884, p. 312), he discharged most of the officials who had been appointed by his predecessor, and these gave a new

stimulus to the unionist agitation, hoping that it would enable them to get rid of the new governor and to obtain re-appointment in the united principality. While the revolution was thus secretly preparing in Eastern Roumelia, Bulgaria remained passive, the general opinion of her prince and his subjects being that by encouraging the unionists they would be playing into the hands of Russia ; and at St. Petersburg no disposition was shown to support the adversaries of the new philo-Russian governor. Gavril Pasha's next step was to dissolve the National Assembly, the majority of whose members were opposed to Russia and in favour of the policy of Aleko Pasha. The result of the elections—owing, it was said, to the free exercise of Government influence—was to return a large philo-Russian majority. The members of this majority, who had been the most ardent advocates of union while in opposition under Aleko Pasha, now did their utmost to maintain the separation, and voted a credit for the building of a new house for the meetings of the National Assembly ; while the dismissed officials, equally unscrupulous, entered into negotiations with Aleko Pasha with the object of deposing Prince Alexander and placing Aleko on the throne of a united Bulgaria. Meanwhile Gavril Pasha—who, as a Bulgarian, married to a Greek wife, and in high favour at the Porte, might by pursuing an independent policy have easily maintained himself in office—became a mere puppet in the hands of Russia and her agent, Dr. Stransky. A system of favouritism and of preference of personal to public interests pervaded all the departments of the administration, and the public discontent, which was skilfully fostered by the Opposition press, grew to such a pitch that in some districts the people refused to pay the taxes. At the beginning of September a proclamation was issued calling upon the people to rise in arms against the Government. The authors of the proclamation were arrested, but the Ministry, not daring to prosecute them, sent them under escort across the frontier. A further cause of popular irritation was the prohibition of the display of the Bulgarian flag at a national festival ; the prohibition was not only disregarded, but the Bulgarian colours were on this occasion more profusely displayed than formerly. The Government thus lost all authority, and the country was ripe for revolution. The towns and villages were well supplied with arms and ammunition belonging to the so-called gymnastic societies, which had been founded under Russian auspices in view of a unionist insurrection. The officers of the militia, which consisted of twelve battalions, were staunch unionists, ready to bring their men into the field at the first signal of a unionist rising ; and indeed the original incentive to the insurrection was the arrest of a Major Lubomski, who had been especially conspicuous as a unionist agitator. The other militia officers, fearing to share the fate of their colleague, held a number of secret meetings, with Major Nicolaïeff as chairman, at which the plans of the revolution were prepared. They then communicated these plans to M.

Karaveloff, Prince Alexander's Prime Minister, who undertook to persuade the prince to join the movement if the revolution should be successful.

The date fixed for the outbreak was the end of September, when the reserves would be called out for the autumn training, and the greater part of the harvest would have been taken in; but revolution was in the air, and the committees could not restrain the impatience of their adherents. On Sept. 13 four young men of Panaghuriste, where the insurrection of 1876 broke out, appeared in the streets with a Bulgarian flag, exclaiming, "Long live the union!" They were arrested by the authorities, but liberated by the people. Similar demonstrations were made on the following day in Koprishtitza and Golemo-Konare, and on Sept. 16 the insurrection was in full swing. A band from Golemo-Konare, after fraternising with the troops that had been sent against them, marched to Philippopolis, surrounded the governor's house at daybreak on Sept. 17 together with three battalions of militia under Major Nicolaïeff, and proclaimed the union. Gavril Pasha was then conducted out of the town to Golemo-Konare, and the revolutionary committee formed themselves into a provisional government, with Dr. Stransky as president. Major Nicolaïeff was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces, a state of siege was proclaimed, solemn services were held in all the churches, and after prayers all swore allegiance to Prince Alexander I. A proclamation was also issued calling to arms every man between the ages of eighteen and forty.

While these events were taking place Prince Alexander was at Varna, but Dr. Stransky, the president of the new provisional government, at once communicated with him by telegraph. The Prince then proceeded to Tirnova, where he was to be met by a deputation from Eastern Roumelia to offer him the title of ruler of Southern Bulgaria. On Sept. 18 he received the deputation and accepted their offer; and on Sept. 20 he entered Philippopolis, accompanied by his Prime Minister and the officers of his household.

The proclamation of the union was on the whole received with enthusiasm by the Bulgarian population, but the Turks and Greeks, of whom there is a considerable number in Eastern Roumelia, did not relish the prospect of being placed under a Government in which the power of their political rivals would be so largely increased. A similar feeling was strongly manifested in Servia and Greece, where it was claimed that compensation would be due to those States for the disturbance of the balance of power established by the Treaty of Berlin and the settlement of the Greek frontier in 1881. By these arrangements the territory of Bulgaria was fixed at 24,360 square miles, with a population of 1,998,982; of Greece, at 25,041 square miles, with a population of 1,235,713; and of Servia, at 20,850 square miles, with a population of 1,734,316. Servia, moreover, had a private

quarrel of her own with Bulgaria, which in the preceding year had led to a rupture of diplomatic relations (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1884, p. 315). Military preparations were at once made in Turkey, Servia, and Greece, and a circular was despatched by the Servian Government to its representatives abroad, declaring that the modification of the *status quo* in Bulgaria threatened the interests of Servia, and that the Government intended to do everything in its power to defend those interests, hoping to receive the support of the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin. Turkey seemed at first inclined to send her troops into Eastern Roumelia to restore the *status quo*, and on Sept. 23 she sent a circular note to the Powers, notifying that such was her intention, and expressing a hope that the Powers "would bring all their influence to bear on the Prince of Bulgaria to induce him to return to the path of duty from which he had so seriously deviated." The Sultan's heart failed him, however, and two days after the circular was issued a new Ministry was formed at Constantinople. Saïd Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador in Berlin, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kiamil Pasha Grand Vizier, and Ali Saib Pasha Minister for War. This was generally regarded as a "Ministry of Conciliation," the former Ministry having been strongly in favour of energetic military action to restore the authority of the Porte in Eastern Roumelia, while Saïd Pasha was of opinion that the union of that province with Bulgaria might be favourable to Turkish interests, as the united principality would be a strong bulwark against the spread of Russian influence among the Christian subjects of the Sultan. The first act of the new Government was to issue another circular to its representatives abroad, protesting against the action of Prince Alexander, and inviting the "benevolent intervention" of the Powers. At the same time Greece represented to the Powers that her interests would be damaged by the accomplishment of the union; but Roumania remained silent and, in order to remove all suspicion of agitation, decided that the annual autumn manœuvres should not take place this year. Meanwhile, in Eastern Roumelia, stringent measures were taken by the new Government to prevent the revolutionary agitation from extending to Macedonia, and the civil and military authorities were ordered to use their utmost efforts to maintain public order and avoid all acts of provocation. As for the Great Powers, although they formally disapproved of the revolution, and fully admitted the right of Turkey to send her troops into Eastern Roumelia, in conformity with the sixteenth article of the Treaty of Berlin, none of them assumed an attitude of open hostility to the movement except Russia, who ordered her officers in the Bulgarian army, including the Bulgarian War Minister, at once to resign their commissions, and proposed a conference of the ambassadors at Constantinople, for the purpose, as the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* expressed it, "of discovering a solution which will be more in conformity with the interests of Turkey and Bulgaria, and also

more in harmony with the balance of power in the East, and consequently with the general peace." At the same time Prince Alexander, in a note sent to the Powers, distinctly recognised the Sultan's suzerainty, and pledged himself to maintain order if the Porte and the Powers would acknowledge the union as an accomplished fact, failing which, he added, the Bulgarian people would sacrifice everything for the realisation of the union.

On Oct. 3 the King of Servia made a speech in the Skouptchina, or National Assembly, at Nisch, informing them that he had summoned them to deliberate on the interests of the country, as in his estimation "a serious moment" had arrived, and "the security of the Balkan States constituted by the Berlin Treaty" had "sustained a shock." He added that he had not hitherto been able, without risking the interests of the realm, "to carry out the objects" which he, as head of the nation, had at heart, and which, "as Servian and King," it behoved him to promote; but that he would defend the rights of Servia, and "quickly meet all danger with deeds." These words created great excitement among the Servian people, and they were followed by the mobilisation of the Servian army and the despatch of Servian troops to the frontier. The attitude of Greece was scarcely less threatening. On Oct. 11 a meeting, attended by 15,000 people, was held in front of the University of Athens, at which a resolution was unanimously carried, declaring the willingness of the people to undergo every sacrifice for the protection of the interests of their country, and urging greater energy and firmness on the part of the Government. M. Delyannis, the Premier, attempted to pacify the meeting, but the people shouted, "We want the mobilisation of the army and war." On the same evening a royal decree was issued, calling out the reserves; and by the end of the month there were nearly 50,000 men under arms. The Powers urged peace on all sides, but little heed was given to their representations; and the committee of ambassadors, which had been proposed by Russia, after sitting for more than a fortnight, merely sent a collective note to the Porte (Oct. 13), expressing the approval by the Great Powers of its conduct, and stating that "they hold the Bulgarians responsible for all acts which may create danger of the spread of the agitation, and invite them to cease every kind of military preparation."

On Oct. 15 Servia issued another circular note repeating the old complaint that emigrant bands were forming in Bulgaria. A collective note was then addressed (Oct. 6) by the ambassadors to Bulgaria, asserting that the maintenance of peace is "the unanimous desire of the Powers," and inviting the Bulgarian Government to avoid concentrating troops on the Roumelian frontier, and to suspend their military operations. On receiving this note the Bulgarian Government decided (Oct. 17) to recall the greater part of the Bulgarian troops, leaving only a small garrison until the Powers should finally settle the question of the government

of Eastern Roumelia. It was next proposed to despatch M. Grecoff, a former member of the Government, to Belgrade, with a view to coming to an arrangement with Servia; but the king of Servia declined to receive him. Shortly after (Oct. 20), the Greek Government sent its reply to the remonstrances of the Powers. It declared that the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia would completely destroy the balance of power in the Balkan peninsula, and would expose the Greeks in Eastern Roumelia to the danger of annihilation; and that Greece, though sincerely desirous of peace, could not remain passive in the presence of events which touched her most vital interests. A somewhat similar reply was sent by Servia on Oct. 28 to a collective note from the Powers urging her to take care "to avoid everything that might compromise the general peace." The reply expressed "profound gratitude for the communication, and asserted that all the acts of Servia in the present crisis have been conformable to the principle so energetically affirmed by the Great Powers, who condemn so severely the revolutionary acts that have occurred." It further stated that Servia would be happy if she "were able to observe that the princely Government of Bulgaria had taken steps to carry out the unanimous will of the Powers;" that Servia desires "the maintenance of the *status quo* in its full integrity, both in substance and in form," and to see "the legitimate authority of the Sultan not only re-established, but strengthened;" and that she is sincerely devoted "to the absolute integrity of existing treaties, which alone can guarantee order, prosperity, and peace in the Balkan peninsula, and give hope of escaping conflicts which would result in a disturbance of that equilibrium between the different states of the peninsula which was so wisely established by the decision of Europe."

The reply of Turkey to the ambassadorial memorandum expressed a hope that the Powers would now request Prince Alexander immediately to restore and accept the *status quo*, and hinted that if the request of the Powers were not complied with, the Porte would be ready itself "to take the necessary measures to ensure respect for the will of Europe and the Treaty of Berlin." A further note was presented to the Powers by the Porte on Oct. 22. It laid stress on the gravity of the situation in Roumelia and the warlike attitude of Greece and Servia, and requested the Powers to authorise the ambassadors at Constantinople to form a conference in which Turkey would take part, for the settlement of the difficulties in Eastern Roumelia on the basis of the Treaty of Berlin and in conformity with the sovereign rights of the Sultan.

The Greek Parliament was opened on Oct. 23, and the king, in his speech from the throne, said that although the Treaty of Berlin did not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Hellenic nation, the country had nevertheless laboured to secure its own development by peaceful means. Recent events in Eastern Roumelia had, however, threatened the interests of peace, and the

Government had accordingly prepared itself for eventualities ; but he hoped that the Powers would settle affairs in harmony with the interests of the different races whose peaceful development had been interrupted by unexpected events. The Budget of the ensuing year would at once be submitted to the Chamber, in the hope that the Government would be granted the means necessary to enable it to fulfil its difficult task. This speech was coldly received by the House, and a strong opposition to M. Delyannis and his fellow-ministers soon began to make itself felt. The policy which had carried them into office was retrenchment ; but the economies which they had undertaken to carry out had since proved, by practical experience, to be either impracticable or undesirable. The Ministry had also lost the confidence of the nation by its vacillation and want of firmness. A desire was expressed by many influential bodies in the provinces that M. Tricoupis should take office again ; but he hesitated to do so, as he had not sufficient confidence in the majority of the present Chamber. Thus matters remained at a deadlock ; the army was restless, the king reserved, and the Ministry weak and undecided.

The Conference which had been proposed by the Porte met on Nov. 5, but its first sitting at once showed a radical disagreement between the Powers. It was decided that the *status quo* in Eastern Roumelia should, if possible, be restored ; but while Germany, Austria, Russia, and Italy proposed that this should be done by the Sultan despatching troops into the province, England and France strongly objected to such a course. France ultimately yielded, and England then proposed as an alternative that an inquiry should be instituted in Eastern Roumelia with a view to adopting some plan by which a return to the *status quo* might be reconciled with the wishes of the Bulgarian population. To this the Russian plenipotentiary replied that his Government would never subscribe to such an arrangement. While the members of the Conference were thus disputing, two events took place which rendered the solution of the question more difficult than ever. On Nov. 7 the Emperor of Russia—owing, it is said, to a report that Prince Alexander had spoken in slighting terms of the Russian officers—ordered his name to be struck off the rolls of the Russian army ; and on Nov. 14 the Servian army invaded Bulgaria without a previous declaration of war. As usual in such cases, each side accused the other of having provoked the war. The Servians asserted that they were first attacked by a Bulgarian force at Vlassina, on the frontier ; while the Bulgarians asserted that the first blow came from the Servian troops at Rogitza, who attacked a Bulgarian patrol in the vicinity. Proclamations were issued on both sides. The king of Servia declared to his people that he had taken “all the measures which the principality of Bulgaria has provoked by its forcible violation of the Berlin Treaty, in order to show openly and clearly that Servia cannot view with indifference the disturbance in the Balkan peninsula of

the equilibrium in the existing distribution of power, especially when it is to the exclusive advantage of a State which has employed every moment of its liberty in order to prove that it is a neighbour hostile to Serbia, and one which does not respect either Serbia's rights or Servian territory." The acts of provocation referred to were, according to the proclamation, "the violent ill-treatment of Servian subjects in Bulgaria, the blockade of the frontier, the assembling on the Servian frontier of undisciplined bands, the armed raids made by the latter in places along the frontier, and the attacks on border populations and on the Servian army;" and the king concluded by stating that he had in consequence of these acts, "entered upon the open hostilities commenced by the Bulgarian Government." Prince Alexander, on the other hand, accused Serbia of "being guided by private and political agencies, desiring to annul the union of the Bulgarian nation," and of proclaiming war against Bulgaria "without any legal or justifiable cause." He at the same time telegraphed to the Sultan, announcing that the Servians had invaded the principality without any provocation, and asking what were his intentions as regards the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The Bulgarian Government also addressed a circular to the diplomatic agents at Sofia, notifying to them the invasion of Bulgaria by the Servian army, protesting against the allegation that the conflict had been begun by the Bulgarians, and casting the whole responsibility of the war upon Serbia. Serbia, on her side, declared in her circular to the Powers that she had no desire to impair the sovereign rights of the Sultan; and the Porte appears to have been satisfied with this declaration.

The campaign was a short but sanguinary one. The rulers on both sides assumed the chief command of their respective armies, and Serbia vigorously pushed her way into Bulgarian territory. The frontier was crossed at Vlassina, Trn, Tsaribrod, Klissura, and Bregova. Tsaribrod was occupied on Nov. 15, the Bulgarians, who were in small force, retiring, after a slight show of resistance, before the invaders. On Nov. 16 the Servians, after a severe engagement, captured Kula, upon which General Leshyanin, the commander of the Timok division, advanced towards Widdin, and General Jovanovitch, with the Danube division, turned the Bulgarian position in the Dragoman pass. On the same day the Bulgarian Government addressed another note to the representatives of the Great Powers at Sofia, pointing out that when, "with the object of preventing the shedding of blood in Eastern Roumelia," it had espoused the Roumelian cause, it met with severe condemnation from the Great Powers, who considered its action as an infringement upon the Sultan's sovereign rights and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; that it had consequently submitted to the decision of the Powers, and had undertaken to restore order in Roumelia, and prevent all agitation likely to create dangers in neighbouring territories; that, although a

neighbouring State had invaded its territory without previously despatching through the Porte—the only competent channel—an ultimatum in conformity with international law, Europe had permitted the invader thus “to infringe that same principle of integrity on which she laid stress in the case of Bulgaria;” and that, as the principality of Bulgaria, being a vassal state of the Sultan, could not declare war, Prince Alexander had considered it his duty to address himself to the Sultan and the Grand Vizier; but that, no answer having been received to his telegrams, he had ordered his Foreign Minister, M. Zanoft, to demand a reply from Saïd Pasha, and had meanwhile proceeded to meet the enemy, who was already at the gates of his capital. In conclusion, the note asserted that “if the integrity of Turkey has been violated, this has been done, not by the intervention of Bulgaria in Eastern Roumelia, for those two countries belong to the Ottoman Empire; but by the unwarrantable attack on the part of an independent State, whose only aim is territorial aggrandisement at the expense of a neighbouring country.” On the day after this circular was issued, the reply of the Porte to Prince Alexander’s request for assistance against Serbia was despatched. It stated that the responsibility for the war falls upon the promoters of the insurrection in Eastern Roumelia, and declared that if Prince Alexander would retire from that province and re-establish the *status quo*, the Porte would “take his request into consideration.” To Serbia, on the other hand, the Porte expressed its satisfaction at the declaration made by her, disclaiming any hostile intentions towards Turkey.

It now became evident that Turkey hoped that the Bulgarian difficulty would be settled by the capture of Sofia by the Servians, the abdication or deposition of Prince Alexander, and the submission of the beaten Bulgarians to the Powers, who would re-establish the *status quo* with some rectifications of frontier to the advantage of Serbia as a recompense for the sacrifices she had made. But the fortune of war and the bravery of Prince Alexander decided it otherwise. After again defeating the Bulgarians, with heavy loss on both sides, at Adlijeh and Izvor, and placing their advanced posts within a day’s march of Sofia, the main body of the Servian army encamped, on Nov. 17, near Slivnitza, a strong position commanding the plain in which Sofia lies, and occupied by the Bulgarians in considerable force, with Prince Alexander at their head. A series of desperate fights, in which the Prince was conspicuous for his bravery, now took place, and the Servian army was driven back towards the Dragoman pass. The Servians, however, still far outnumbered the Bulgarians, and Prince Alexander was so little confident of his power to repel the invasion that he tendered his submission to the Sultan (Nov. 19), at the same time stating that he had completely evacuated Eastern Roumelia, and begging the Imperial Government to protect him and his people against Serbia. The Porte replied on

Nov. 22 that it would not allow a single point of the Imperial frontier to be changed, and that it would send an Imperial commissioner to take over the administration of Eastern Roumelia; and it asked the Prince's opinion as to its proposing an armistice to Servia. But by this time the Servian forces, pressed by the victorious Bulgarians, were in full retreat, and the Prince replied that "his duty to those who had fallen on the battle-field, and his military honour, obliged him neither to propose nor to accept any armistice before the Servians have completely evacuated Bulgaria, nor to accept any conclusion of peace until he is himself on the enemy's territory." With regard to the proposal of the Porte to send a commissioner to Eastern Roumelia, the Prince stated that such a measure "might compromise order and tranquillity in Roumelia," and suggested that this question should be postponed until after the restoration of peace with Servia.

Two days later (Nov. 26) Prince Alexander, at the head of 50,000 men, entered Servian territory, driving the Servians before him. On Nov. 27 he occupied Pirot, but was stopped by a declaration, made in the name of the Emperor of Austria by Count Khevenhüller, the Austrian envoy, to the effect that if the Bulgarian troops should advance another kilomètre on Servian territory, they would have to meet Austrian instead of Servian troops. The Bulgarian triumph, too, was by no means complete, for although Prince Alexander was on Servian soil, and in possession of a Servian town, General Leshyanin, the Servian commander of the Danubian division, was still before Widdin, and had beaten back several attacks from the Bulgarians in that fortress. Negotiations were now opened for an armistice, and the Porte made another attempt to re-establish its authority in Eastern Roumelia. Two delegates, Gadban Effendi and Lebib Effendi, were despatched to Philippopolis, on Nov. 30, to inform the Eastern Roumelians that the Porte had decided, with the consent of the Powers, to restore the *status quo*, and appoint a new governor-general. The delegates arrived on Dec. 3. On the same day a meeting was held at the residence of the bishop, at which a number of representatives of Philippopolis and the country districts were selected to form a deputation to the consuls of the Great Powers to request them to use their influence for the withdrawal of the Turkish delegates, on the ground that the nation, having chosen its government, was unable to enter into negotiations with them, especially since the whole of the able-bodied population were under arms, and far from their homes, in defence of their country and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The Russian consul strove in vain to persuade the meeting to negotiate with the delegates, asserting that if this were not done Turkish troops would enter the country, and that Russia would in that case not interfere on behalf of the people. Meanwhile M. Zanolff, the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed a note to the Powers, pointing out that Prince Alexander had given the Porte

a formal assurance that he would remain true to the promise given to the Sultan that he would exert no influence on the decisions of the Roumelian population, either by sending Bulgarian troops into the country or by any other action; that the Prince did not now, any more than formerly, claim the right to decide upon the fate of Eastern Roumelia, but that, under present circumstances, he was of opinion that the best means of attaining the object sought by the Great Powers would be to deter the Porte from sending an Imperial commissioner to Philippopolis until the conclusion of peace with Servia. The Porte, however, persisted in its intention of appointing a new governor-general of Eastern Roumelia, and Djevdet Pasha was selected for that post. It also endeavoured to obtain the consent of the Powers to this step; but England objected, and the proposal consequently fell to the ground. The meeting at Philippopolis was followed by others in all the chief towns of Eastern Roumelia, at which resolutions were passed declaring that no proposal directed against the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia would be accepted by the people, who would be ready to sacrifice their lives and property rather than submit to any such proposal. On Dec. 4 the Turkish delegates stated to the prefect of Philippopolis that the Sultan was well-disposed towards the Bulgarians, and wished to improve their condition; and that the new governor-general would only administer the province for two or three months, after which the Sultan would probably agree to a personal union under Prince Alexander. After some conversation it was agreed that the prefect should ask the Prince to receive the delegates, and that the latter should apply for the Sultan's authority to proceed to the Bulgarian headquarters. One of the delegates, Gadban Effendi, was then appointed by the Porte to act as its diplomatic agent at Sofia, and the other, Lebib Effendi, returned to Constantinople (Dec. 6).

The danger of a collision between the Turkish authorities and the population of Eastern Roumelia was thus averted, but the negotiations for an armistice proceeded without any result, neither side being apparently disposed to make any concession to the other. At length the Servian and Bulgarian Governments appealed to the Powers to settle the question (Dec. 11). To this appeal the Powers gave a favourable reply (Dec. 14); and a commission, consisting of the German, Russian, English, French, and Italian military *attachés* at Vienna (to be afterwards joined at Belgrade by the Austrian military *attaché* there) at once proceeded to the Servian capital, to draw a line of demarcation between the Servian and Bulgarian troops. At the same time Madjid Pasha was sent by the Porte, with the consent of Prince Alexander, to negotiate a treaty of peace between Bulgaria and Servia on behalf of Turkey. The demarcation commission completed its task on Dec. 21, when it signed a protocol, stipulating that the Servians should evacuate Bulgarian territory by Dec. 25, that the Bulgarians should evacuate Pirot by Dec. 27, and that the armistice should continue until March 1. This decision was formally accepted both by Servia and

by Bulgaria. The decision as to the evacuation of territory by each belligerent was carried out on the dates named, and at the end of the year both Serbia and Bulgaria were free from hostile troops. The situation, however, was still very menacing. The Servian and Bulgarian armies remained face to face; Greece and Turkey continued their armaments, the former power continuing to urge her demands for the annexation to her territory of part of Macedonia; and the Prince of Montenegro proclaimed the sympathy of his people for their "Servian brothers," and declared that he could not permit the formation of a great Bulgaria. In Serbia, too, the revolutionary spirit was reviving, under the influence of the popular discontent at the Bulgarian victories. The party of Prince Alexander Karageorgievitch, the pretender to the Servian throne, which is composed of brave and adventurous men in a country whose people are not otherwise distinguished for courage, was gaining the upper hand, and it became evident that the Ministry would not be able to secure the necessary majority in the Skouptchina. Its supporters broke up into three sections. The smallest of these still maintained the king's authority; another small body of them insisted on the continuance of the war; and the remainder, led by MM. Pirotchanatz and Novakovitch, who formed the "Progressist" party, demanded that the powers of the crown should be diminished and that greater responsibility should be thrown on the Ministers and the Legislature with regard to the general policy of the State. M. Pirotchanatz was invited to form a ministry, but he declined to do so until peace should be restored, as he considered that the Ministry which was in office when war was declared should bear the responsibility of its consequences. A similar application was made to M. Ristitch, leader of the Liberal Opposition, who is known as "the Servian Bismarck" on account of his policy of uniting the Servian territories in Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria to the Servian kingdom, and is said to be in favour of an alliance with Russia rather than with Austria; but M. Ristitch also was not disposed to take up the threads of a defeated policy, and the Ministry of M. Garaschanin had to remain in office to await the condemnation of the national representatives when they should meet.

CHAPTER IV.

MINOR STATES OF EUROPE.

I. BELGIUM. II. THE NETHERLANDS. III. SWITZERLAND. IV. SPAIN.
V. PORTUGAL. VI. DENMARK. VII. NORWAY. VIII. SWEDEN.

I. BELGIUM.

IN Belgium two powerful parties have for many years been contending for office—the Clerical or Catholic party, entirely and avowedly under the dominion of the Roman Church, and the

Liberals, who have ostentatiously thrown off all ecclesiastical influence. Of late the principal battle-ground has been the question of public instruction. By their Education Bill of 1879, the Liberals practically banished Clerical influence from all public schools. In 1884, when the Catholics overthrew the Liberal majority in the Legislative Chambers, they reversed the educational system of their opponents, and passed a new law giving extensive powers to the local governing bodies in educational matters.

The manner in which the new law was put in operation only increased the bitterness of the Liberals against their opponents. The results, which under the old law had been achieved at the cost of much labour and considerable expense, were overturned, and at the close of the year 1885, 877 primary public schools, 278 infant schools, and 1,079 schools for adults, previously working with satisfactory results, had been suppressed. These establishments had been frequented by 45,000 scholars, who were obliged to seek instruction elsewhere, whilst 3,316 teachers of either sex belonging to the primary public schools had their salaries considerably reduced, and 880 other teachers were summarily dismissed. On the other hand, the new Government adopted 827 free schools with lay teachers, and 638 free schools with ecclesiastical teachers, thus increasing their actual number by nearly 600. According to the Belgian constitution, the greater part of the expenses required for primary instruction is defrayed by the communes, the Government having the power, but not the obligation, to subsidise them. The Minister of Public Instruction made use of this legal authority to refuse all subsidies to numerous communes formerly receiving them, with the result that in 815 communes the primary schools must now be wholly supported by the local rates instead of, as heretofore, being partially dependent on State aid.

Against this policy the Liberal party protested, on the ground that the power of control of the State over primary instruction was greatly diminished, and with it the guarantees as to the real value of the education given to the children; that a very small number of the teachers in the newly adopted schools possessed the requisite qualification or evidence of teaching capacity, as was publicly admitted in the Chambers by the Minister of Public Instruction himself; and that the financial results of the law were disastrous to a large number of communes.

In the course of the year Parliament, in spite of the utmost opposition of the Liberals, passed a fresh bill of electoral reform. The object of the Government was not to revise the electoral law, but only to change certain points of the existing laws which gave rise to constantly recurring disputes. The essential point of the proposed reform bore upon the interpretation of the term "house rent." A large class of public functionaries, including military officers and priests, commercial travellers, pedlers,

boatmen, &c., had more than one place of residence or business, in respect of which they paid rent sufficient to qualify themselves as voters. But in which of the several towns where they paid rent such persons were qualified to exercise their electoral rights had hitherto never been clearly stated. With this and other similar points the new law proposed to deal. The vehement opposition offered by the Liberals to the bill was based upon what they persistently considered its one-sided aim, and because it was only made in view of the exclusive interest of the Clerical party, especially in giving to the new teachers in the free schools a right of vote in places where they would otherwise have had no claim to the franchise.

In opposition to these insidious proposals, as they termed them, the whole of the Liberal party was practically agreed. But this unanimity might be looked for in vain elsewhere in the political history of the year. By far the most important recent event in Belgian politics has been the disruption of the Liberal party. The dissensions have increased to such an extent that future union seems most improbable. The formerly compact and well-disciplined Liberal party is now divided into two distinct and almost hostile groups: one, the Radical group, numbering but few members, but of unquestionable talent and untiring activity; the other, or so-called doctrinaire group, far more numerous and less inclined for action, of whom M. Frère-Orban is the leader. The bitterness of the animosity between these two groups is such that, unless by mutual concessions a new union can be formed, there is little likelihood of a Liberal Government being speedily constituted.

Outside the domain of party politics public opinion was greatly disturbed by an important financial dispute, arising on the occasion of the renewal of the Monetary Union between France, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium. According to this convention these four countries had adopted the bimetallic system, the value of silver being to that of gold in the proportion of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. In consequence, however, of the continued depreciation of silver, this proportion had varied considerably of late years, and had fallen at length to 20 to 1. If the convention came to an end, each of the contracting countries would have been obliged to take back all its silver coin from the three other countries, and to pay the equivalent difference in gold, involving a consequent loss of about 20 per cent. Protracted discussion took place, especially between Belgium and the French and Italian Governments, and more than once the Belgian plenipotentiaries were on the point of breaking off the negotiations and retiring from the Monetary Union. At length, however, an agreement was arrived at, in virtue of which, at the dissolution of the Union in 1891, one-half of the Belgian silver coin circulating in the three other countries (the total of which is estimated to amount to 200,000,000 francs) will have to be paid back in gold, the other half by

exchange and commercial means. Now, the Belgian Government has struck silver coins amounting altogether to about 450,000,000 francs. Of these, 150,000,000 are considered to be necessary for home use ; consequently some 300,000,000 have been absorbed by foreign circulation, a large proportion of which were struck on behalf of the Swiss Government, which, strangely enough, had their silver coin stamped in Belgium with the Belgian effigy. According also to the new convention, it was further stipulated that any sum in silver coin exceeding the above-mentioned 200,000,000 francs, should be repaid in gold, and in return Belgium bound herself to make no change whatever in her monetary legislation within five years after the dissolution of the Union (until 1896). The final outcome of the negotiations, therefore, amounted to the inevitable loss by Belgium of some 40,000,000 or 50,000,000 francs, should the value of silver remain at its present price. Public opinion showed itself especially irritated against the French Government for its persistent refusal to accede to the claims of the Belgian delegates for more liberal treatment.

At the beginning of the year a group of deputies representing an important agricultural district brought before the Chamber a proposition tending to increase the taxes on foreign corn and cattle. This was rejected (July 15) in the Chamber of Representatives by a large majority. Nevertheless, the promoters towards the close of the year presented a new project of law, establishing a heavy tax on foreign meat, cattle, and horses. Although its consideration was postponed until after the Christmas recess, enough was said in the press and elsewhere to prove that public opinion in Belgium was not favourable to protectionist measures of any kind, and far less still to measures the immediate result of which would inevitably be to increase the difficulties of the poor classes in bad times.

The important part taken by King Leopold II. in the exploration of Central Africa was recognised with great pride throughout Belgium, and the news of the definitive constitution, by the Congress of Berlin, of the free state of Congo, was hailed with general satisfaction. And this feeling was increased when that Assembly invited the King of the Belgians to assume the sovereignty of the new state thus created. According to the constitution, however, the king could not accept sovereignty over any other country without Parliamentary assent. The Government accordingly brought forward a bill authorising King Leopold II. to become chief of the new African State, it being clearly understood that the union between Belgium and the Congo State should be strictly personal, without any dynastic or hereditary character. This law was adopted by the Chamber of Representatives by 124 out of 126 voters, and in the Senate by 58 out of 59 ; and from every part of Belgium came innumerable addresses of congratulation, showing the sympathetic interest of the country in the king's philanthropic ideas of civilisation. But

the point, whether the Congo State would be the source of any special advantages, and not rather the cause of serious inconvenience to Belgium, was the subject of discussion.

II. THE NETHERLANDS.

The Government, after several years' study of the question, presented a bill for the revision of the constitution, the essential points of which dealt with electoral rights and military service. Electoral reform had for a long time occupied public attention. Universal suffrage had from time to time been urged by working men's associations, but had never met with the assent of the upper classes, and the Liberal party as a whole had shown itself decidedly hostile to any measure of the kind. The only questions which seriously interested the majority of the population were those bearing on a reduction of taxation, the extension of the franchise, and the increase of the number of representatives. According to the existing system, Parliamentary electors are qualified by the payment of direct taxes varying from 20 to 160 florins, according to the province and commune they inhabit. The Government Bill proposed that, in future, the payment of house-rent alone should confer electoral rights, the necessary rental varying in different provinces, but in no case falling below 50 florins (4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*) per annum. Under this scheme, if adopted, the total number of electors would be nearly doubled, raising it from 129,000 to 252,000. The Bill, moreover, proposed to increase the number of representatives in both Legislative Chambers; and lastly, instead of renewing one-half of each Chamber every two years, the Government proposed to renew them entirely every four years.

With regard to military service, a few tentative steps were taken in the direction of compulsory service, but they met with but little encouragement in any quarter. Hitherto the Dutch army has been wholly recruited by volunteers, either of Dutch or of foreign nationality, liable to service in Europe or the colonies, but with the restriction that the Dutch soldiers could only be sent to the colonies with their own consent. The Government wished to leave the entire care of the organisation of a strong military system to the States-General, giving them the power, in case of need, of calling upon all citizens to bear their share in either military or naval service.

No fundamental change was made during the year in the constitutional law regarding the order of succession to the throne; but in various points its terms were rendered more precise and definite. The new bill enacted that, should there exist no direct descendants, the Crown should pass to the Princess of Orange, who, descending from William I., was the most nearly related to the last king, and according to this arrangement the sister of William III., the wife of the Grand-Duke of Saxe-Weimar, is

confirmed as next in succession, and in the event of her death the crown will pass to her elder daughter. The Government further proposed to modify Art. 194 of the constitution, dealing with primary education. In future the communal authorities would only in cases of absolute necessity interfere with primary instruction, which, as a rule, would be left to the care of private initiative. This change, if adopted, would seriously affect public primary education in the south provinces, where the Roman Catholic religion predominates, and where the clergy would have entire direction of the school system. The parliamentary situation, however, rendered the chances of any important constitutional changes extremely improbable. At the beginning of the year the Liberals were actually in a majority in the Upper Chamber, but in the Second Chamber a coalition, formed of 19 Catholics, 22 Ultra-Protestants, and three Conservatives, left them in a minority of 2. This coalition tried to bring about some important changes in the organisation of public instruction, and their project would have been adopted had not one of the three Conservative members, M. Wintgens, representative of the Hague, voted with the Liberals against the proposed changes. His conduct having been severely criticised on that occasion by his former allies, he resolved to retire from parliamentary life, and resigned his seat. It was keenly disputed by the rival parties; but, after a sharp electoral contest, the victory finally remained to the Liberal candidate, Col. Sluyten, who defeated his Conservative opponent, Count Schimmelpennink van der Oye, by 19 votes. This success, the first for twenty years the Liberals could boast of at the Hague, brought about this singular result, that in the Second Chamber the two parties are equally divided, each returning 43 members. Such a state of things was not likely to bring about the overthrow of the Heemskerk Cabinet, which, although Conservative, had been able to hold its ground at a time when the majority in both Chambers was Liberal; but it is a source of uneasiness to the country, since on the absence of a single member belonging to the one or the other party may depend the adoption or rejection of very important laws.

The financial position throughout the year remained unsatisfactory, and the Budget of 1886, in spite of a general reduction of expenditure, disclosed a deficit of nearly 12,000,000 florins, to meet which the Government proposed to create new taxes on various foreign goods, and to increase those already existing on tea. Moreover, the Batavian Chambers of Commerce recommended an addition to the salt-tax, to meet the increased expenses of the East Indian establishment, the situation at Atchin remaining unchanged and still requiring constant watchfulness and precaution.

During the year some changes occurred in the composition of the Cabinet. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Vanderdoes de Willebors, having resigned, was replaced by M. Vankarnebeeck, formerly resident minister at Stockholm; the Minister of Marine

M. van Erp Taalman Kip, also requested to be relieved of his functions, which were transferred to Capt. Gericke, and M. Grobbee, Minister of Finances, after the rejection of the Budget, resigned, and was replaced by M. Bloem, the third Minister of Finances who had been brought into the Heemskerk Cabinet in less than two years.

In the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, as in the Netherlands, the question of succession to the throne had been the source of much anxiety ever since the death of the Prince of Orange. According to the established order, the succession would fall to a distant relation of the actual Grand-Duke, in case of there being no male descendant of the Dutch Royal family. In 1867 the members of the Dutch Royal family became parties to a treaty concluded between the dispossessed Duke of Nassau (the heir-expectant to the Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg) and the King of Prussia, by which the Duke's eventual rights to the Grand-Duchy were formally recognised. The cession of the title to the younger branch of the house of Nassau has, moreover, the assent of the European powers; the Convention of April 19, 1839, between Belgium and the Netherlands, as well as the treaties concluded on the same day between Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, England, France, Prussia, and Russia, all recognising the rights of the house of Nassau to the Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg. Nothing is therefore likely to hinder the severance of the personal union between Holland and the Grand-Duchy; and as far as the Dutch themselves are concerned, they would gladly see the end of the dynastic union between the two countries, as more than once this union has all but called on them most serious diplomatic and international complications. This feeling is so strong that it has been already mooted whether on this special point the Dutch constitution should not be revised, and a proviso inserted, declaring that if once the Crown of Luxemburg should lapse from the House of Orange-Nassau, it should never more be worn by any king of Holland. But the prospect is far less agreeable to the inhabitants of the Grand-Duchy themselves, who fear that if the Duke of Nassau were to become their Sovereign, he might be persuaded to cede his grand-ducal rights to Germany, as happened in 1866 with his former Duchy of Nassau.

The discussion of this serious question in the Chamber of the Grand-Duchy, in addition to certain matters of finance, where he was accused of mismanagement, brought on the resignation of M. de Blockhausen, the chief of the Government of the Grand-Duchy. He was replaced by M. Thilges, one of whose first acts was to present a bill modifying the existing law regulating the establishment of convents and religious corporations. The ministerial proposals were generally approved by public opinion, and will, in all probability, promptly receive the sanction of the Chamber.

III. SWITZERLAND.

The revision of the constitution in various cantons has been in the present, as in preceding years, the prominent feature of Swiss politics. In 1883 the canton of Berne, and in 1884 that of Vaud, decided to revise their respective constitutions, and appointed a number of delegates to prepare a scheme. This task was brought to a close at the beginning of the present year, and its results submitted to popular vote. The most important point of the revision of the canton of Berne's constitution was the proposed suppression of the corporations formed of persons belonging to the middle classes (*corporations de bourgeois*), who had hitherto divided amongst themselves the surplus income of communal properties. More prominent, however, in the minds of the authors of the revised constitution, was the desire to suppress dualism and to re-establish unity in the communal administrations; and the result was that the scheme, satisfying neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives, was, when put to the popular vote, rejected by 52,000 against 30,700. In the canton of Vaud, where the essential point of the revision consisted in a serious experiment of a system of progressive taxation, the new constitution was adopted by a majority of over 10,000.

The fact of a large number of anarchists having chosen Switzerland as their abode continued to be the cause of much annoyance to the Federal Government. Already in the course of the preceding year, in answer to the claims of several European Powers, the Federal Council had expelled a certain number of these anarchists from Swiss territory. In order to put a stop to these measures, the anarchists caused several anonymous letters to be sent to the Federal Council, threatening to blow up the Federal Palace by dynamite. To these threats the only possible answer was the adoption of still more severe measures, and these were applied with the utmost vigour. The Government's conduct in this affair met with the unanimous approval of the people.

A question upon which public opinion was far more divided, on account of the numerous interests it dealt with, was that of the liquor laws. The Government, anxious to diminish as far as possible the disorders resulting from the abuse of alcoholic drinks, presented a bill regulating the liquor traffic. According to the new law, the tax on foreign alcohol was placed so high as to be nearly prohibitive, besides which a very high excise duty was to be levied on all spirituous drinks made in Switzerland. The law furthermore gave the cantonal authorities the right of diminishing the number of cafés, estaminets, &c., and the produce of these taxes, estimated at 5,000,000 francs, was to be divided amongst the various cantons in proportion to their population. Like every

other project of law in Switzerland, this was submitted to popular ratification, and was adopted by 225,000 against 153,000. The result cannot, however, be considered as giving the real state of public opinion on the subject, as over 300,000 citizens abstained from taking part in the vote. The whole of the working classes voted against it, as also did the agricultural and mountainous districts; but the viticultural districts, on the contrary, resolutely upheld the measure.

The misunderstanding between the Swiss and Italian Governments on the question of smugglers received no solution during the year, although it is one of long standing. Active smuggling is incessantly taking place, but almost exclusively in one direction—from Switzerland to Italy—free trade being the basis of Swiss finance, whereas Italy remains protectionist. The Italian Government wanted to impose upon Switzerland the maintenance of a rigorous watch over her frontiers, and to pursue and arrest any supposed smuggler. This the Federal Council refused to do, for various reasons, and finally delegates of both countries met at Como, with a view to trying to find means of amicably settling the matter. The attempt having proved abortive, a certain coolness between the two Governments was the result.

Nor have the difficulties between Switzerland and the Holy See been altogether removed. In the course of the year delegates of the Federal Council and of the Vatican met together, in order to settle the irregular situation of the canton of Tessin, where the bishop's see had long been vacant. It was decided to appoint to the vacant post Mgr. Lachat, the former bishop of the canton of Basle, who had been obliged to retire from this latter town on account of the opposition he had aroused by his extreme clerical views. He was hardly installed in his new position when the Government of Tessin, acting upon previous engagements with the Holy See, declared itself ready to revise the ecclesiastical existing laws, and invited Mgr. Lachat to join in this work. Such a measure was entirely opposed to the whole character of the Swiss nation, which for centuries had continually resented the interference, in its own affairs, of any foreign Government, and especially of the Holy See. As far back as the thirteenth century numerous documents prove that even in those early days of its independence, Switzerland would not submit to any such intervention. It was therefore natural to find the general feeling of the country strongly averse to the proposed measures of the Tessin Government, and it is more than likely that the Federal Council will refuse to sanction them should the Cantonal Government proceed with the negotiations.

The Federal Council, moreover, refused to conclude a treaty of reciprocal naturalisation with the United States of America, because of the clause stipulating that the Swiss who should obtain the rights of Americans, should lose their primitive rights as Swiss. This is contrary to the Swiss constitution, which declares

that no Swiss citizen, unless he fights against his country, can ever lose his original rights. The only financial measure of any importance was the ratification, at the National Council, by 85 against 2 of the new monetary convention.

IV. SPAIN.

The year opened under the worst auspices, and so gloomy was the forecast consequent upon the daily occurrence of earthquakes in the southern provinces, that the scandal caused by the premature publication of the Hispano-American Commercial Treaty in a New York newspaper (which was said to have obtained a clandestine copy for 2,000 dollars), was but short-lived. The earthquakes continued with more or less intensity during nearly the whole of the first half-year, and were often felt outside the area originally affected. At Boltana (prov. of Huesca), a fissure occurred (April 23) of 70 mètres by 20 wide, whence issued vapours with subterranean noises. According to official returns from Christmas Day 1884, to the end of Feb. 1885, 63 towns and villages, in the province of Granada alone, had 5,480 houses destroyed, 690 inhabitants lost their lives, and 1,173 were injured. At the height of the panic, the King undertook a tour through the districts which had most suffered, and on his return (Jan. 23) to Madrid met with an enthusiastic welcome.

In the Senate (Jan. 2) a vote censuring the Government for their action in the university demonstration (*see* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1884, p. 329) was lost by 141 against 43. The reply to the Address occupied Congress for many weeks, and in the course of the debates the retrograde policy of the Cabinet was attacked, especially in the person of Señor Pidal, Minister of Public Works, who in his reply defended Church authority. In spite of his attitude, however, he was himself censured, about the same time, in a pastoral letter emanating from the Bishop of Placencia, inspired, it was said, by the Carlists. This document became the subject of much consideration by the Cabinet; but no overt action was taken on it. The Bishop of Placencia, moreover, was not the only prelate who gave the Cabinet trouble; for the Bishop of Porto Rico, having announced an interpellation concerning the relations of the Government with the Vatican, was only prevented from carrying out his intention by the Pope's interference at the request of Ministers; and a telegram from his Holiness, it was said, extinguished the bishop's zeal. Meanwhile the report on the commercial *modus vivendi* adjusted with England (*see* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1884, p. 330) had been laid on the table of Congress (Feb. 24) with a modification by which Ministers hoped to conciliate the Catalans, stipulating that no definitive treaty should be ratified until the representatives of national industry had been heard. The commercial circles of Madrid were as urgent in favour of the measure as the Catalanian

deputations were opposed to it. It nevertheless passed (March 10), by 191 against 66 votes; and then came before the Senate (March 21), but was subsequently withdrawn because of a rupture in the negotiations pending between the Governments, as stated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs (May 19). This hitch coincided with a debate on the same subject in the British House of Commons, and was much regretted by the advocates of the treaty in Spain, who believed the difficulty came from England's being unwilling to raise the shilling duty to the alcoholic scale of 30 degrees strength, for fear of lessening her customs' receipts. In the interim umbrage had been taken by the Opposition deputies to the Government bill calling for 70,000 recruits (instead of the usual 45,000); but when it was explained that 17,000 were for Cuba, where exceptional circumstances required them, the bill passed by 191 against 66 votes (March 10). The Budget on being produced (March 21) showed a deficit of 26,000,000 pesetas, which the Opposition contended would not in the end fall far short of 108,000,000; but Señor Guillon maintained that it would not exceed the former amount, and that it was due to the reinforcements sent to Cuba, to the increase of the navy, and to the cost of collecting the revenue. The Home Minister presented a bill for administrative reorganisation which seemed to give but scant initiative to municipalities. These, and some other measures of less general importance, were debated in both chambers, where, however, it might almost be said, in the words of Tully speaking of the Roman Senate, *nihil esse confectum, propterea quod dies magna ex parte consumptus est altercatione* on party or personal questions.

Foreign politics were destined to play an important part in the Spanish history of the year. A circular was issued (Jan. 4) to the Powers, informing them that Spain had taken possession of the west coast of Africa between Capes Morejon and Oeste; and a protocol relating to the Sooloo Archipelago was signed (March 7) by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the British and German plenipotentiaries, whereby the Spanish sovereignty was recognised in those islands. In the same month some commotion was created, in and out of Parliament, by the ill-treatment suffered by the Governor of Alhucenas (a Spanish African colony), an officer and others at the hands of the Moors. The question was settled by the Morocco Government complying with the Spanish claim, and saluting the flag. About the same time some Spainards were killed by the Arabs of Rio del Oro, where Spain had factories but no authority, as the Minister explained in the Cortes, and the Arabs no responsible chief, and an officer and troops were promptly despatched to occupy the territory. Spain had entertained the project of acquiring a port and establishing its sovereignty on the Red Sea, and a commissioner was delegated to that effect; but, in view of the strenuous opposition of the Egyptian Government, Spain finally renounced her purpose, which failed, owing to the

manner in which the negotiations had been conducted, as the Minister alleged in the Cortes (April 21).

At home the course of events did not run smoothly. In the beginning of April the air was thick with rumours of the discovery of a conspiracy to assassinate the King during the royal visit to the churches on Holy Thursday, but, although several arrests were announced by the newspapers, no subsequent proceedings were undertaken. Republican revolts, projected or suspected, engaged the attention of Government at different times, but the only one which really took place was at Carthagená in the late autumn (Oct.). It was on a small scale, and, though boldly conceived, failed totally, and seventeen of the conspirators were handed over to a Council of War. Press prosecutions were more frequent than ever, and at one time were of almost daily occurrence, whilst the sentences pronounced were often severe; the editor of the Republican newspaper *Busilis*, for example, who was tried for an article injurious to the King, being condemned to no less than *ten* years' imprisonment.

Scarcely had the earthquakes abated when the cholera broke out, appearing first at Barcelona, whence it spread to most of the central and southern provinces. For months its virulence was unabated, and in August the death-rate rose sometimes to over 1,600 daily. The King won the sympathetic admiration of the people by his unostentatious visit to Aranjuez at the height of the pestilence (July 2), despite the opposition of the Ministers, who threatened to resign if he ventured to show himself in the afflicted provinces. The King, however, remained unshaken in his determination to do what he regarded to be his duty, and one day, unknown to all save the aide-de-camp who accompanied him, he finally left the palace, reached the railway station unrecognised, and, taking an ordinary train, he was far on his road to the panic-stricken districts before his departure from Madrid was known, even to Señor Canovas. In Spain, however, all other events of the year, political as well as social, were dwarfed by the diplomatic conflict with Germany, although breaking out at the moment when the cholera epidemic was at its very worst. The first intimation of the occupation of Yap (archipelago of the Carolines), Aug. 14, was received with loud protests in the press; ten days later the public mind had become thoroughly roused, and a meeting, said to have numbered 150,000 people in the Prado at Madrid, testified to the widespread indignation. According to the fuller particulars forwarded by letter, the Imperial flag had been hoisted by the commander of the *Itis* in the presence of three Spanish men-of-war, and the senior officer in command had limited his action to a protest. An outburst of popular feeling and mob-violence followed the publication of this version of the proceedings, the German Legation was surrounded (Sept. 4), and the escutcheon and flag-staff were pulled down and burnt, with cries of "Death to Germany!" The crowd then went to the Italian and French Legations, saluting

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them with *vivas* to the Latin race, and forthwith gave General Salamanca an ovation, as a mark of approval for his having returned the Insignia of the German Order with which he had been decorated. Numerous arrests were made, but popular feeling ran high, not only in Madrid, but in many large towns, and the outcry against Germany was almost, if not quite, unanimous throughout the country. It was only by the tact and prudence of the King and his Government that an open rupture was avoided. The excitement had now spread all over the country. The Emperor and Prince Bismarck, on their side, duly appreciated the King's difficult position, and their representatives at Madrid and Berlin displayed marked moderation in the face of all provocations, for it would not have suited German policy to contribute to an issue which might bring the country again under republican rule.

The Spanish claim to the sovereignty of the Caroline Islands was based on alleged rights dating far back; but these Germany refused to admit, and quoted in support the protest formulated by Great Britain in 1875, refusing to recognise those historical rights. She was willing, however, to come to an understanding, and to submit the question to arbitration. This offer Spain at first refused, asserting that Yap had been occupied by her vessels some days prior to the arrival of the *Iltis*, and insisting upon a recognition by Germany of the Spanish rights before negotiating. The contention of the Spanish Government was supported by public opinion in France and Italy, and to some extent by the British press; but the English Cabinet, adhering to Lord Derby's note of 1875, finally prevailed on the Cabinet of Madrid to accept mediation, when (towards the end of September) it was found impossible to come to a settlement by direct negotiation. Apologies having been tendered and accepted for the insult done to the German Legation at Madrid, the Imperial Chancellor, with great shrewdness, at once proposed that the Pope be mediator, a proposal not only acceptable to the Spanish Government, but calculated to allay popular distrust. Leo XIII. accepted the post with the greater readiness inasmuch as in his recent allocutions he had frequently insisted upon the peculiar advantages offered by the Holy See as an available medium for the adjustment of quarrels between nations or rulers on the verge of war. The Pope's decision was communicated (Nov. 16) by a Note to each of the Governments, whereby Spanish sovereignty was confirmed over an extent of 720 maritime miles, embracing the Caroline and Pelew groups and the small archipelago near New Guinea, called "Bismarck Island" by Germany, "Admiralty" by the French, and "Black Islands" by the Spaniards, who discovered them in 1537. It was proved that Spain had occupied Yap two days previous to the Germans, and His Holiness recommended that freedom of commerce, agriculture, and navigation should be granted to Germany, together with a coaling and refitting station on one of the islands. As mediator, the Pope confined himself to giving advice. This was

embodied by the two Powers in an Act; and the protocol, containing six articles, was ultimately signed at Rome by the Spanish and German ambassadors. It was made public towards the end of the year, and the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs declared on the occasion in Cortes that England claimed the same trading privileges as Germany, under the third article of the Sooloo Protocol, which had served as basis for that respecting the Caroline Islands.

Throughout the year the disturbance and partial disruption of political parties was a leading feature of the situation. Early in February efforts were made to bring about a union between the Dynastic Left and the Fusionists; but the stumbling-block was, as in previous negotiations, the *sine quâ non* of the former for the principles of 1869 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1883, p. 274; and 1884, p. 328). In April, Señor Romero Robledo, Home Minister, dissolved the Madrid municipality, appointing *ad interim* members to serve in their stead till after the regular elections. This act was highly distasteful to the various opposition parties. Señor Sagasta, and other ex-Ministers of the Fusionists, seconded by leading men of the Dynastic Left, proposed a coalition of all the Liberal groups, with a view to restrain the Government's high-handed policy. The Republicans also, in reply to an invitation, signified their adhesion to the movement. The chief exponents of this "electoral coalition," as it was called, were Sagasta, Moret, and General Lopez Dominguez, and successfully justified its formation, for when the municipal elections took place (May 3–6) the triumph of the coalition, especially at Madrid, where nineteen out of twenty-five seats were carried, was most marked; but in the provinces the result was less decisive. Nevertheless, the meaning of the popular vote was so obvious that Señor Romero Robledo wished to leave the Cabinet, but, after some hesitation, was prevailed upon to share the fortunes of his colleagues. The coalition, however, left things much as they were, for it transpired at length that each group had previously reserved its respective "platform." This was not precisely what some of the leaders had anticipated, for, when General Martinez Campos declared in the Senate (May 11) that the coalition had had for its purpose "to moralise the electoral body and urge them to use their rights, and that having achieved this much its mission was ended," the words of the outspoken soldier, virtually dissolving the coalition, occasioned as much surprise as vexation to the Liberal groups. The Fusionists and Dynastic Left now renewed their attempts at reconciliation on the basis of a great Liberal party like the English Whigs, in order to secure power when the Conservatives, already much shaken, should retire. There was considerable difficulty in coming to an understanding; but at last (June 1) the Sagastistas agreed to accept the principles of universal suffrage, liberty of conscience, civil marriage, and the habeas corpus.

The union was thus virtually, although not formally, proclaimed, for General Lopez Dominguez and Señor Becerra, with some adherents, still held aloof, inspired probably by the ambitious motto "all or nothing." The nominal leader of the Left, Marshal Serrano, although in critical health, was represented as having approved of the compact; and, accordingly, Señor Sagasta declared in Congress (June 9) that on returning to power he would adopt those principles; and a month later marked his adherence to the new democratic programme by an energetic attack on the Government policy. The criticisms of the Opposition were chiefly levelled against Señor Romero Robledo, who, the day after the session closed (July 12), tendered his resignation, as did likewise the Minister of Marine. Next day Señor Villaverde replaced the former in the Home Office, and Admiral Pezuela took the portfolio of the Navy. The choice of Señor Villaverde was not felicitous; he had made himself unpopular by his action as Civil Governor of Madrid during the University fracas, he had once been a Republican, but had recently become a convert to Conservatism. Following close upon these changes an idea was mooted in the press to proclaim the king Emperor, as a panacea for constitutional troubles. Although that suggestion never received the least sanction from either Don Alfonso or Señor Canovas, yet it was not dropped before the newspapers of Sagasta, Lopez Dominguez, Martos, &c. thought it worthy to be seriously combated.

The year had certainly been an eventful one; but the climax was both unexpected and deplored as a great loss to the nation. The young King's health had been apparently failing for some time, but the fact was so repeatedly contradicted that the people at large were wholly unprepared for the fatal termination of his illness. The first official announcement of his Majesty's illness (Nov. 24), was followed by that of his death, at the Pardo (near Madrid), the following morning, from an attack of dyspnœa. Alfonso XII. was only in his twenty-ninth year, and the eleventh of his reign; and has left two daughters, Doña Mercedes, Princess of the Asturias, being heiress to the throne, unless the Queen should give birth to a posthumous son. The royal body was conveyed to Madrid and was buried at the Escorial (Nov. 29), and a fortnight later a solemn funeral service was held at the Cathedral of St. Isidoro, on which occasion several of the foreign monarchs were represented by princes of the blood.

The Canovas Ministry, immediately after the ceremonies, tendered their resignation to the Queen-Regent; and after a delay of twenty-four hours, it was accepted, and by Canovas' advice Señor Sagasta was called upon to form a cabinet, which was promptly constituted, Señor Sagasta becoming President of the Council of Ministers; Señor Moret, Foreign Affairs; Señor Gonsalez, Home Office; Señor Camacho, Finance; Señor Gamazo, Colonies; Señor Alonzo Martinez, Justice; Señor Montero Rios, Public Works;

Señor Jovellar, War; and Señor Berenguer, Navy. General Lopez Dominguez refused a portfolio, but promised his support.

The change of Government was a foregone conclusion. The King's death only hastened it. Within the last three or four months dissension had split up the Conservative ranks into two, if not three, groups: one led by Señor Romero Robledo, and the other by Count de Toreno, each of whom was opposed to Canovas. The resignation of the latter completed the rupture, and the party, now in opposition, formed itself into two camps—one led by the ex-Premier, the other by Señor Romero Robledo. The latter group may be distinguished as of an ultra-Conservative bias, in a general point of view. They took up the position that, for the welfare of the party, Canovas should not have resigned, and that by so doing, he had abdicated his leadership, and that henceforth the real Conservative policy was represented by them. But, even amongst their own party, they only represented the opinion of a minority, the bulk of the party having approved of Canovas' conduct.

Without delay the Queen-Regent (who had taken the oath in the council chamber), convoked the Cortes to meet immediately after Christmas. In a council, presided over by her Majesty, the Cabinet decided on a Liberal policy. An amnesty was granted to all political offenders, except such as had aimed at overthrowing monarchical institutions; the imprisoned journalists were liberated, all press-judgments (700 in number!) annulled, the right of public meeting was recognised, a bill of *habeas corpus*, identical in spirit with that of 1869, was promised, and in general a fulfilment of the pledges given by the Liberals when in opposition. It was further decided that Canovas' candidature for the Presidency of the Congress should not be opposed, although among the Conservatives Romero Robledo's candidature found numerous supporters.

By the middle of December the position of the Government was further assured by the adherence of General Lopez Dominguez and Señor Becerra to the understanding between the Dynastic Left and Fusionists. On the eve of the opening of Cortes two Conservative meetings were held, which showed the relative strength of the two groups; the Canovists, numbering 333 (150 deputies present, and 55 by proxy; 110 senators present, and 27 by proxy), whilst the Romerists, or so-called "dissidents," mustered only 94 (89 deputies present, and 5 by proxy). Their leader, however, declared that he would persist in his candidature to the Presidency, not with the hope of prevailing, but in order to ascertain the full strength of his partisans. To his own adherents Señor Canovas explained that, whilst he had made no pact with the Liberals, he felt that they ought to be supported for the good of the country, as they alone could for the present form a stable government for the regency.

As soon as the Cortes had been duly constituted, the Queen-

Regent, in the presence of both Chambers, took the oath (Dec. 30) with the usual formalities. On the following day Señor Moret presented a bill proroguing till 1892 all treaties of commerce lapsing in 1886; and Señor Camacho brought in his financial measures, which were the same day reported on favourably.

Within the Palace, however, matters progressed less harmoniously. From the moment of the King's death there had been some evidence of increasing dissension among the members of the Royal Family. The successive arrests of two of its members for disrespectful words, on being refused admittance to the Queen-Regent, was evidence that her rule was not likely to pass unchallenged. Out of doors, too, her right to the regency was much discussed. Certain parties were in favour of the Infanta Isabel, the deceased monarch's eldest sister; some were for Queen Isabel, his mother; whilst others again contended that the latter should resume her rights as Queen of Spain. Señor Carvajal, an ex-Minister and distinguished barrister, took the latter view, and concluded his letter (which appeared in a newspaper) by saying that "right is on the side of Doña Isabel," whose abdication had never been formally published.

V. PORTUGAL.

The Cortes had been opened just before the new year, and the address in answer to the speech from the throne was still under debate in the Chamber of Deputies, when (Feb. 1) a ministerial crisis was brought about by the resignation of Senhor Aguiar, Minister of Public Works, and Senhor Lopo Vaz, Minister of Justice. The alleged cause was a disagreement as to the introduction of the Bill for the Lisbon Harbour Works (estimated cost, 15,000 contos—over 3,000,000*l.*); Senhor Aguiar insisting upon immediate action, whilst Senhor Hintze Ribeiro, Finance Minister, argued for delay, in consequence of the depreciation of the funds in London (quoted at 44). The incident gave rise to much discussion in the Cortes and in the press; for it was generally believed the whole truth had not been told, and that Senhor Hintze Ribeiro had succeeded in getting rid of a talented colleague. Moreover, as the bill bore his signature, it was contended that he also should have resigned, especially as later on the bill was presented, when the funds were but very little higher (at 45), and was then voted in both Houses (Deputies July 2, and Peers July 8). No new appointments were made to the Cabinet; Senhor Fontes, the Premier, taking charge of Public Works, and the Home Minister, Senhor Barjona de Freitas, of the Portfolio of Justice.

The salt-tax (2 *reales* per litre), which had for some time caused an outcry among the fishing-classes, was, by the recommendation of a Parliamentary Commission (elected Feb. 21), provisionally reduced to 1 *real*, and before the end of the summer became law.

Among other legislative measures voted by the Cortes were the Coasting Trade Bill, permitting foreign vessels to trade between Portugal and her adjacent islands and the Portuguese possessions east of the Cape of Good Hope; a bill authorising the Finance Minister to reorganise the Custom House; a bill of indemnity relieving Government of the responsibility incurred by their dictatorial decree of army reform (*see* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1884, p. 332); an African Railroad Bill (Ambaca); a bill modifying certain articles of the Administrative Code relative to transfer of emphyteutic property (perpetual ground-rent), and extending payment of registration taxes (*onus reaes*) in arrear; the Lisbon Municipal Reform Bill and the Constitutional Reform Bill, which was published as a law (July 24), containing ten articles.

Both in the debate on the answer to the Speech from the Throne and in that on the Berlin Conference Bill the Government's action was much blamed for its attitude in the latter business. The ex-Finance Minister, Senhor Henrique de Barros Gomes (Jan. 24, 26, and June 1), by his able criticism and by reference to unpublished documents, produced a most telling case against the Lisbon Cabinet's policy, confirming the impression out-of-doors that the outcome of the Conference had been most detrimental to Portuguese colonial interests. The general or detailed Budget, having been delayed in the Committee to which it had been referred, did not come before the Cortes for debate, but a so-called Rectified Budget and Bill of Ways and Means of a summary nature were voted for the service of the year. This proceeding was much censured, and Senhor Hintze Ribeiro's financial policy was moreover roughly handled by the Opposition. Senhor Barros Gomes again proved himself (May 13) a dangerous antagonist; his array of figures and masterly treatment of the subject proving as damaging as the defence offered by Government was feeble.

The chief interest of the session centred in the Constitutional Reform Bill. The comparatively short time consumed in these debates—three weeks by the deputies and a fortnight by the peers—is explained by the fact that the Opposition were reduced to a small fraction of the Constituintes, the bulk of the party having coalesced with Ministerialists, a few Republicans, and a handful of independent peers. All the Progressists in both Chambers abstained from taking part either in the debate or the division, according to the decision taken at a meeting (Feb. 23), which was but the natural sequel to the arrangement arrived at some months previously. Their abstention on the present occasion was more justifiable and intelligible than is often the case among Peninsular politicians. By Art. 9 of the new Reform Bill it was provided that four years must pass before any further proposal of reform could be mooted. In the Progressista meeting especial exception was taken to this restrictive proviso, and the party declared that they reserved the right to propose reforms whenever public interests might require them, and they declined all

responsibility for the Government Bill. Thus, by abstention, their protest was emphasized, and the article in question would be no hindrance should the Progressists come into power before the four years have expired. The chief organ of their press looked at the whole business in the light of a farce, and assumed a tone of contemptuous good-humour in its comments on the debate. The articles of the bill have already been given summarily (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1883, pp. 278 and 279), and the only important modification introduced in the original draft was the suppression of the clause declaring that "before pontifical documents (bulls, briefs, &c.) could be recognised, the consent of Parliament was needed." The clergy in Portugal is weaker than in the neighbouring kingdom, but it proved strong enough to obtain the suppression of this restriction before the bill was reported. Its most important feature concerns the House of Peers. The hereditary principle is abolished. Members are in future to be of three classes: life peers, peers by right, and elective peers. The first are limited to 100, and to be created by the Crown; the second are the cardinal-patriarch, the archbishops, and bishops of the continental part of the kingdom. The third class are limited to 50, and are to be elected according to a special law. The elective term is for six years, but this part of the House can be dissolved either simultaneously with the Chamber of Deputies or separately. The members now forming the House will retain their seats as life peers, and until this class becomes reduced to 100, exclusive of the prelates who sit *ex officio*, the king can only create one peer for every three vacancies, after which the legal number must be always maintained. Only such persons are eligible as belong to the 20 categories established by the Peerage Reform Act of 1878 (*see* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1879, p. 201). By virtue of an amendment proposed by the Constituinte peer, Vaz Preto, and ultimately adopted, the right of succession on the hereditary principle is reserved for, but limited to, the eldest son or immediate representative of deceased peers, and of those forming the present House. It was contended that otherwise prospective rights would be invaded, and a retroactive effect given to the law. The proviso under Art 6, s. 4 (*i.e.* creation of one peer for three vacancies provisionally) will not be interfered with thereby.

The Elective Peers Bill, which passed both Houses, provides that of the 50 peers 25 are to be elected by the Chamber of Deputies, 21 by the administrative districts, and 4 by scientific bodies. All Portuguese subjects are eligible on attaining 35 years of age, provided they are in any of the recognised categories. The peers representing administrative districts are to be elected by electoral colleges constituted of delegates from the general juntas, and chosen by municipal colleges. These latter colleges consist of the members of the Municipal Chamber, the 40 highest contributors to the real-property tax, and the 40 highest contributors to the industrial, sumptuary, and house-rent taxes. Civil

governors, superior judges, and commanders of military divisions are not eligible to the peerage in the districts where they hold authority. Election by the scientific bodies will be through a special college, to meet in the capital, and consisting of 10 delegates from the University, 4 from the Polytechnic School, 4 from the Polytechnic Academy, as many from the Royal Academy of Sciences, and 2 from each of the following: the Royal Military School, the Medical Schools of Lisbon and Oporto, Naval School, and Agricultural-Industrial Institutes of Lisbon and Oporto. Election by the Chamber of Deputies gives preference over that by scientific bodies, and the latter over that by administrative districts.

By virtue of a decree (issued Oct. 12), the Electoral Colleges met (Nov. 22) and elected their delegates; and the latter met (Dec. 2) for the election of peers, distributed as follows: 4 for Lisbon district, 3 for Oporto, and 2 for each of the other seven districts, and 4 at Lisbon by the scientific bodies' delegates. Supplementary peers were elected at the same time to replace such as might fail, through death or otherwise, before taking their seats. The Progressists kept aloof from all interference as a party; but freedom of action was left to their partisans individually. The consequence was that in some districts their interests were represented by the delegates; but for the most part the Ministerialists carried their candidates without a struggle. Among the life peers five vacancies have occurred since the bill became law; but up to the end of the year no fresh creations had taken place.

The Cabinet was completed (Nov. 20) by the appointment of Senhor Manuel d'Assumpção, a new-comer, as Minister of Justice, and Senhor Thomaz Ribeiro, poet and ex-Minister, to the portfolio of Public Works.

With regard to parties, the rupture in the Progressista ranks, dating as far back as 1882, was healed in July at Oporto, the chief seat of the dissidents. The Republicans were very active during the municipal elections, principally at Lisbon, but made little headway, their alliance with the Progressists having collapsed; and at Oporto, where they relied more on the Ministerialists, they did not fare much better.

The authorisation granted by the Cortes to the Minister of Finance for the reform of the Custom House was carried out by the official publication (Sept. 17) of four decrees, one of which was violently attacked by the Opposition press as being *ultra vires*, gave much offence to the army, and was even resisted, in one particular, at the Lisbon Custom House. The bill, among other things, provided for the establishment of a fiscal guard, to be composed of the subordinate custom-house officers, and to rank as soldiers of the line. The men, however, refused to volunteer, and when dismissed they protested that, under their contracts, they could not be compelled to accept military service against their

will. The officers of the fiscal guard were in like manner to enjoy the honours of the corresponding army rank; and this suggestion at once drew equally strong protests from the press and from the army military men, both because it had not been provided for in the bill and because some of the appointees (who were chosen outside the custom-house staff) were shown up as disreputable persons. The upshot was that the men were reinstated; and the decree, without which the bill was inoperative, never appeared in the army orders.

The veteran statesman, Senhor Anselmo José Braamcamp, having died (Nov. 13), a meeting was held (Dec. 10), at which Senhor José Luciano de Castro, an ex-Minister, was, on the motion of Senhor Henrique de Barros Gomes, unanimously elected to succeed him as leader of the Progressists.

Before the close of the year the long-pending question of the Crown patronage in India, of which the Vatican endeavoured to deprive Portugal, was favourably settled (Nov. 24) by the Pope proroguing, unconditionally and without limit as to time, the extraordinary faculties with which the Archbishop of Goa had been empowered.

After an understanding with the King of Dahomey, Portugal assumed the protectorate over his dominions in October.

The country suffered a sensible loss by the death of King Dom Fernando, the reigning Sovereign's father (see Obituary), who in the course of his life had refused the thrones of both Spain and Greece. He was buried on Dec. 21, at the royal Pantheon, beyond the gates of Lisbon. Dom Fernando was a liberal patron of the fine arts, and himself a distinguished artist (he was called *O Rei Artista*), besides being a collector of books and antiquities; and amongst all classes of citizens he had acquired a popularity which remained undiminished until his death.

VI. DENMARK.

After the motion which the Folkething (the Lower House of the Danish Rigsdag) had carried by a large majority in the previous November (*see* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1884, p. 337), refusing to discuss all Government bills, it seemed at the beginning of the present year as if the situation had become so critical that some solution of the political deadlock from which the country has suffered during the last ten years was inevitable, but, as events showed, it was only to be the beginning of the end of the great conflict between the Danish people on the one side, and their king and his Conservative Ministry on the other.

The Folkething reassembled after the Christmas holidays (Jan. 12), but no business of importance was done until the report of the Budget Committee was laid before the House (Jan. 26). The Budget, which as usual had been greatly reduced, was after a long discussion, extending over more than a fortnight, read a

second time. The Government, however, was afraid, from the attitude taken up by the Folkething, that if a final agreement upon all the details by both Houses were to be waited for, its passing would not take place till some time after the close of the financial year. Accordingly the Minister of Finance laid (Feb. 20) a "temporary" Budget before the Folkething—a procedure which in the preceding year had met with a sharp protest from the Upper House (Landsting). In consideration of this protest the "temporary" Budget empowered the Government to defray the expenditure only in accordance with the regular Budget proposals subject to such amendments as had already been agreed to by both Houses. When this "temporary" Budget came on for its first reading in the Folkething (Feb. 23) the Liberal majority insisted upon it taking the form of the "temporary" Budget, which they had voted last year, confident that it would be rejected by the Landsting, and the Budget was sent up to the Upper House in this form (Feb. 28). The Landsting meanwhile was engaged in discussing a Bill for the Improvement of the National Defences by Land and Sea, which passed (Feb. 27) with little opposition, but when brought down to the Folkething (March 3) it met with the inevitable fate which awaited all Government proposals in that House, and was promptly thrown out. A quarrel over the rival Budgets next ensued, the regular Budget, having been greatly amended in the Folkething, was in due course forwarded to the Upper House; and on its side the Landsting returned the "temporary" Budget to the Folkething so greatly altered that the Lower House, abandoning any attempt at amendment, at once restored it to the form in which it last had left that House. The Landsting thereupon finally rejected (March 14) the "temporary" Budget, with 41 votes against 17; the regular Budget, as amended, having in the meantime been read for the first time (March 12) in the Landsting. The situation had, however, by this time become so intolerable that the Folkething decided to call upon the King to dismiss the existing Ministry and to choose a new one possessing the confidence of the popular House, making this, in fact, a condition for the passing of the Budget, and an address (March 18) to this effect was adopted, by 76 votes to 16. A counter-address was passed the following day by the Landsting, always anxious to help the Conservative Administration, throwing the whole blame of the unfortunate political situation on the Folkething, and advising the King to keep the Ministry, while they promised to defend his and their own privileges. The King received (March 21) both addresses, and, in his reply to the two deputations which waited upon him, declared he could not, without forfeiting his constitutional rights, accept as a condition for a Budget the dismissal of his Ministers, and he seriously admonished the Rigsdag to arrive by mutual concessions at some settlement of the financial situation.

On the same day the Landsting passed the Budget on its

third reading, after having altered it in no less than 130 points, and in this form it was sent back to the Folkething. A joint committee, consisting of members of both Houses, was thereupon appointed, in the hope of finding some solution of the situation; but after numerous sittings it was brought to a close without any result having been arrived at. The Liberals finally refused to hold any further discussions on the Budget, and the new financial year began without a Budget having been voted. The Rigsdag was at once prorogued (April 1), the session having proved still more barren than any of its predecessors. Before separating in the Lower House, Mr. Berg, the president and the leader of the Liberals, read an appeal addressed by the party to the "Danish People," in which they declared that the Government had violated the constitution, and called on the people to assert and defend their constitutional rights and privileges. The Landsting also issued a counter-manifesto, accusing the Opposition of plotting against the constitution, and calling on the nation to defend the King's prerogatives and the equality of the two Houses. When the royal message was about to be read in the Folkething, the whole of the Liberals quitted the House, the Liberal members of the Upper House in like manner absenting themselves in the Landsting; and on the same day the King, in virtue of section 25 of the constitution, issued a "provisional" Budget for the new financial year. Public feeling was greatly excited by these proceedings, and the situation was, doubtless, extremely critical; but no apparent reason existed for advertising publicly the precautions which the Government thought fit to take to prevent disturbances, especially as the Liberals throughout the country had never at any time shown the least sign of rebellious feeling or of a desire to break the peace.

During the recess both parties held a succession of meetings throughout the country. Of these the first, and one of the most important, was that of the Liberal party at the Folketheater in Copenhagen (April 11), when resolutions were passed declaring full confidence in the Folkething. A week later (April 19) the Conservatives held a counter-meeting in support of the Ministry, the Social-Democrats, now very numerous and influential in the capital, selecting the same day for a large open-air meeting, at which the censure of the Estrup Cabinet was unanimously agreed to. The active sympathy shown by teachers in the National schools with the Liberal cause, and the eagerness with which they supported the formation of rifle clubs throughout the country, brought forth a ministerial circular (April 22) ordering them to desist from all political activity on pain of being instantly dismissed from their situations; and this was followed (May 5) by the promulgation of a "provisional" law, prohibiting the possession or importation of firearms, or their use without special permission from the authorities. This arbitrary step naturally increased the hostile feeling against the Ministry, but it succeeded in stifling the rifle-club movement in its birth.

As might have been anticipated, violent language was often resorted to at the numerous meetings which were held by the Liberals, and on several occasions tumultuous scenes occurred. At a meeting held (June 14) at Holstebro, Mr. Berg, the leader of the Liberal party, was announced as the principal speaker. The chief of the police, who was present in his official capacity, had taken a seat on the platform when he was noticed by Mr. Berg, who refused to speak until the police agent had retired. On his refusal two of Mr. Berg's supporters, an editor and a peasant proprietor, each laid a hand on the agent's shoulder, who thereupon quietly withdrew. Subsequently Mr. Berg's two supporters were arrested, on a charge of obstructing the police in the performance of their duty, and were conducted to Copenhagen, where they were tried and sentenced to six months' imprisonment on prison fare. The same punishment was also pronounced against Mr. Berg, who was considered an instigator or a bettor in the forcible removal of the police agent from the platform. A few days after the sentence was delivered, Mr. Berg arrived in Copenhagen, where he was welcomed by a great crowd of people, who unharnessed the horse of his carriage and dragged the popular leader to his home. In addition to these prosecutions the Government, in the course of the autumn, instituted proceedings against several of the speakers at these meetings, for what was considered violent language against the King and the Government, and several members of the Folkething were sentenced to terms of three to four months' imprisonment. Numerous petty prosecutions were at the same time instigated by the Government; and official persecution, in the form of dismissal of schoolmasters, minor officials, &c. who ventured to assert their political ideas in opposition to the Ministerial party, was openly practised. These measures served only to embitter the feelings of the people against the Estrup Cabinet; and in several places the farmers began to refuse to pay taxes. To enforce payment, executions were resorted to, and at the auctions of goods thus seized riotous scenes took place, some of which resulted in further prosecutions.

At length the Rigsdag reassembled (Oct. 5), and the following day Mr. Estrup laid before the Folkething the Budget for the financial year of 1886–87, at the same time informing the House that as soon as the Budget had been read a first time he would present for the approval of the House the "provisional" Budget of the previous April, together with a regular Budget for the annual financial year. According to the Danish constitution, the King may promulgate "temporary" or "provisional" laws when the Rigsdag is not sitting, but all such laws must be in conformity with the spirit of the fundamental law of the country, and they must always be laid before the next Rigsdag for ratification. In accordance with this principle, Mr. Bahnson, the Minister of War, introduced in the Upper House a Bill for the Improvement of the National Defences; and on the 9th Mr. Nellesmann, the Minister of Justice, laid before the same House for ratification another "pro-

visional" law—the Arms Law of the previous May. The Liberals had anticipated that both the "provisional" Budget and the "provisional" Arms Law would have been laid before the Folkething as soon as the Rigsdag reassembled, but being disappointed one of their members, Mr. Alberti, brought forward these two "provisional" laws for discussion. As a matter of course, both were rejected (Oct. 12 and 13) by large majorities, as being against the spirit of the constitution of the country. The Government naturally took no notice of this introduction by a private member of laws which had been issued on their own responsibility, or of their subsequent rejection, but waited quietly till the Budget for the coming financial year had been brought before the House for its first reading (Oct. 16). Regardless alike of its financial merits or shortcomings, the Folkething, after a hot and somewhat turbulent debate, rejected the Ministerial Budget by 77 votes against 21. According to its term, the revenue had been estimated at 55,500,000 kroner, and the expenditure at 65,000,000 kroner, showing a deficit of 9,500,000 kroner, due to the fact that Government demands for meeting certain important requirements had been postponed from year to year. The estimated deficit, however, was not of serious consequence, inasmuch as the actual revenue of the last few years had shown a surplus of about ten million kroner annually. The Government proposals having thus summarily been rejected, the voting of any regular Budget for the coming financial year became impossible. Mr. Estrup thereupon informed (Oct. 21) the Folkething that he would forthwith lay before the House the Budget for the year 1885–86 as well as the "provisional" Budget for the same year, but in the afternoon of the same day an attempt was made upon his life. The Prime Minister, after leaving the Rigsdag, had walked homewards and was about to enter his house when a young man stopped him and asked, "Are you Mr. Estrup?" The Premier answered, "Yes, what do you want?" when the young man, instead of replying, drew a revolver from his pocket and fired. The ball grazed Mr. Estrup's coat without injuring him. The Minister, not losing his presence of mind, asked the man if he was mad, on which the latter fired another shot. The would-be assassin, a compositor, about nineteen years old, was then seized by some bystanders and handed over to the police. When questioned as to his motive, the prisoner declared that he was not connected with any political society, and that taking the life of Mr. Estrup was, he thought, a good deed in the interest of liberty. It was afterwards ascertained that the prisoner was a man of quiet and circumspect life, but having of late read much of the political troubles of his country, he became convinced that he should be doing it a service by ridding it of the Prime Minister. The event created a great sensation throughout the country. The Rigsdag was prorogued (Oct. 23) for six weeks, a step which the Government, no doubt, found necessary, as it was soon rumoured that, owing to the excited state of the country,

they had intended to adopt at once rigorous measures against the liberty of the press and of public speaking. Mr. Estrup, in the meantime, received many signs of sympathy from all parts of the country, and in Copenhagen itself a large procession assembled (Oct. 25) before his residence, to express "the sympathy of the capital for him and for the courage he had exhibited on the occasion of the attempt upon his life."

Two "provisional" laws were speedily (Oct. 27) promulgated—one ordering the formation of a military gendarmerie corps, to assist throughout the whole country in maintaining the public security and order; the other ordering the Treasury to pay all expenses which the increase of the police force in the existing state of political feeling might render necessary. The mounted gendarmerie corps was at once organised, and the police of Copenhagen was increased by a force of 100 men. These two laws were (Nov. 2) followed by another "provisional" law against the liberty of the press and of public meeting. This new law punished with imprisonment anyone who by speech or writing advises or provokes others to commit acts against the authorities; and it also rendered it penal to attempt to excite class against class, or to circulate fabricated or distorted reports in order to bring the Government into odium and contempt.

These "provisional" laws, following upon the "provisional" Arms Law and the numerous Government prosecutions, only served to increase still further the dissatisfaction with which the Estrup Ministry was viewed throughout the country; but it speaks well for the orderly and sober conduct of the Danish people that no disturbances nor riots ensued.

When the Rigsdag assembled again (Dec. 18) the Prime Minister, instead of laying the Budget of 1885-86 before it, surprised the Folkething by introducing two important measures. By one of these it was proposed to add a supplementary law to the constitution, according to which a select committee of ten members of each House, might, when all other constitutional means to arrive at an agreement on the Budget had been exhausted, finally decide the financial points in dispute. The other was a bill for undertaking certain public works to the amount of 2,000,000 kroner, and for a loan of 1,000,000 kroner (free of interest) to Local Boards, to meet the prevailing distress among the unemployed. The following day the Ministers of War and of Justice introduced in the Upper House the three "provisional" laws, which had been issued during the adjournment upon the attempted assassination of the Premier. The Liberals were not on this occasion taken unawares, and Mr. Alberti in the Lower House forthwith repeated the tactics of the previous session, and on the same day brought in these "provisional" laws in the Folkething, where they, as a matter of course, were thrown out by the usual majority. In the Landsting the two new Government bills were met by several amendments, which, however, were no

more likely to be accepted by the Rigsdag than the Government proposals themselves. The bill for the undertaking of public works was transmitted to the Folkething (Dec. 21), but amendments were at once moved which altered the whole character of the bill, and the bill in its amended form was read for the third time, and sent back to the Landsting on the following day. In view of the strongly opposed views of the two Houses, a joint committee of eleven members from each House was appointed, in the hope that a compromise might be arrived at, but the year closed without any appearance of a solution having been found. The members of the Committee from the Folkething were evidently bent on throwing out the Government bill, and at this point the Rigsdag was adjourned for the Christmas holidays, and the labours of the Committee suspended.

In the course of the summer a change was made in the Ministry: Mr. Finsen, the Minister of the Interior, resigned, owing to ill-health, and (Aug. 7) Mr. Ingerslev, a landed proprietor and member of the Upper House, was appointed in his place.

VII. NORWAY.

After more than a decade of turbulent political life Norway has at last settled down into an almost enviable state of political quietude and usefulness. Since the great victory of the Liberal party last year, when the King finally gave way in his long conflict with the people, and appointed a Ministry in harmony with the majority of the representatives in the National Assembly, the great struggle and ill-feeling which so long had agitated the two parties in the country have gradually subsided, and the machinery of the State runs smoothly.

The present year was the last of the triennial Storting of 1883-85, which will ever remain one of the most important in Norwegian history. To the representatives in this Storting belongs the honour of having upheld the independence and the liberty of the Norwegian people, and of having broken up the old and effete Conservative Ministry, which for so many years had persisted in ruling the country with a handful of supporters in the National Assembly. In the first session (1883) the Storting impeached the Ministry before the Supreme Court of the realm; the trial of the Ministers lasted far into the session of 1884, when the Ministry fell; and in the third session, that of the present year, popular self-government, based upon true Parliamentary rule, has been introduced and firmly established.

The Storting was opened (Feb. 3) by the Crown Prince on behalf of the King. The Speech from the Throne foreshadowed, among the proposed legislative measures, a bill for Post Office Savings' Banks and one for trial by jury in criminal cases; but the most important measure passed during the session was an amendment of the law on conscription, putting the military organisation for the defence of the country on a more popular

footing. A bill regulating the appointments and dismissals of subaltern officers in the army was also passed. During the discussion of this bill, the Minister of War, Mr. Daae, was defeated on several points, and resigned in consequence. The Royal Commission, which had been appointed to prepare the bill for the introduction of trial by jury in criminal cases, had so far completed its work that it was able to present its report in the middle of the session. The Ministry were unable to propose, as they had hoped, any settlement of the question before its close, and the bill for establishing Post Office Savings' Banks shared the same fate. Several new grants were made for educational purposes, showing the great interest taken in the education question in Norway. A grant was also voted to a new professor in "*Landsmaalet*" (the dialect language of the Norwegian peasantry) at the Christiania University, as well as a grant for teachers in public schools to study this language. A motion was also carried, calling upon the Government to take the necessary steps for putting "*Landsmaalet*" on an equal footing with the present written language of the country both in schools and in official documents. This movement for nationalising the present modern language, which really is Danish, is of special interest, and is especially likely to have great influence upon the literature of the country.

An important debate took place in the Storting on a proposed grant of 1,600 kroner (about 90*l.*) a year to the popular author, Mr. Alexander Kielland, which was finally refused by 60 votes against 49. The proposal was made and recommended by the authors Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Jonas Lie,¹ who are in receipt of such "poets' stipends," as they are called; but the refusal was based upon the fact that Mr. Kielland in most of his works had expressed anti-Christian views, and the majority was of the opinion that the State ought not in any way to encourage the dissemination of such literature. This refusal gave occasion to a great controversy in the public press. The Budget, as originally proposed by the Government, was slightly reduced, the revenue being finally fixed at 43,024,000 kroner (nearly 2,400,000*l.*), and the expenditure at 42,782,000 kroner (or about 2,375,000*l.*), thus leaving a small surplus.

Some changes occurred in the Ministry during the year. On the resignation of Mr. Daae, in April, after his defeat on various points of the bill for appointments and dismissals of subaltern officers, Mr. Sverdrup, the Prime Minister, undertook temporarily the Ministry of War. In July a new Ministry for Public Works was created, and Mr. H. R. Astrup, a well-known business man, was appointed to this department.

During the recess a great number of public meetings was held by both parties, in anticipation of the coming general elections in the autumn. The Conservative party made another effort to gain

¹ According to the Norwegian constitution, any Norwegian citizen can lay any proposal for legislative measures, or even grants, before the National Assembly.

the confidence of the electors, but the elections resulted, as usual, in the return of an overwhelming majority of Liberals, viz., 82 Liberals against 32 Conservatives. Among the latter were two members of the condemned Selmer-Ministry, but it is generally believed that the new Storting, on meeting in January next year, will invalidate the election of these two ex-Ministers, as being unfit to sit in the National Assembly.

VIII. SWEDEN.

The present year has not been an unimportant one in the history of the Swedish people; it has seen the first approach to a settlement of one of the great questions which has occupied public attention for the last twelve years—a reduction of the land-tax, called “Grundskatterna.” The Liberal majority in the Second Chamber of the Riksdag, the “Landtmanna” party, throughout this period has been insisting upon some satisfactory arrangement of this matter before they would favour any considerable grants to the defences of the country; and at last they have carried their point. The composition of parties in the Riksdag after the elections of the previous autumn has undergone but little change, although democratic principles were more strongly represented after the Liberal victory in the capital. It will be remembered that the validity of this election had been called in question, and a new election was ordered to take place early in the present year. This, however, only resulted in a fresh triumph for the Liberals of Stockholm, who returned all the nineteen members for the capital. The speech from the throne (Feb. 19) referred briefly to the general legislative measures of the session, and to the appointment of a new ministry for agriculture, industry, and commerce. Although there was only one opinion among the members at the opening of the Riksdag, that something should be done for the relief of agriculture, there were many ideas as to the means to be employed. The majority was, however, in favour of a reform in the antiquated taxation of the land, while a smaller party recommended protective duties on the necessaries of life as a remedy for the depression among the agricultural classes. The Government was in favour of the former, and proposed a reduction of 30 per cent. on the land-tax, “Grundskatterna,” in the hope that this might induce the Riksdag to consider favourably a proposal for the improvement of the militia. After long debates this important bill was finally passed by both Chambers (May 9), and in return the Riksdag consented to the Government proposition that the time for the yearly drilling of the militia should be lengthened by twelve days. Other measures for the benefit of the farming classes, an extension of religious liberty, and several acts of minor general importance were passed during the session. A commercial treaty with Portugal was also ratified by the Riksdag.

Another important question, that of protective duties, especially on corn, occupied the attention of the Riksdag and the public

during the present year. The majority of the Riksdag were decidedly in favour of free trade in all necessities of life, and the protectionists completely failed to carry any of their proposals. The Budget showed an expenditure of 82,354,500 kroner (4,574,000*l.*), and a revenue of exactly the same amount, including a surplus of nearly 7,000,000 kroner (380,000*l.*) from the preceding year.

A third question which attracted much attention, especially in the press, was the relationship of Sweden with the sister-country, Norway. Reference was made last year to an unsuccessful attempt made by a fraction of the Conservatives in Sweden to interfere in the constitutional struggle in Norway, which was at its height at that time. Subsequently, when the Liberal party had gained all along the line, some of the leading Swedish Conservative organs began a series of attacks on the Norway Liberals and their leaders, proposing a repeal of the union between the two countries, and in various ways inciting Swedish opinion against the Norwegians. All this agitation was, however, of little avail, as the friendly feeling between the two peoples had been two firmly established of late, through the increased communication and commerce between the two countries—a bond which is likely to create a safer and healthier relationship between nations than any paper documents and official treaties. This year another attempt, with the same object in view, has been made by the same fraction of the Swedish Conservatives, generally called the “Norse-haters.” Hitherto Norway has taken little or no part in the diplomatic representation of the two countries with foreign powers; in fact, Norway has had no Foreign Minister since she, in 1814, was united to Sweden; the Swedish Foreign Minister conducting the diplomatic business of both countries. This year an amendment to the constitution, proposed and carried by the Swedish Riksdag, gave an opportunity for reconsidering this arrangement. According to this new law the Swedish Prime Minister and another councillor of state were to assist the Foreign Minister in the conduct of diplomatic business. A representation was thereupon made by the Norwegians to their Government that Norway ought to be put on an equal footing with Sweden in the transaction of foreign diplomatic business, and that the Norwegian Minister and two other councillors in attendance upon the King at Stockholm should be entitled to take part in the councils with the King when such business was transacted. In this reasonable request the Swedish enemies of the union found an excellent opportunity to vent once more their ill-feeling and hatred against Norway, and strove to prove that this demand of the Norwegians was only an unconstitutional desire on their part to interfere in Swedish business of state, and for their own self-aggrandisement. The matter was, however, favourably entertained by the Swedish Government, and a bill in connection with this question was promised to be laid before the Swedish Riksdag, by which it is anticipated, the matter will be settled satisfactorily, to the honour

and credit of both nations. This radical change, however, was not effected without a modification of the Swedish Ministry. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Hochschild, retired, and Count Ehrenswärd, a statesman well-known for his friendly sentiments towards Norway, was appointed in his place.

During the present year considerable interest has been shown in the condition of the labouring classes, and it is satisfactory to note the progress already made, the workmen themselves being the most active, especially in the formation of "Fackföreningar" (a kind of trades-unions). This movement is on the whole looked upon as a step in the right direction to improve and secure the moral and material condition and general happiness of the people.

CHAPTER V.

ASIA.

INDIA, CENTRAL ASIA, CHINA, JAPAN, &c.

WITHIN the confines of British India, the year 1885 was one of almost unbroken tranquillity, whilst the landward frontiers of the empire were almost continuously in a state of unusual ferment, and the grave events in the North-West and Far East necessarily cast a dark shadow over the whole administration. The year had scarcely opened when it became evident that complications with Russia, regarding the delimitation of the Afghan frontier, were likely to become serious obstacles to the peaceful conclusion of the task of the Boundary Commission, of which mention was made in the review of last year. December saw the conclusion of a rapid and almost unopposed occupation of Upper Burmah by a British force, collected and sent off with almost unexampled celerity and absence of preliminary negotiations. Nepaul, one of the bulwark states of the north, passed through a crisis almost amounting to an insurrection, such as that by which the celebrated Jang Bahádur had been raised to the dignity of Mayor of the Palace; whilst its neighbour, Bhután, was divided against itself to such an extent that the authorities of India prudently declined to cast the weight of their battalions in favour of any one of the competitors for power. Kashmir, the frontier State whose relations with the Paramount Power have since its constitution been always of the most uncertain character, lost its ruler, and fell under a sway influenced by less patriarchal and exclusive considerations. The financial horizon, which seemed clear enough at the beginning of the year, was, before its close, clouded over by the combined influence of the uncertain political position with regard to the frontier and of the continued downward course of silver values. Trade, too, was affected in sympathy with these influences; but whilst exporters took as much advantage of the one as they could, the rest of the commercial world were constrained to await the development of the situation in Central Asia, whilst

suffering from the actual stoppage of trade owing to the Franco-Chinese disagreement in the Far East. The twelvemonth, however, was not without its compensatory features. The imminence of a rupture with Russia elicited an almost universal expression of loyalty from the “articulate classes” of India, which received a practical form in the spontaneous offers of military aid from all the leading feudatory states in the empire; whilst the mercantile community, which had to lament over an unusually short crop of cotton, found solace in the stimulus which was given to orders of Indian wheat by the possible closing of the Russian ports in case of war. India had been, during the last few years, so prominently drawn into the sphere of party warfare in England that it was feared at one time that the change of Government in the middle of the year might have a disturbing effect upon the foreign and internal policy which was being carried out in the dependency itself, and it was with a feeling of considerable relief that the public in India learnt that men, and not measures, had suffered in the revulsion of British political favour. In reviewing the events of the year in detail we shall take first the affairs of the North-West frontier of India and of Central Asia, not only because it is in accordance with our former practice so to do, but because, too, as has been mentioned above, internal conditions were more than usually affected by what took place beyond the Hindu Kush.

II. CENTRAL ASIA AND AFGHANISTHÁN.

The Delimitation Commission.—Not long after the beginning of the year it was known that the Russian Government preferred conducting the demarcation of the Afghan northern frontier diplomatically in London, rather than by means of observations and discussions on the spot. In pursuance of this view, M. Lessar, a well-known explorer and man of science, fairly well-acquainted with Turkesthán and its population, was sent as a special agent to London, whilst the British and Indian sections of the Commission joined their forces on the territory in dispute. Protracted discussion took place between the British and Russian Cabinets as to whether the political basis, which was favoured by the experts on the British side, or the ethnographic, which was more or less seriously advanced by M. Lessar and the Russo-Asiatic politicians, should be prescribed for the labours of the demarcating agents, each side being supported by singularly defective topographical information. In the meanwhile the Commission, under Sir Peter Lumsden, was scattered in detached parties all over Western Afghan Turkesthán and the disputed territory, taking observations and surveying the country with scientific accuracy. One party advanced to the Oxus; another found its way to Maimanah, whilst an adventurous naturalist attached to the staff secured a photograph of the northern fortifications of Herat. The main body, however, remained within reach of the telegraphic and postal facilities of

Meshad, in Khorassan, and the Persian frontier. Sir Peter Lumsden and an escort, on hearing rumours of the advance of detached parties of Russian troops up the Khusk and Murgháb rivers, made an expedition or reconnaissance in that direction, and ascertained that such advances into the territory alleged by the Afghans to be part of that in dispute, had actually been made, chiefly under the direction of the Muhammadan Governor of Merv, known as Alikhanow. The accounts of these incursions vary according to the source of information, but there is no doubt that had the Afghan force in Penjdeh been found weaker, or had the Governor not demanded reinforcements from Maruchák, higher up the Murgháb, an attempt would have been made by the Merv party under Alikhanow to obtain possession of the Penjdeh tract, including the coveted position of Ak Tepe, on the white mound, between the two streams, and commanding the valleys thereof. The Russian advance was avowedly made as far as Imám Baksh, and probably to Sariázi also, in order to obtain supplies, and by the end of February it was known that their troops had occupied the Zulfikar Pass on the Hari Rud, and Pul-i-Khisti on the Khusk, within a few furlongs of the Afghan lines. The main body of the British Commission had by this time moved westwards, partly to avoid denuding the country round Bála Murgháb of supplies, and partly for the purpose of observing the Russian attempts on the Hari Rud. A few officers were left behind, to watch the events round Penjdeh, where it was evident that a collision between the Russians and the Afghans was only a question of a few weeks. The Russian authorities complained that the presence of so large an escort with the British commissioners had a disturbing effect upon the Afghans, and rendered the latter insolent. On the other hand it appears that the military authorities were continuously, during this period, massing troops at Askabad and Sarakhs, whilst their pioneer parties were occupying as much of the land in dispute as they safely could. Military preparations were therefore quietly begun in India and a *corps d'armée* got ready for transport to the Pishin valley, as well as arrangements for collecting troops on the Panjáb frontier.

On the actual site of the dispute, Captain Yate, a member of the Boundary Commission, had several interviews with the chief of the staff of the Russian force, which by this time had reached 2,000 men, massed within 2,000 yards of Ak Tepe, on the western bank of the Khusk. The Russians represented that the Afghan troops had advanced from their positions, and that their behaviour was insolent. It appears that the advance in question had undoubtedly been made, but that it took place in Afghan territory, to the south-west of Ak Tepe, and on the west bank of the river, and was intended probably to outflank the Russians in the event of an attempt on the part of the latter to cross the Khusk and seize the hill. It was further stated by the Afghans that provocative acts of a most insulting character were perpetrated by

Alikhanow and his Merv and Tekke troops. Finally, General Komarow, the Russian commander, despatched an ultimatum to the Afghan leader, ordering him to withdraw all troops to within the two rivers, and is stated to have advanced at the same time a body of men to turn the Afghan flank and get to the rear of Ak Tepe, whilst the main body of the infantry advanced direct against the Afghan troops up the Khusk. The latter thus found themselves shut up in a trap, and at once (on the 30th) offered battle. In their rear was the Khusk, swollen by recent rain, which had also wetted their ammunition. Only one means of crossing was left them, and that was the Pul-i-Khisti, which was but eight feet wide. Their antiquated matchlocks and muzzle-loaders had no chance against the Russian Berdan rifles, so the issue was not doubtful. Two companies of Afghans, who had entrenched themselves by the river, were killed to a man, the rest of the 1,200 troops composing the Penjdeh garrison fled in confusion up the Murgháb. The Russian commander remained in his position, merely occupying the fortified outposts between the two rivers, and proclaiming the annexation of Penjdeh. No pursuit seems to have been ordered, though Tekke Turkomans and others of their race made no scruple in plundering, not only the Afghan camp, but the remainder of the property left behind by Captain Yate and his companions. The latter were advised, by both Afghans and Russians, to retire from the Penjdeh district, for fear of a Turkoman outbreak, and they consequently rejoined the main body of the Commission, which soon moved further to the west, to Tirpul, within sixty miles of Herat.

The news of this affair produced intense excitement in England, and scarcely less in India, where the circumstances were, however, better understood. The news arrived just after the Amir, Abdul Rahman, had joined the Viceroy at the durbar at Ráwal Pindi, where negotiations between the two governments were about to be concluded. The fight itself took place on March 29, and Abdul Rahman arrived in British territory two days later. Just before the Penjdeh complication it was found advisable to have Ayub Khán arrested once more in Teheran, as it was feared he was being instigated by Russian agency to escape to Afghan-Turkesthán, there to incite the Uzbegs and others to pronounce against the Amir, in favour of annexation to Merv. Considering these coincidences in the light of the improved telegraphic communication between Russia and her outlying Asiatic acquisitions, it was alleged in some quarters that the attack on Penjdeh was intended by Russia as a warning to the Amir of the futility of an alliance with India, and an intimation of his military impotence against Russia. The evidence gathered on the spot, however, rather seems to indicate that the action was unpremeditated, though entirely in accordance with the wishes of the Russian authorities, who seized the ill-advised movement of the Afghan troops across the Khusk as a good excuse for furthering the policy

which the reward of swords of honour to General Komarow and his chief of the staff by the Tsar shows to have been entirely acceptable to the court of St. Petersburg. The Amir received the news at Ráwal Pindi with considerable equanimity, observing that he had never set great store on Penjdeh as an outpost, though he was bent on recovering from the Russians the Zulfikar Pass, and on preventing their occupation of Maruchák, a position higher up the Murgháb. Amidst war preparations in India, as well as in England, he was presented with siege and field guns as well as a considerable supply of small arms and ammunition, and shortly after his return to his native country, was created a grand commander of the Star of India—an honour which was notified to his subjects with great pomp and ceremonial, both in Kabul and Herat. As the Penjdeh incident and the retention of Zulfikar by the Russians rendered the presence of the British commissioners superfluous in the debated territory, Sir Peter Lumsden was ordered back to England, leaving Colonel Ridgeway, the chief of the Indian contingent, in command of the whole party. Either the attitude of the British public or more correct information of the strategical value of their acquisitions and of the temper of the Amir's Turkoman and Hazára subjects, induced the Russian authorities to assume a more pacific disposition, and to meet England half-way in the negotiations which had been nominally never abandoned in London. The officers of the forces in India, who had all been recalled from leave to their posts, were permitted to return, preparations for transport and commissariat were postponed, and it was announced that the two Imperial governments were in accord regarding the general features of the demarcation of the Afghán frontier. When the change of Government took place in England, it was with considerable anxiety that the new premier's announcement of his policy was awaited, and public opinion may be said to have been relieved by Lord Salisbury's statement that he proposed to continue the negotiations regarding the frontier question on the lines traced out by his predecessors in office, and merely to take them up where they had been dropped by the Liberal Government. During this time an agreement, originating at the Ráwal Pindi durbar, had been arrived at between the Indian Government and the Amir, under which two engineer officers attached to the boundary commission were to visit Herát, and draw up a plan for defensive fortifications for that much-talked-of city. In accordance with this understanding Major Holditch and Captain Talbot visited Herát, spending two days in the town and three days on the outskirts. Their suggestions about the fortifications were eagerly adopted, and their reception was reported to have been most favourable. In July the newly erected works were inspected by Captains Yate and Peacocke, who found them in a fair state of efficiency. A considerable amount of the small arms ammunition received from India had been sent up for the use of the Herát garrison, which had also been much strength-

ened by reinforcements from both Kandahar and Kábul. It is worthy of note that the latter troops advanced from Kábul by the Hajára Ját, thus proving that the Burns barrier is by no means completely prohibitive of military operations before the autumn, as had been previously reported. A good deal of the rest of the time of the Commission was spent in topographical excursions in different directions, and noting the positions of the chief natural features connected with the general triangulation of India. A considerable stay, too, was made by some of the members of the staff in Mashad, and other towns along the Khorassan and Tajend frontier, during which it was discovered that the Russians had not only used Persian territory freely in their transport of troops to Sarakhs, but had even occupied the main strategic posts and passes between Khorassan and the Tajend plain without any apparent hindrance from the Persian authorities in the former province. The Russians, on their side, pushed on their lines of communication, and completed the telegraph as far as Sarakhs, as well as the railway nearly up to Askabád. It was also stated that a telegraph line had been allowed by the Amir of Bokhára to be carried through his territory to the Oxus, so as to complete the chain between the Turkoman and the Tashkend divisions of the Central Asian army. For some months communication between Merv and Sarakhs was stopped by the bursting, during a heavy flood, of the great Tajend dam, seventy miles north of the latter place; but the damage was, after some delay, repaired enough to admit of the ordinary traffic being resumed. The Russian garrison left in Penjdeh were reported to have found that place so unhealthy that the greater portion of it was withdrawn after a few months' occupation, holding a grand review to leave a final impression. It was also stated, on the same local authority, that the Saryk Turkomans were all leaving Penjdeh for Maruchák, in order to escape the new restrictions imposed on them under Russian dominion. General Komarow retired to Askabád, and Colonel Alikhanow to Merv, and but little of importance took place during their absence. The negotiations in London left practically little to be discussed in the field, as far as the line from the Hari Rud to Maruchák was concerned. A hitch certainly occurred in the preliminaries, owing to the demand by the Afgháns (through the British commissioners) that some tracts round the Zulfikar Pass, without which the pass itself was strategically worthless, should be restored to them by the Russians. The latter asserted that these tracts contained the only positions from which their communications with Ak-Robát could be guarded, but, after some delay, conceded the point demanded, and gave back the tract in question with the pass itself to the Afgháns. It was rumoured, too, that a difference of opinion had arisen regarding Maruchák, but this, too, seems to have been decided in favour of the Amir. It was finally settled that Colonel Kuhlberg, of the Russian astronomical survey, should head the commission on that side, with M. Lessar as diplomatic assistant, the rest of the staff

being technical officers, and escort. Before meeting, it was agreed that each party should limit its escort to 100 men. This necessitated the return to India of the superfluous troops, the 11th Bengal Cavalry being selected to furnish the required body that remained. The remainder returned to Quetta by way of Farrah and the Baluchisthán desert. The first meeting of the Russian and English commissioners took place at the mouth of the Zulfikar Pass on Nov. 12, when the first boundary pillar was erected on the banks of the Hari-Rud. The work of delimitation proceeded harmoniously as far as Maruchák, and it was expected by some of the party that the work might be possibly extended to Khwajah-Saleh, on the Oxus, by the spring, instead of being stopped during the winter season. With the progress beyond the point mentioned, however, this present review has not to deal, and this narrative may conclude with noting that, before joining Colonel Kuhlberg, Sir West Ridgeway (who received his new title soon after his accession to the leadership of the Commission) inspected the fortifications of Herát, where he was received with great honour and friendliness by the governor and military chiefs. It is also worthy of record that, a collision having taken place between Russian and Afghan outposts near Chaman-i-baid, nearly the southernmost point of the territory to be demarcated as Russian, the Afghans returned the Russians they took prisoners, whilst the Russians acknowledged that their troops had advanced beyond their post without orders, exhibiting, for the time being, at least, a commendable change of temper on both sides.

Afghanisthán.—The internal administration of the Amir's dominions affords but little to record during the period under review. Early in 1885 proposals were made that Abdul Rahman should meet Lord Dufferin somewhere in the Panjáb, and the previous connection of the Viceroy with the courts of Constantinople and Petersburg, made the prospect of diplomatic arrangements the more palatable to the Amir. A considerable body of British and native troops, nearly 18,500 in all, was collected at Ráwal Pindi, and the Amir, on his side, was escorted by some 2,000 troops and followers. The meeting, though agitated by the news of the fall of Penjdeh, was apparently successful in its object. The Amir received substantial support from India, in the shape of arms and ammunition, whilst, on his return to Kábul, he announced publicly there, and at Herát, his alliance with the British Government. It may be mentioned that, on his way back to Kábul, he received the leaders of the troublesome tribes of the Shinwári, Zakka, and Din Kheyls, who promised submission, and even sent some of their warriors to join the newly enrolled regiments called for, to Kábul, under the auspices of the well-known General Ghulam Haidar, who had accompanied the Amir to Pindi. This did not prevent them, however, from stealing a consignment of rifles sent through their territory to the Amir's agent, or from engaging in intertribal warfare, of the usual Afghan character, later

in the year. Traffic through the Khaibar, however, continued uninterruptedly throughout the twelve months. The Mohmands showed symptoms of unrest, which, however, were directed against the Kafirs of the eastern frontier of Kábul, and the only other disturbance in that quarter arose, as usual, amongst the tribes in the Kuner Valley, who, at one time, threatened an inroad on Jelalabád. The most serious rumours of the year, which, however, were never proved to be entirely true, were those current concerning the state of feeling in Badakshán and other provinces of Afghan Turkesthán. There was, no doubt, some ferment amongst the troops there, who had followed the leadership of Sirdar Ishák Khán, uncle of the Amir, who was himself of doubtful allegiance; but the stories of the mutiny of a whole regiment, and the murder of Abdullah Khán, Governor of Wadukshán, were contradicted on apparently good authority before the end of the year. The friendly attitude of the authorities in Herát, and, in spite of the Penjdeh incident, of the Turkomans, Chahar Aimaks, and Hazaras generally towards the members of the Boundary Commission, was a prominent feature in the narrative of the proceedings of that body. The Muhammadan Resident at Kábul on the part of the British Government, was changed during the year, and Risaldar Major Mirza Ata Ullah Khán, who was given the local rank of colonel, left with a small escort, and reached Kábul in July, being received with cordiality by the Amir.

North and North-West Frontiers.—The events on the remainder of the frontier in these directions were devoid of interest. The quarrel between the Khán of Dir and the ruler of Swát continued to smoulder, and to break out into occasional raids and sieges of an indecisive nature. To the north, again, it was found advisable by the British Government to despatch a special mission, under Col. Lockhart, to Gilgit and the Chitrál region, partly to observe the course of events in that little known region, which contains passes, it is believed, easier of access than is generally supposed, commanding the Jelalabád region and the Upper Indus, by the Kuner and Chitral valleys respectively. An expedition of a semi-political nature, too, was undertaken to Kashgar and Gáikand by Mr. Ney Elias, the well-known traveller and explorer, accompanied by an Anglo-Indian official, who proposed a still longer journey of observation. Mr. Dalgleish, the adventurous merchant, who has for some years past been the sole representative of British commerce in the dominions of the late Yákub Beg, was expelled from Yarkand during the latter part of the year, nominally owing to irregularities in his passport, but said to have been really got rid of by the influence of the Russian consul at Kashgar, who was in a better position during the year than before, owing to the rumoured release into Chinese territory of the son of Yákub Beg, bent on raising adherents amongst the Muhammadans who had followed the fortunes of his father. The death of the Amir of Bokhára was an event of some political importance, as he had for

some years steadily resisted concessions of territory and privileges urged on him by the Russian authorities of Samarkand. Further to the south, the intertribal feuds of the Khost and Kunam tribes have been briefly mentioned already. One rather serious skirmish seems to have taken place between the Mahsud Waziris and the Bhuttanis, an adjacent tribe, and the hostility of the former was still considered so great as to render the survey of the proposed military road between the Deraját and the Pishin valley impracticable without an escort of over 2,000 men, a force which it was not thought convenient to give during the period to which this review has reference. The Thob valley, which was the scene of one of the main military events of 1884, was undisturbed during 1885, save by the murder of the nephew of the former leader of the Malik-din Kheyl, who had been installed as his uncle's successor when the latter fled before the punitive expedition of the preceding year. Shah Jehán, the uncle, spent most of his time in endeavours to stir up the Ghilzais against the British in Quettah, Pishin, and along the Thal Chotiáli and Dukki route; but, having failed in his efforts, he finally came and made his submission at the end of the year, so that his intrigues could again be carried on amongst his own people.

Nepaul and Cashmere.—The ruler of the latter of these two frontier states died in the middle of September, and was succeeded by his eldest son. The administration underwent considerable changes, and the jealous restrictions upon European intercourse, which were the leading feature in the policy of the late Maharájáh, were relaxed in favour of a more liberal and confiding system. Internal affairs, too, were put under somewhat better administration, and, altogether, this fine State showed signs of awakening. Unfortunately, the prosperity of the valley was interrupted, in May, by one of the most serious earthquakes which has ever been recorded as having occurred in India, resulting in the destruction of over 3,000 lives, 30,000 head of cattle, and 7,000 houses, together with a great deal of property. The shocks were repeated a few months later, though with far less severity.

In *Nepaul* the convulsion of the year was of a political nature. During the absence of the British Resident in November, Dir Shamshir, youngest brother of the late Jung Bahadur, got together a party, shot Sir Rahodip Singh, his brother, and the reigning Prime Minister, together with Jajat Jung, Jung Bahadur's eldest son, and *his* eldest son. He then possessed himself of the person of the titular king, and announced his accession to power in the State. The Resident was in time to protect the person and property of the remaining members of the family, who were obnoxious to the usurper, from violence, but they found it prudent to make a general stampede into British territory, until matters had settled down. It is worth mentioning that not only had the deceased Prime Minister offered a contingent of Goorkhas from his own forces for service on the North-West frontier in case of war, but

he had so far relaxed the treaty restrictions on recruiting from the hill tribes, that arrangements were made for enlarging the present Goorkha regiments of the native army to nearly double their existing strength.

Bhootán.—The little state of Bhootán was in commotion, owing to a dispute between the Deb Rájá and some of the local governors. The former, or his minister, is said to have withheld from the latter a share in the annual subsidy, whereupon the Penlow, or governor, withdrew to his fort and showed signs of organising a rebellion. A meeting was held to settle the dispute, but one of the envoys sent thereto was assassinated. A party adverse to the Deb Rájá was speedily formed, and after some desultory fighting, that potentate was forced to take refuge with the Lámas, and was held to be deposed. Application for aid was made by his ministers to the Indian Government, but the latter refused to interfere, in accordance with the usual policy as regards Bhootán, where insurrections of this sort are so common that intervention, to be effective, would have to be continuous. The insurgent Penlows stated that the present Deb Rájá had been nominated to the throne, instead of being elected, and that his tenure of power was accordingly illegal. They held a meeting for the election of a new Deb Rájá in the middle of August, but it does not appear that the Indian Government thought it of sufficient importance to inquire what were the results. For a short time during the year, the passes between Thibet and Darjeeling were closed to trade, owing to the insurrection, but the disturbance was otherwise confined to the limits of the State itself.

III. BURMAH.

The end of 1884 found Bhámo, the second city of the kingdom of Burmah, in the possession of a band of Kachyin banditti, who had been aided by a considerable force of Chinese immigrants, headed by one Kin Kuchyi, who had previously helped the Burmese troops to expel the Kachyins when the latter made a raid upon the town on a former occasion. This man, who had had some experience in the field in the campaign against the Panthays, quarrelled with the Burmese governor about the reward he was to receive for his services, and after attacking the escort of the governor, retreated to the hills, to return as the leader of his former antagonists, and possessed himself of the town of his former employers. He is said to have received some aid from Le-si-tahi, a Chinese official known for his influence on the borderland between Burmah and China, in the north-east. The retaking of the town cost the Burmese two or three months of fighting, occasionally severe, as the Chinese were well entrenched. The end of March, however, saw the place again garrisoned by the troops of King Theebaw, and a few weeks later the town was again threatened by the Kachyins, who were excited by the execution by the Burmese commander of one of their chiefs. From the

accounts sent down by the European missionaries, who remained in Bhámo throughout these events, it seems likely that more aid was afforded the Kachyins by Chinese local officials than was openly acknowledged. The expense of so protracted an expedition, added to a remarkably bad harvest, brought the Burmese Treasury to a very low ebb. King Theebaw was reported, towards the middle of the year, to be trying to negotiate a loan of about 200,000*l.*, but the local credit was scarcely high enough to attract foreign capital. Food prices in Mandalay were kept down for some time by the expedient of having the merchants who raised them publicly flogged, but the crisis in King Theebaw's affairs was nominally due to other causes than financial straits. Last year he had made some efforts to ally himself to the French, through whose Tonquin possessions he saw a chance of rendering himself commercially independent of the British ; and an embassy had been sent to Paris to conclude a political and commercial treaty with the then French Ministry. This negotiation hung fire, partly owing to the change of French policy in the East, out of deference to public opinion, partly, no doubt, to the fact of the disclosure of the negotiations through private sources in the very court of Theebaw himself. A convenient opportunity for raising money offered itself in the alleged breach of contract on the part of the Bombay and Burmah Trading Company, which had worked the timber monopoly of the forests of Upper Burmah for the last few years. It was stated by the Mandalay authorities that the Company's agents had been exporting, as subject to a low rate of duty, quantities of logs which were really of a description liable to pay a higher rate. The first demand for back payments on this account was estimated at 100,000*l.*, which was 30,000*l.* more than the Company were owed by the King on account of previous advances made to him. The agents, however, declined to recognise the claim when it was first mooted in August, and the dispute was carried on till two months later, when a royal decree from King Theebaw put an end to the protests by awarding a fine of 230,000*l.* against the Company. The latter appealed to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah for protection, and Mr. Bernard sent a letter of remonstrance to the Burmah Ministry. This was left unanswered for some time, and when the reply was received, it was held to be unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it declined to recognise the right of the British authorities to interfere, and refused to submit the question regarding the claim made on the Company to arbitration. Meanwhile, in October, it was reported that the King's troops had fired on some of the Company's draughtsmen, and that orders had been issued by the ministry to arrest all the employés still in Burmese territory, of whom there was a considerable number. The Viceroy thereupon issued an ultimatum to the King, requesting the latter to receive a British Resident at Mandalay to settle the dispute in concert with the Burman ministers, and asking for an explanation of the hostile conduct of the Burmese troops

with regard to the Company's servants. The 10th of November was fixed as the date up to which the reply might be deferred. The war party being in the ascendant, either under the Tinedah or the Kinwoon Mingyee (minister), troops were massed at Minhla, on the Irawaddy, and the reply was made as evasive as possible, with the object of postponing settlement. It was proposed to submit the question in issue to the arbitration of three first-class European Powers, and to delay further action on both sides. The British Government had meanwhile prepared for such an emergency, by fitting out an expeditionary force under General Prendergast, with Colonel Sladen as chief political officer, composed of a naval brigade, a field battery, two garrison batteries, one British and two Native mountain batteries, three European and seven Native regiments of infantry, and six companies of sappers and miners. The arrangements for the transport and advance of this force were made with the utmost despatch, and their complete efficiency received the subsequent commendation of all military critics, at home and in India. On the 14th of November, the force crossed the frontier, having a slight engagement with the Sin-Boungze fort, and capturing a Burmese gunboat, which was said (upon somewhat slender authority) to have crossed into British waters, and there to have opened fire. At the strongly defensible position of Minhla some slight resistance was made; but the fort was taken, with the loss of one officer and three sepoy killed, and five officers and twenty-four men wounded. The Burmese troops either fled or surrendered, and the stoutest fight was made in the civil portion of the place, below the fort. No further resistance was met with for 100 miles up the Irawaddy. Colonel Sladen drafted, and he and General Prendergast signed and published a proclamation ensuring the respect of the British for Buddhist temples and rites, and announcing that the administration would be conducted through the existing agents, as long as they proved themselves worthy of confidence, under the general direction of the General commanding and the political officer. At Mingyan some slight resistance was made, which was scarcely obstructive to the advance of the flotilla, and three days afterwards (November 27th), the latter cast anchor off Ava and received the unconditional surrender of the king and his capital. As Pagau and Mingyan, which were the important links in the communication with the British frontier, had both been occupied by a sufficient force to hold them, General Prendergast at once landed his troops and took possession of Mandalay and its defences. The people seemed everywhere of a friendly disposition, and the soldiery gave up their arms and were allowed to disperse—a measure which proved afterwards highly disquieting, though the consequences of it could not at the time have been foreseen. There was, doubtless, a considerable party in the capital favourable to the palace and its inmates, as could only be expected; so after an interview with the king, and a slight survey of the state of

affairs in Mandalay, Colonel Sladen advised General Prendergast to let Theebaw and his family be sent out of the city without delay, for fear of an outbreak of the plundering hangers-on of the late favourites. This course was adopted, and the King, with his wives and family, left Mandalay for Rangoon on the 29th of November. The Tinedah-woon, said to have been one of the chief instigators of the late King's warlike enterprises, was captured on the night of the 28th, whilst attempting to leave the city disguised as a coolie or common labourer. The British authorities at once issued a proclamation of general disarmament, and announced that the Supreme Council of Ministers (Hlut Da) would continue to direct the affairs of the kingdom, under the presidency of Colonel Sladen, until more permanent arrangements were made by the British Government for the administration. Almost immediately after the occupation of Mandalay, and the disbandment of Theebaw's army, dacoities began to take place all over the country, especially in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, from which it was surmised that these attacks were organised, and probably executed, by gangs of the late soldiery. Flying columns were at once despatched, as it had been long before prophesied that such a system of warfare would be a leading feature in a Burmese campaign, and regular engagements, on a small scale, were fought at various stockaded positions. The flying column which had advanced from Tonghoo, parallel with the main expedition, was likewise harassed by these desultory attacks, and, though successful in clearing the country round their line of march, lost several men in actual resistance, though more frequently by single volleys fired from ambuscades, which were immediately vacated by the dacoits.

This state of things continued till the end of December, with which this review closes. An unfortunate incident which occurred is worthy of record, as it concerned the company so intimately connected with the above events. Seven European employés of the Bombay and Burmah Company were engaged in timber operations up the Chindwyin river, at Keerdát, at the time the ultimatum was despatched to Mandalay, and three of them were killed during their attempt to obey the order to return, and the rest imprisoned for a time, and only released by a timely and rapid march from the Manipuri State, headed by Colonel Johnstone, the political agent there, aided by Manipuri troops.

It was not only in Upper Burmah that dacoity was apparent. The rich district of Shwaygzin, in the east of Pegu, was attacked almost before the deposition of King Theebaw, and organised raids were made throughout the province, even to within seven miles of Rangoon. The volunteer corps gave much aid in town guard and sentry duty, so that detachments of regulars could be spared to hunt down the dacoits in the more remote tracts, and this chase resulted in the capture of a good many bands with their leaders, some of whom were actuated by political, but more by merely predatory, motives. The narrative of these occurrences belongs, however, to the next year's review. The misguided

King Theebaw arrived safely at Rangoon, and, for reasons similar to those for which he had been deported hastily from Mandalay, it was found advisable to send him, with a chosen band of attendants, to Madras, where he was lodged pending orders as to his final place of internment. The 1st of January, 1886, brought the Viceregal proclamation regarding the occupied country—one of the shortest documents of the kind on historical record. It runs thus:—
“By command of the Queen-Empress, it is hereby notified that the territories formerly governed by King Theebaw will no longer be under his rule, but have become part of Her Majesty’s dominions, and will during Her Majesty’s pleasure be administered by such officers as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India may from time to time appoint.”

IV. BRITISH INDIA.

The feudatory states of the Empire afford this year but little of interest to record. Besides the Maharāja of Cāshmeer, whose death has been mentioned above, the ruler of Travancore, one of the most enlightened and liberal chiefs in India, died during the year, after a short rule of five years. The Gaikwar of Baroda lost his wife, a princess of the house of Tanjore, and married, towards the end of the year, the daughter of the chief of Dewas, a small Marátha State in Central India. The Nizám of Hyderabad left his State again, and spent part of the season in Ootacamund, in contrast to the distant and mistrustful isolation which was always observed by his predecessor. The administration of this State underwent some changes in the direction of simplification, though it was still found advisable to retain numerous posts wherewith to occupy the time and energies of the principal nobles.

A severe outbreak in the Hyderabad jail, in which the troops got out of hand and shot down a number of the unarmed prisoners, and one or two minor affairs of a similar description at Raichore, comprise the main incidents of the year. The tendencies of the hereditary Arab mercenaries entertained by the Native Courts are also to be gathered from the troubles in the Kathiáwar State of Junagadh, where the Mekrán settlers have set the Government at defiance for the last two years, owing to some tribal grievance, and during the year under review actually threatened the persons of the chief minister and his assistants. The death of the Thákur of Palitána, another of the Kathiáwar chieftains, gave some hope of a final settlement of the dispute of long standing about the privileges of the wealthy and powerful sect of Jains with regard to their sacred hill of Shetrunjia, which is situated within the Thákur’s territory. In the well-known State of Bhopál, the tyrannical and generally unrestrained conduct of the Nawáb-Consort, who, on his marriage, had been admitted to a share of the administration, was brought to an end by his deprivation, under the direct order of the Viceroy, of all share in State

authority, which was vested in the Begam alone, as before, with a Diwán, or minister of her own choosing. But the event in feudatory India which received more comment than all others was the rendition to Sindia of the fortress of Gwalior, occupied by the British ever since its capture from his mutinied troops during the Mutiny. The chief military advisers of the Viceroy and of the Secretary of State concurred in the rendition, as it was evident that the numerous lines of railway by which Central India is now skirted or traversed, render a recurrence of the temporarily successful Gwalior mutiny of 1857 impossible; whilst, for the same reason, the fortress, if by any chance it fell into hostile hands, might be ignored from the strategical standpoint of a British campaign. In return for the fortress, Scindia agreed, under a fresh treaty, to cede the fort of Jhansi, now in British occupation, to the latter, and to pay 150,000*l.* for the buildings and improvements carried out in Gwalior itself. Minor provisions relate to the increase of Sindia's cavalry force.

The rendition of Gwalior at a public durbár was almost the final act of a lengthy tour undertaken by Lord Dufferin through the feudatory territory of Rajputána and Central India—a tour which was to have been extended through the British districts of the Ganges Valley, had not the Viceroy fallen a victim to ague, which necessitated his return to Calcutta as soon as he could move. This attack was the cause also of the postponement for a couple of months of his visit to the newly acquired territory in Burmah.

The changes in the *personnel* of the Administration were few. Sir James Fergusson, on the expiration of his term of office, made way for Lord Reay in the governorship of Bombay; and Sir Donald Stewart similarly yielded the bâton of Commander-in-chief of India to Sir Frederick Roberts, the hero of the latter portion of the last Afghán war. His command in Madras was assigned to Sir H. Macpherson, who had come prominently to notice during the Egyptian campaign of 1882; and Sir C. Arbuthnot succeeded General Hardinge as Commander-in-chief in Bombay.

The Army.—The rumours of complications on the Afghan frontier gave, as has been already noted, a great stimulus to army affairs in India. The European contingent to the permanent force was ordered to be raised by 10,000 men, and additions were also made to the native cavalry and infantry forces. Martini-Henry rifles were provided for about a third of the native infantry, and were promised for the whole, if it was found that the weapon was as efficient in the hands of the native soldier as in that of the European. A site was selected for an entrenched camp in the Pishin Valley by Sir Charles Macgregor, Quartermaster-General, and several other authorities on military frontier matters. Arrangements were made with the Durbar of Nepaul for a further supply of Ghoorkha recruits, and about 5,600 men were expected to be thus enrolled in the formation of second battalions to the existing

regiments. The area of recruitment was extended to Rajputána and the Báluch frontier tracts for the army in Bombay, where the increased prosperity of the lower classes has almost closed the supply from the districts previously prescribed. A change in the subordination of the volunteer corps was made from the Local Government to the Commander-in-Chief. Mounted corps were formed in one or two large centres, and were fairly attractive to recruits. The question of native volunteers was again raised in connection with the danger of war with Russia; but it received a polite but evasive reply from the authorities, as it was plain that the demand for this employment was raised exclusively by the literary classes of the larger towns and not by the martial inhabitants of the districts from which the supply of soldiers is drawn; the Government, therefore, deemed that such aid as was offered would be embarrassing in time of trouble, from the predominance therein of patriotism over military efficiency. One of the least encouraging features in the military history of the year was the very large number of suicides or murders by soldiers using the ammunition supplied them in the regular course of their duties; and the press was unanimously clamorous for some restriction upon the issue or custody of such means of aggression. Native as well as European soldiers were convicted during the year more frequently than usual of this class of offences.

The expedition from India to Suakim of an Indian contingent to take part in the Egyptian campaign, under General Hudson, is a matter which will be more appropriately dealt with in the Egyptian section of this chronicle.

Riots.—The military were called out in India only on one serious occasion during the year, and that was against the Moplahs, a troublesome and fanatical tribe of Muhammadans on the Malabar coast, chiefly near the Calicut district. It appears that converts from Hindu castes had been made from time to time of an unsatisfactory nature, frequently merely in order to obtain Moplah girls in marriage. The orthodox determined to make an example of these easily-persuaded acquisitions to their numbers, as well as apparently to wreak their spite against some of the obnoxious landlords in the neighbourhood. At Malliapuram, accordingly, an attack was made—first, on the house of a marked man, and then on that of a landholding Brahman. The Moplahs then fled to the hills, and, after a strong fight, were killed or wounded to a man. The place they fought in was an old temple which they loopholed, and fired on the European troops and native police sent against them. The gates had to be blown in by dynamite, when the Moplahs rushed out, to be met by a volley. The district was disarmed, as far as this tribe was concerned, and about 8,000 guns and rifles and 5,000 swords and spears were brought in. In the beginning of May, however, another riot of almost precisely similar nature occurred, with similar results, and the European detachment in Calicut and the chief towns had to be strengthened

by reinforcements ; but no other disturbance took place. In other parts of India the concurrence of the Hindu festival of the Dassara with the Muhammadan Muharram processions was the cause of comparatively unimportant collisions. The only serious riot that took place elsewhere than in Malabar was one in which the Talávias, an aboriginal tribe of Gujârat, in the Bombay Presidency, came into Broach, under an ascetic of their caste, and in an outburst of ignorant fanaticism seized the arms in the police stations, beat a European police-officer to death, and wounded severely some of the police who attempted to stop their flight from the town. Some ninety of them were subsequently caught, together with their leader, and of these over sixty were under trial at the end of the year.

The Seasons, &c.—The harvests were for the most part plentiful, except in a small area of Bengal and in parts of Mysore and the northern and central inland districts of Madras. In the latter, failure of rain was the cause of some distress ; whilst in the former, floods in September, and in Orissa a destructive cyclone in August, devastated acres of cultivated land. An earthquake, too, though of less violence than that of Kashmir, passed through Lower Bengal in June, throwing down several houses and injuring a good many mills and other solid masonry buildings. Several railways were wrecked by the July floods in Rajputána and the North-West Provinces, but the damage was considerably less than in Bengal. With the exception of the severe outbreak in the Bolan district, cholera was not more than usually prevalent in India during the year. It was most apparent in the southern districts of the Bombay and Madras presidencies. In the Bolan and Rindli divisions of the new state railway the outbreak was so severe that works on the sections in those divisions had to be stopped for some weeks, and a considerable number of lives were lost. On the resumption of work a second outbreak towards the end of July resulted in a second stampede of coolies and staff, but after this the construction proceeded without interruption of disease.

Legislation.—The year 1885 enjoyed a remarkable immunity from legislation. Only one measure of importance became law, and that was the Bengal Tenancy Act, which was finally passed, after and amid much discussion, on March 11. The provisions regarding tenants could not, however, be carried into effect during the year, owing to the necessity for the previous framing of detailed rules under certain sections of the Act, which turned out to be a matter of considerable local difficulty. The agitation against the measure continued in a mild form till the end of the year, but it was asserted to be mostly of a factitious and partisan character, devoid of public support. Another bill of considerable public interest was discussed without finality this year. It related to the protection of telegrams, &c., by a sort of copyright, and was avowedly intended to protect, against the piracy of native

papers, the telegrams received specially, and at great expense, by the leading English news concerns. A bill was also introduced for popularising and facilitating the transfer of government securities, as well as a few measures of minor importance.

Commerce.—The extension of railway communication has had the effect which, said the *Official Reporter* this year, is becoming more marked every season, of driving commerce from Calcutta to Bombay. Whilst the jute mills of the former have had to reduce their hours of labour, Bombay has been obliged to restrict by law the continuous working of factory hands. The wheat trade is being developed in favour of the western port, though events seem to point to Kurráchee as the shipping centre of this produce as soon as the bridge over the Indus at Sukkar, which is half-completed, links Sind uninterruptedly with the Panjáb wheat-fields. The past year was remarkably prolific in wheat exports, and prices were very fair till the closing months. Cotton was very dull in the market, and had it not been for the necessity of using Indian staples for a good part of the machinery in Manchester, a good deal of the crop would have been left on the hands of the growers. The subject of exchange scarcely comes within the scope of this review ; but as it is so closely connected with the export trade and the Government financing operations, it is worth while running over the main features of its course. The year showed the lowest point ever reached, the rupee being valued at $1s. 5\frac{1}{8}d.$, with a downward tendency, only likely to be arrested by a bumper cotton crop. The fluctuations during the early months of the year were comparatively mild, owing to the money market being well supplied ; but after the war scare in April the rate went below $1s. 7d.$, where it stayed, in spite of some clever financing on the part of the Council-bill sellers for the Secretary of State. The Franco-Chinese difficulty, too, closing the market for cotton and certain classes of fabrics, restricted the demand for remittances in connection with that country, and the rumours from America regarding the fate of the Bland Act had a further disturbing effect. The Secretary of State restricted his drawings to some extent, but, on the whole, seemed to desire to meet the market demands as fully as possible, and Council bills were in greater request than telegraphic transfers, in spite of the falling market.

Finance.—Again in 1885 the administration of the finances required no aid from legislation, so the annual budget took the form of a written explanation by Sir Auckland Colvin, in place of a debated statement made in the Legislative Council. The document itself was more than usually terse and cautiously reticent, possibly owing to the appreciation, early in March, of what was likely to take place before the end of that month on the Afghán frontier. The following quotation is enough to illustrate the tendency of the whole scheme :—

“ It is impossible to say whether additional expenditure may not, in the course of the year, have to be provided for, exceeding

the limits of any addition which our revenue may hope to derive from the strengthening of our railway receipts or from improvement of our exchange. . . . It is necessary to state clearly the position in which, owing to the concurrence of a variety of unfavourable conditions, we find ourselves placed, in order that considerations which inevitably presented themselves when the estimates were being framed, may be fully explained to the public, and that we may not be charged, should difficulties increase on us, with having taken too sanguine a view of our position."

Unfortunately, such difficulties did increase, and the Government was compelled to defend itself, later on in the year, against the charge of preferring to starve public works to incurring fresh debt; or rather, a policy of retrenchment to one of borrowing. The Budget statement, with which it is proposed to deal at present, comprised the three usual sections—the actuals of the past year, the estimates of the current year revised on the nine months' experience, and the first estimates for the coming year. The actuals of 1883–84 showed a surplus of 1,387,496*l.*, instead of one of 271,400*l.*, as was anticipated in the revised estimates of that year. The chief cause of the difference was the accelerated payment of 569,200*l.* land revenue in Bombay, Burmah, and Madras, which should have appeared to the advantage of the next year, where its omission affected the revised estimates of December, 1884. Two book adjustments—one referring to the Indus flotilla, which was removed from the books of revenue accounts; and a superior yield of opium, together with a general increase under the main heads of receipt, complete the explanation.

The revised estimates of 1884–85 showed a decrease of 569,200*l.* in the revenue, and an increase of 466,300*l.* in the expenditure. The nett results were a deficit of 716,200*l.*, instead of an anticipated surplus of 319,300*l.* The chief items concerned were customs, affected by the temporary depression in the rice trade; railway receipts, which suffered from the decline in the wheat exports, and the Bengal opium harvest, which, being an excellent one, cost Government a heavier expenditure than usual, counterbalanced ultimately by the replenishment of the reserve stock. The advance payments on account of land revenue have been mentioned above in connection with the accounts of the previous year. The camp at Ráwal Pindi, for the reception of the Amir, Abdul Rahmán, had also to be estimated for, in addition to the ordinary military charges. Sir Auckland Colvin found reason to be satisfied with the results, in spite of the deficit, on the tangible ground that, in all the main branches of revenue, there was an increase of receipts on normal accounts, and the adverse results of the year were due entirely to special and exceptional causes. The obvious reply was made in some quarters of the critical public that in India the exceptional circumstances are almost the rule, and must be recognised as such. Exchange, one of the most disturbing features of the Budget, was rendered less injurious to the

finances by the expedient adopted by the Secretary of State of drawing upon the resources already in his hands in England, and thus obviating remittances or sales of Council-bills at inauspicious junctures. The nett importation of gold was higher during the year than in any year since 1869–70, again showing the extraordinary absorbing power of this metal manifested by India.

The first estimates for 1885–86 were, as usual, of a tentative nature in regard to some of the most important items. The revenue being taken at 72,090,400*l.*, and the expenditure at 71,582,300*l.*, there was a surplus anticipated of 508,100*l.*; but balancing the unexhibited loss by exchange against the assignment of a sum of 585,000*l.* from revenue to capital expenditure on military and defence works, as was provided for in the original “Insurance” scheme of Sir John Strachey, the revenue and expenditure were estimated to be in fair equilibrium. The main features of the year 1885–86 were these:—First: the extension of railroads on the lines laid down by the Parliamentary Commission of 1884. Secondly: the decline in receipts from customs and productive lines of railways, in consequence of the immediate stagnation in the wheat and rice trade. Thirdly: the rate of exchange had to be taken at 1*s.* 7*d.* per rupee, owing to the fall in the price of silver; and finally: the transfer of 500,000*l.* from revenue to the frontier railways and military roads undertaken as measures of defence. The Budget statement contained an account of the conclusions reached by the late Parliamentary Committee, and the manner in which the Government of India proposed to carry them into effect. The results of a further fall in exchange, which actually took place within the next few months, was carefully anticipated, and the financial position of the Government of India with regard to the local governments, was fully reviewed. The latter needs no special mention in this chronicle, and the former deserves more detailed description than can be allowed it. It must be enough to state that a sum of at least 4,000,000*l.* will have to be added in future on account of loss on the difference between rupee and sterling transactions between the Government in India and the Secretary of State in London, and the Budget statement held out no hopes of any amelioration of the position. The grant towards railways from revenue was no absolute innovation, as it had always been the policy of Government to afford this aid to the development of the country when the finances admitted of such grants. This year, however, the peculiarity consisted in the amount, and in the fact that it was allotted to unproductive, or probably unremunerative works, namely, harbour defences, and strategical railways and roads. The home drawings having been fixed at 13,773,700, the rate of exchange was estimated at 1*s.* 7*d.*, which was, in fact, too high for nine months of the year, and arrangements were included for the raising of a sterling loan of 2,225,000*l.* in England, besides the repayment there of about 481,200*l.*, the equivalent of expenditure incurred in India on

account of the Suakin expedition. The statement concluded with the deprecatory explanation already quoted.

Not long after the commencement of the year to which the above Budget related, the imminence of war with Russia rendered it necessary for the Government of India to request the provincial governments to exercise as much economy as possible in their expenditure, and to postpone as much as possible till the situation should declare itself more clearly. The whole of the local governments responded heartily to this appeal, and a large sum, much of it allotted to public works, was placed in deposit—the works and other objects for which it was destined being postponed for the year. This policy called forth a protest from the Madras Chamber of Commerce, which gave the supreme Government a second and equally favourable opportunity for the declaration of their reasons for adopting such precautions. Their answer was, on the whole, received with respect and acquiescence, and certain of the assignments which had been postponed were released for necessary public works towards the end of the rainy season. In spite of this, savings, amounting to about 1,797,000 were effected, whilst the extra expenditure in connection with the military preparations and frontier railways was put down by the Government of India, in the reply above mentioned, at 4,230,000*l.*, so that a sum of 2,433,000*l.* had to be met either by loan, or by temporary expedients, such as applying the sum assigned for the reduction of debt to the replenishment of the cash balances—virtually, that is, borrowing it. The transactions of this period, however, belong to the account of the Budget, which will be given after it has ceased to be an estimate, and has passed into the stage of actuals. The ratification of the Chefoo Convention, affecting in some degree the Indian opium revenue, will be found recorded in the China narrative of this review, and no other financial event occurred that needs further reference.

Public Works.—Amongst the public works of the year the railways occupy the principal rank. The Rajputána-Málwa line was taken over by the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Company (guaranteed) from Jan. 1, 1885. The same month saw the opening of the short line to Tarkeshwar in Bengal, the first railway completed entirely by means of private enterprise. The short Rupa line, after a year's working, was closed as a dead loss. On the other hand the Umariá coal-fields were brought almost into direct connection with the main line by a branch railway. The works on the Jhansi-Maulkpur line were stopped by order of Government, and the staff placed on the Jhansi-Bhopál section. The Indian-Midland Company, which is expected to open out an immense grain and seed district, was sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and a great part of the capital obtained by the end of the year. The guarantee by the State was 4 per cent., with three-fourths of the profits over the sum covering that return. The Mysore system of railways was arranged to pass over to the

Southern Maratha Company, and be ultimately connected with the main lines of that undertaking. The most important work of the year was that on the Quetta line, both by Harnai, and through the Bolán Pass. Work was seriously impeded both by floods and by disease. The former, on three or four occasions, carried away large portions of the work completed in the Nari and other gorges, and during May and June the works had to be abandoned in some of the sections, owing to the extraordinary prevalence of cholera amongst the workmen. In spite, however, of all these obstacles great progress was made, and the line was carried on to within a short distance of the Upper Bolán, where it was approached on the Quetta plateau by a line to Darwáza, the edge of the descent into the gorge. The Harnai line, too, made some progress with the heavier portions. It is worth mentioning that the petroleum found plentifully at Khatun was utilised for fuel, and arrangements for burning it regularly were being made by the locomotive authorities at Sibi. As regards other public works, there need only be mentioned the Kidderpore dock at Calcutta, which is still under discussion amongst the experts of the capital, and the Bombay docks, the extension of which by loan was sanctioned during the year.

Miscellaneous events.—Public opinion was moved more than usual during the past year. The ferment on the departure of Lord Ripon had scarcely subsided than Bengal was agitating against the Rent Act, a legacy which the late Viceroy had been obliged to leave to his successor. Hardly had this measure become law than the advent of the Amir of Afghanistan and the imminence of war with Russia became the subject of comment amongst the native publicists. The necessity of retrenchment in public expenditure was admitted by all; but the increase of the military estimates was universally blamed, and the vernacular journalists, almost to a man, pronounced against its necessity, their reasons being mainly financial rather than political. The Burmese difficulty was treated by them with equal unanimity and almost equal censure, so that Lord Dufferin felt himself obliged to publicly answer the blame laid upon him by the Indian press, by showing up the ignorance of these exponents of opinion on the facts and political elements of the situation. The conduct of the delimitation negotiations with the Amir, the abstention from interference with Nepaul and Bhután, the rendition of the Gwalior fortress, and the Viceroy's general utterances upon his policy with regard to feudatory states, were recorded with much approval. The establishment by Lady Dufferin of a fund for the provision of medical aid to native women, was received with great and universal favour. Branches were at once set up in all the local governments, and subscriptions to a large amount were sent by the various native chiefs. One of the most curious features in the year's political chronicle was the mission of "delegates" from the three provinces of Madras, Bombay, and Lower Bengal, on the

part of political associations, to represent India at the coming elections in England. The first object of their journey was intended to be the explanation to English electors and candidates of the wants and aspirations of the people represented by the delegates; but at their final meeting in Bombay it was voted that they should do their best to secure the election of certain candidates deemed favourable to their cause, and endeavour to thwart the election, on the other hand, of certain Anglo-Indian officials and others, who were held adverse to that cause, and at the same time to adhere to the Radical party. Their mission, as far as its direct object was concerned, was a failure. The Bombay "resolution" was repudiated in Bengal, and every one of the candidates placed under the ban of their association was elected, whilst, by a curious coincidence, all their champions were defeated. Their visit, however, was held to have been indirectly of service to their class, as they brought themselves to the notice of the English public, and spoke intelligently and plainly of their mission and their desires in connection with it. The opinion of the masses has, as usual, remained completely unmoved by any of the events of the year. The season having been on the whole favourable, political troubles held no place in the agricultural forecast, nor was the rustic affected, save perhaps by anticipation in Bengal, by any legislation or its results. The Muhammadans were little worked upon by the Mahdi's exertions in the Soudán, and only one direct attempt seems to have been made in his favour, and that resulted only in the defection of a certain number of Moslem camel-drivers, under orders for Suakin. The race hostility that was expected to break out under the influence of the system of election to municipal and local boards was, on the whole, quiescent, and manifested itself only in a few large towns in the north of India. The year closed, as it began, peacefully and prosperously as far as the masses were concerned, and even external troubles showed signs of speedy subsidence.

V. CHINA.

The new year opened hopefully for China in her struggle with France, for the French troops, both in Tonquin and Formosa, found themselves beset on all sides with difficulties, and greatly reduced by fighting and sickness. The Chinese, on the other hand, were growing in boldness and strength, and were beginning to assume the offensive; defeat did not discourage them, and their losses were speedily filled up by reinforcements that appeared inexhaustible; China, in a word, was putting forth her strength to stem the French advance. The blockade by France of the coast of Formosa, between the South Cape and Eyka, which, somewhat to the detriment of neutrals, had been suspended without notice, was renewed in a very ineffective form early in the year. The French ironclads, it was true, steamed along the coast, sinking

every coasting vessel they met, seizing and taking the crews to Kelung, to work on the fortifications, and treating them with needless severity. Hundreds of trading and fishing craft were thus destroyed, ruining their owners, exasperating the Chinese, but adding little or no lustre to the French name. The Chinese, meanwhile, renewed their complaints of the facilities afforded to the French at Hong Kong, which they practically used as a base for their operations; and at last special instructions were sent (Jan. 21) to the Colonial authorities to enforce the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act. Although there had never been any declaration of war between France and China, the two nations had long been belligerents in everything but name. The British Government therefore decided to regard the notification of the blockade of Formosa as tantamount to a declaration of war, and that belligerent rights on either side must be respected. Almost the first effect of this step was the refusal to allow the *Triomphante* to refit when she arrived at Hong Kong (Jan. 27); but permission was given to her captain, and in other similar cases, to take on board sufficient coal to carry them to their nearest port, Saigon. The French, about the same time, began to exercise their right of search upon neutral vessels, rice especially being treated as contraband of war, whilst Admiral Courbet refused to allow neutral mails to be landed at Formosa, although the postmaster in Hong Kong permitted mails to be forwarded to the French fleet at Kelung. In the course of the month (Jan. 10 to 25) the French made no less than five attacks on the Petao forts, situated about four miles from Kelung; but in spite of their bravery and discipline they were forced to fall back in presence of the enormous odds against which they found themselves matched, and forthwith the Chinese assumed the offensive. A mutiny, moreover, broke out on board the French ironclad *Bayard*, caused by the failure of rations in the fleet, by the want of proper relief for the wounded, and by the indignation of the sailors at finding themselves pitted so often against vastly superior numbers. The mutiny was promptly suppressed, but twelve sailors were shot by sentence of court-martial. Reinforcements were hastily despatched to Formosa, although Admiral Courbet's demand for at least 5,000 fresh troops for the conquest of the island was deemed excessive by the Home authorities. The French cruisers in the meanwhile showed renewed activity, and in an engagement with two Chinese men-of-war, in the Sheipoo Roads, showed considerable resource. The torpedo-boats had been driven off several times by the Chinese machine-guns, but at length (Feb. 15) they crept up under cover of a fog and succeeded in sinking both of the Chinese ships. The French now began their advance on Formosa (March 6), and after five days' fighting the Chinese positions round the town were carried, with a loss to the French of 400, and to the Chinese of 1,100 men, and a fortnight later (March 29) an expedition, under Admiral

Courbet, started for the purpose of capturing the Pescadores Islands. The fort and four batteries defending the harbours of Pong Hon and Ma-kung, were silenced without delay; and the troops were landed the same day near Ma-kung. The next day (March 31) the French troops attacked the place, and after a series of separate engagements with the Chinese, occupied the position; a bar of chains, drawn across the entrance to the port, having been previously destroyed by boats from the *Triomphante*.

In Tonquin, after a preparation of many months, 6,000 French troops, under General Brière de l'Isle, left Hanoi (Jan. 28), to begin their march on Lang-Sön. They reached Dong-Song after two days' fighting (Feb. 7) and a loss of 200 men, the Chinese general, Pao Tchao, falling back on Lang-Sön with an army of 10,000 men under his command. The French pushed rapidly forward, and after a battle under the walls of Lang-Sön (March 13) were masters of the citadel on the following day. Subsequently they extended their lines and occupied Ki-Lua, a few miles beyond the town and about three hours' march from the Chinese frontier. These results, however, had only been achieved after eight days' hard fighting and a loss of 400 men; and though, as a military exploit, it was creditable to the dash and endurance of the French troops, the advantages of the victory were not so clear. They had already in a previous campaign held Lang-Sön, but had had to abandon it. The roads were impassable for artillery and the *corps d'armée* was ill-provided with cavalry, so that the pursuit of the enemy was out of the question, whilst their victory made no impression on the Government at Peking. Moreover, at the moment when General Brière de l'Isle was preparing to follow up his advantages, he had to redescend the delta by forced marches, in order to succour the garrison of Tuyen-kuan, which Chinese troops from Yunnan had completely invested. The latter occupied a pass, the sides of which were inaccessible, and had also established forts, and three successive lines of entrenchments. After a severe fight, the French troops succeeded in relieving the garrison, and the Chinese raised the siege (March 2). This success, however, like the others, was a barren one, for as fast as the Chinese were beaten at one point, they appeared in force at another, and before the end of the month they were boldly advancing on Lang-Sön in three columns, compelling the French to fall back upon Dong-Song, General Négrier being seriously wounded. In the face of this disaster General Brière de l'Isle telegraphed home for reinforcements to be sent out at once, and forthwith prepared to evacuate all the hill-country north of the Song-koi delta.

The retreat from Lang-Sön was followed by an armistice, and General Courcy was sent from France, vested with full civil and military powers to act in Annam as well as Tonquin. In order to smooth his path as much as possible the French Minister at Hué was withdrawn; but peace negotiations being in progress

General Courcy's work lay in pacifying rather than in campaigning against the Chinese. Before his arrival, however, the Chinese had retired within their own frontier, and the French were once more free to reduce the country in their own way. The inhabitants of Tonquin were still in arms round the delta of the Red River, and the Black Flags, with their redoubted leader Liu Yung-fu, held the whole of the north-west corner of Tonquin, between Tuyen-kuan and Lao-kai, which, since they fled from China, they had made their head-quarters. In the Treaty of Tientsin no reference had been made to these irregular troops, who had fought so perseveringly, and who for months had borne the brunt of the French invasion, and the value of their settlement in Tonquin became a question for French statesmen and commanders. When the truce was made, the French merely held in Tonquin what they held two years previously—a few towns in the delta and two advanced posts—Hung-hoa and Tuyen-kuan. They had never even seen Lao-kai, the capital of the north-west, and Tonquin was really further from pacification than ever. Instead, however, of waiting to tranquillise matters in Tonquin, General Courcy set out at once for Annam, where tolerable order already prevailed under Tu Duc (the third king put on the throne by the French in two years) and his French advisers. On arriving at Hué, with an escort of 1,000 men, General Courcy immediately referred home for powers to carry out the complete annexation of Annam. This proposal the Government without hesitation refused to entertain for various reasons, because (1) the Treaty of Hué, determining the conditions of the French protectorate over Annam, was still before the Chambers; (2) the treaty of peace with China was then in course of negotiation; and (3) the organisation of the internal administration of the territory presented almost insuperable difficulties. An instance of this was furnished in what befel the French commander. Soon after General de Courcy's arrival, he and his guard, through neglect of proper precautions, were attacked by Annamites to the number of 30,000; but, by the timely aid of 350 French marines posted near, he was able to repel the attack, at a cost to the Annamites of 1,500 men, and to occupy their citadel. The barracks of the French troops were, however, burned, there was an extensive outbreak in the city, and the king fled. General de Courcy thereupon arranged with the royal family that the king's uncle should be responsible for order, and should act as regent until Tu Duc's return. Early in September the regent was in his turn arrested and sent to prison, the French prefect of Hanoi temporarily exercising his functions; but after some deliberations, in compliance with the wish of the royal family of Annam and of the governing council, and with the sanction of the French Government, Prince Chaul Mong, the adopted son of Tu Duc, was formally installed as King of Annam. He was twenty-three years of age, and is said to have expressed his attachment to France in very dignified terms.

His coronation took place (Sept. 19) with great ceremony, and the king assumed the name of Douck Hanh, signifying the union of two nations—Tu Duc becoming the leader of the dissatisfied population and the centre around, which rallied all the enemies of France in Annam.

Meanwhile preliminaries of peace had been signed (April 3), the Chinese Government authorising Sir R. Hart, Inspector-General of Chinese Customs, to act for China, whilst M. Grévy nominated M. Billot as plenipotentiary, with powers to sign on behalf of France. The basis of the negotiations was that the latter abandoned all claim for an indemnity, and required only the execution of the previous year's abortive treaty. During the discussion of the preliminaries, the news had arrived of the defeat of the French at Lang-Sön, and it was generally supposed this would put a stop to further negotiations. It, however, was not so, and both countries being, for various reasons, anxious for peace, a definitive treaty was signed (June 9) by M. Paternôtre, Li-Hung-Chang, and two ministers of the Tsung-li-Yamên, and ratified immediately by the Emperor, the clauses of the treaty being practically identical with those which had been rejected twelve months previously. Kelung and the Pescadores were to be evacuated within a month, and it was also arranged that Annam would in future have no diplomatic relations except through France ; but at the same time the vexed question of Chinese suzerainty in Annam was left, as before, unsettled. France obtained undisputed control over Tonquin and Annam, and each contracting power agreed to keep order within its own frontier and not to cross the border in pursuit of disturbers of the peace. For a time the hot season and the sanitary state of the troops in Tonquin prevented active operations, but in October the French, under General de Négrier, found plenty of hard work in clearing the delta of rebel bands, and several columns, acting on a combined plan, were constantly traversing the country, attacking the numerous but badly armed rebels. The capture (Oct. 25) by General Gamont, after operations lasting three days, of Than-Mai, one of the last and most serious centres of resistance, was an important factor in bringing about a general pacification. Thuyet and other Black Flag leaders were killed or taken prisoners, and great stores of provisions and warlike munitions were captured, and its fall was speedily followed by that of other places serving as strongholds of the insurgent bands, and order was gradually restored throughout the delta. The French forces now (November) in Tonquin comprised 23,000 infantry, 4,000 marines, and 7,000 native soldiers, whilst the naval force consisted of 75 ships and 9,000 men. Later in the year the French Government nominated a Special Committee to sit in Paris and take evidence as to the expediency of retaining Tonquin or of evacuating it. The opinions of those best qualified to judge were most conflicting, but rumours reached Tonquin that the Committee leant towards evacuation, whereupon General de Courcy telegraphed for instructions as to

his future course. The French Government replied that they would resolutely defend so much of the occupation and conquest of the delta as might be insisted on by General de Courcy as necessary. The latter thereupon resumed his difficult task of dispersing the pirate bands and restoring order. By the middle of December he had made himself master of the caverns in the marble mountains, to the north of Haiduong, and the region between the Rapids Canal and the Bamboo Canal was quieted. In the north of the delta the French troops ascended the Songchai as far as Phuan Bung, which they occupied; and in Annam they had been equally successful. Still the task appeared interminable, for the Annamese continued turbulent; native Christians were massacred; the Black Flags gave incessant trouble; and the delimitation of the frontier remained unsettled.

Turning now to other points of the foreign policy of the Celestial Empire, its attitude towards this country is deserving of notice. When war between Great Britain and Russia seemed imminent after the Penjeh incident, an understanding was arrived at between Great Britain and China that the occurrence of certain specified contingencies would be followed by united action on their part. In the event of war, Great Britain would feel the advantage of such an ally in the East as China; and the latter, recognising the danger to herself of having her northern frontier exposed to Russian designs for 3,000 miles, would find equal advantage in the support of England.

An agreement of another kind was also arrived at between the two countries. The opium question, which for so many years had baffled the skill of successive negotiators, was at length settled. A previous attempt to arrange a satisfactory solution was made in 1876, under the Chefoo Convention. This, however, was never ratified, as the opium provisions were found to be impracticable. The new Agreement, signed by Lord Salisbury and the Marquess Tseng (July 19), revived the previously rejected opium provisions of the Chefoo Convention, and the treaty was formally ratified by the Queen and the Emperor of China. It provides that opium on its arrival in China shall be deposited in bond with the maritime customs, and shall, before being released, pay the ordinary tariff duty of 30 taels per chest, and also a sum not exceeding 80 taels per chest in lieu of *li-kin*, the barrier-tax. The merchant can then obtain a certificate freeing his opium from any further tax whilst in transit. Hitherto the *li-kin* varied considerably, and the merchant never knew how much he might be called on to pay, or how often. Although 80 taels, or nearly 300 per cent. on the tariff duty, is a large amount, the Chinese are gainers by the arrangement, for, until now, the barrier authorities could levy any amount of *li-kin* they pleased, according to local requirements, the tax at the port barrier being sometimes between 80 and 90 taels. Moreover, the cost of collection will now be saved; the money is paid at once into the

Imperial Treasury, instead of filtering through the hands of provincial officials, and a check will be imposed upon inland smuggling and the speculation of the *li-kin* authorities. As soon as the opium reaches its destination inland, it comes into competition with the native-grown opium, which is much cheaper; and instead of the imported opium alone being taxed, both kinds are to be equally taxed. The Agreement is to remain in force for four years, and subsequently until twelve months' notice to terminate it has been given on either side. If the two important principles of no transit dues and equal taxation be not honestly observed, Great Britain may at any time withdraw from the Agreement. It was also settled that a commission should sit as soon as possible to inquire into the best mode of preventing the smuggling from Hong Kong.

Throughout the continuance of the war with France, the Chinese Government was encouraged by the unanimous support of the native press at Shanghai and Hongkong, and this has proved a new and powerful factor in Chinese politics. Its attitude has been one of uncompromising jingoism, truckling to the popular taste, describing battles that were never fought, and raising an extraordinary fervour of military enthusiasm. It has, however, done some good in successfully exposing official abuse and incapacity, and in suggesting a Patriotic Fund to be subscribed to by Chinese emigrants over-sea; this was most liberally responded to, and 50,000 dollars was raised at once in Hong Kong.

Railway construction in China is beginning to take a practical form. The Chinese Government, yielding to the exhortations of Li Hung Chang, have decided to sanction the commencement of certain lines of communication, and energetic mercantile houses have been preparing plans and estimates. The proposed lines are (1) from Tientsin to Peking; (2) from Tientsin southwards through the provinces of Shantung and Kiangsu to Chin-Kiang-fu, or possibly Nankin, or the great river Yang-tse-kiang; (3) from Nankin to Hangchow or Shanghai; and (4) from Canton to Nanning, near the southern frontier. The Chinese have always been reluctant to begin railways, because they imagined they would benefit foreigners rather than themselves. Further abandoning old prejudices, the Chinese Government have applied to the Belgian company of Cockerill for the experienced workmen who were necessary for the proper working of coal-mines in various localities; and thirty of these skilled miners accepted the advantageous terms offered, others agreeing to follow at a subsequent period.

In the course of the year gold was discovered in the small triangular piece of Manchuria which is wedged in between Corea on the south and the Russian possessions around Vladivostock on the east, and where the river Tieumen forms the boundary between Corea and Russia. Under pretext of putting down disorder in the Chinese gold-fields and protecting foreign diggers, Russian

troops crossed the frontier, and a collision with the Chinese forces took place in June. The readiness with which the Chinese Government consented to the appointment of a British consul at Kashgar was probably due to this incident, for they saw the advantage to be gained from the presence there of an active and experienced Anglo-Indian, who would recognise and report any important movements of Russia in the neighbourhood. Just as the year was closing, news arrived that an army of 10,000 Chinese had entered the gold-fields and dispersed the diggers, who were nearly all Russian subjects.

VI. JAPAN AND COREA.

Japan.—Early in the year a satisfactory treaty was concluded at Tientsin between Japan and China, with reference to the outbreak in the Korean capital at the close of 1884. The negotiations were so adroitly conducted by Li-Hung-Chang for China and Count Ito for Japan, that each country claimed to be a winner. This was due to the moderation of the Japanese claims, for Count Ito demanded neither an apology nor an indemnity, but asked only that China should disavow the acts of her soldiers, punish the officers who had been in fault at Seoul, and withdraw her troops from Corea, on condition of Japan doing the same. It was not until the last day of the conference that Li-Hung-Chang assented to the third condition, but his doing so at all was important and significant, for China thereby and for the first time recognised Japan as upon the same footing with herself in relation to the Corea. It was also jointly resolved to invite the Korean king to establish a sufficient armed force, to be trained by officers from a third Power, for the due maintenance of order. Japan had good reason to insist upon this proviso, her legation having been burnt twice in three years, her envoy forced to retreat from the capital, her people assassinated and their property destroyed. At one time the Japanese Government seemed inclined to yield to French overtures of an alliance against China, and was urged to this course by a large and powerful war party in the country; but the wisdom and exertions of the Japanese Foreign Minister averted this danger; the unsatisfactory financial condition of Japan, the probability of her being left alone to finish the war with China, and the certainty, in that event, of Russian intervention, were enough to convince him of the importance of keeping on good terms with China.

Startling as the political and social changes have been during the last twenty years in Japan, none have exceeded the important movement now in progress, which proposes deliberately to change the mode of writing the language of the country. Japan has never possessed a complete method of writing that could be truly called her own, but has laboured from early times under the com-

plex system of China. This means for an ordinary student to imprint accurately on his brain the bewildering forms of at least 10,000 ideographs—a work of years to achieve, whilst an English or French alphabet would take only as many weeks. When, therefore, the Japanese became anxious to master European languages, arts, and sciences, it seemed preposterous they should spend years in learning how to write their own language. A Japanese, who has had a good European education, often knows so little about his own language that he would find innumerable difficulties in imparting it to his fellow-countrymen. Hence the bold social reform, taken in hand by a knot of Japanese *literati*, who, at the beginning of the year, founded the Roman Alphabet Association. Its forty members had increased by October to 6,000, its sphere and influence were extending daily, and its future seemed assured.

Corea.—When Corea was opened to foreign trade by treaties made three years ago, the Chinese felt it most important that some experienced European should be placed in the Corean capital, in order to advise the Government in their relations with foreign countries. For this purpose Li-Hung-Chang selected Herr von Möllendorff, a German, in whom he had the greatest confidence, he having successively served in the German Consular service in China, in the Chinese Customs, and latterly as private secretary to Li-Hung-Chang himself. But he soon threw off his German nationality, was made Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs and a member of the King's Council, quarrelled with his patron Li-Hung-Chang, and became in fact more Corean than the Coreans. When war between China and Japan appeared imminent at the commencement of the year, in consequence of the revolutionary outbreak in the Corean capital in December, 1884, Möllendorff, thinking how he could best serve Corean interests and prevent Corea becoming the battle-field of the contending parties, applied to Russia for help, and a treaty was drawn up, which would practically have given her a protectorate over Corea and provided her with a harbour (Port Lazareff) that was never closed by ice. Li-Hung-Chang, however, intervened in time, and persuaded the Corean king not to ratify this treaty, and Russia, not feeling disposed to enter just then upon a war with China, took the rebuff quietly and disclaimed the treaty. Möllendorff was then dismissed from all his offices, and quitted the service of the Corean Government. The Möllendorff episode had the effect of arousing both the Chinese and the Japanese to a sense of the danger they had both escaped, and induced them to take such joint measures as would prevent their common enemy ever again being able to menace them in Corea. It was largely due to the tact, patience, and statecraft of Count Inouye, the eminent man who for the last six years has directed the foreign affairs of the Mikado's Government, that the distrust with which the Chinese had always regarded Japanese designs in Corea was re-

moved, and the present cordial feelings between the two countries secured. When, during recent years, any foreign Power had approached China, either to demand redress for an outrage committed in Corea, or to make a treaty with that country, she repudiated all responsibility for Corean affairs, and, whilst claiming her as a vassal, declined to interfere as her suzerain. Thus Corea came to be treated as an independent State by other countries. The Russian treaty, though a failure, convinced Li-Hung-Chang of the necessity for reviving Chinese suzerainty in Corea, and therefore, with the full approbation and encouragement of Japan, Dai In Kun, the father of the king of Corea, a man of determined character, who had been for two years in exile in China, was sent back to Söoul to act as adviser to his son, and at the same time to keep Corea true to China. And so the Corean question disappears from Eastern politics as a source of difficulty and distrust between the two empires of the Far East.

A system of isolation, fostered by China, has hitherto consigned Corea to barbarism and poverty, but recent reports by British consuls and travellers, and the series of commercial treaties initiated by the American Government, have shed more light upon the country and its people during the last ten years than during the eighteen centuries since the Kou-ku-li princes founded their dynasty. Kaisong, which 500 years ago was the capital, has now a population of 40,000, and the inhabitants are everywhere simple and hospitable. There are many other large towns, but they consist merely of imposing official buildings, round which mud huts are grouped. The people have no idea of comfort. Even chairs are forbidden, being reserved for the magistrates, and altogether Corean life is described as being flat, dull, and dead. The soil is fertile, and there are so many valuable natural products that there is no reason why the people should not be well-to-do and thriving. The Corean nationality is sufficiently distinct to furnish materials for an independent State, and it would have become a serious danger to our commerce in the extreme East had Russia found a pretext for interfering and establishing a protectorate over the country. When the Chinese Government were asked by Lord Granville whether, if Great Britain withdrew her naval forces from Port Hamilton, they would guarantee that no other Power should occupy any position on the Corean coast, they were obliged to confess they could not hope to make such a guarantee effectual. They would prefer the island being left to its former state of isolation, but failing this, they would rather see Great Britain there than Russia, and they knew too that if the step had been delayed for a month the Russians would have occupied it. They were, moreover, satisfied of the honesty of Great Britain's intentions, that she had no designs herself on Corea, and that her wishes and interests lay in the maintenance of Corean independence. Consequently the Chinese Government tacitly assented to the British occupation of Port

Hamilton, which may now be regarded as permanent, the British flag having been hoisted there early in the year. This appears to be an ideal naval station. Its grand natural harbour, entered by one deep channel, commanded by high ground and capable of easy defence, is enclosed by two small islands, about eighteen miles south of the point of the Korean peninsula, 850 miles from Vladivostock, and 1,200 from Hong Kong.

CHAPTER VI.

AFRICA.

EGYPT.—SOUTH AFRICA.—THE CONGO.—MADAGASCAR.

I. EGYPT.

IN Egypt the opening of the year found the chief interest centred round the progress of the British force towards Khartoum, where General Gordon was still maintaining an heroic defence against the forces of the Mahdi. In spite of a brief message, "Khartoum all right. C. G. Gordon. December 14, 1884," written on a scrap of paper about the size of a postage stamp, and received on December 31, 1884, it was well known at the British headquarters that the condition of the garrison was daily becoming more desperate, and it was consequently resolved to make a strenuous effort to open up communication with the beleaguered garrison. It was not anticipated that even under the most favourable circumstances the town could be relieved for a few months, but it was thought that the arrival of a small British contingent, as an earnest of the rest, would afford the General substantial moral support. With this object General Stewart was placed in command of a strong column, with orders to push across the desert from Korti to Matammeh, whence it was thought it might be possible to reach Khartoum by the Nile, and on New Year's Day this column had already started on its difficult and perilous journey. During the first few days no opposition was experienced from the Arabs, and though the men suffered greatly from thirst, the first stage of the journey was safely accomplished, and a strong position taken up at the Gakdul wells, where the supply of water was ample, and where provisions and stores could be accumulated. The next stage of the advance was to the wells of Abu Klea, fifty-two miles distant, and here it was (Jan. 17) that the first severe fighting of the Nile campaign took place. From the reports of the natives, it had been supposed that no serious fighting was to be anticipated until the column reached Matammeh, which was known to be in the hands of the enemy. It should be explained that so soon as the position at Gakdul had been secured, General Earle had been ordered to advance from Korti along the banks of the Nile, in the direction of Berber. The primary object of his ex-

pedition was to inflict punishment on the murderers of Colonel Stewart, but at the same time, by threatening an attack upon Berber itself, he was to call off the Arabs from any concentrated attack upon the other columns. The native intelligence, however, proved untrustworthy, and the hopes founded thereon fallacious, for on the arrival of General Stewart's column in sight of Abu Klea (Jan. 16), the cavalry scouts reported that the wells were held by a strong force of Arabs. As the men were fatigued with the long march, and the day was nearly over, General Stewart ordered a zariba to be constructed, in which the column passed the night unmolested. The following morning, after an unsuccessful endeavour to induce the enemy to advance, General Stewart, leaving his camels and stores in the zariba under guard, dismounted his men and moved out to the attack in square formation. During the night the Arabs had thrown up some rude defences between their position and that of the zariba, but by passing round to their left flank General Stewart was able to compel them either to advance or be enfiladed. It soon became evident that the Mahdi had despatched a strong force to oppose the British advance, and that the wells were being held by at least 7,000 men, against an available British force of about 1,350, with one Gardner and three ordinary guns. Moving slowly and carefully, so as to keep in open ground, the square advanced within a quarter of a mile of the enemy's position, when the Arabs, suddenly leaping up from their shelter in the scrub, rushed forward in dense masses. So fierce and swift was their onset that the British skirmishers had barely time to reach the square, when the Arabs were upon it, directing their chief attack against the left rear, composed of the Heavy Camel Corps. The Gardner gun, which had been planted in the centre, jammed at the most critical moment, and in the fierce hand-to-hand fight which followed, the "heavies" were borne backward, and the square was penetrated by the Arabs. For a few minutes the fate of the expedition was doubtful, but with admirable steadiness every soldier stood by his fellow, and in a short time not a single Arab remained alive within the square. The rear face was re-formed, and, under a heavy fire from all sides, the Arabs slowly retired, leaving about 800 dead upon the ground. The British loss was also heavy, owing to the nature of the fighting, Colonel Burnaby, Majors Carmichael, Atherton, and Gough, Captain Darley, and Lieuts. Law, Wolfe, Pigott, and Delisle being among the killed. But the object of the struggle was attained, for the wells were occupied the same day, and after a short halt for rest and food, an entrenched position commanding them was secured. Leaving a guard in possession, General Stewart resumed, late in the evening (Jan. 18), his march towards Matammeh. When daylight broke on the following morning the Arabs were observed to be mustering in force between the column and the river, now only four miles distant. Scarcely had the column halted for breakfast in a hastily constructed zariba, when the Arabs opened

fire from all sides. On this occasion, owing to their commanding position, their bullets carried havoc into the zariba. The kneeling camels were killed by scores, and many of the men were struck. Mr. Herbert, correspondent of the *Morning Post*, and Mr. Cameron, of the *Standard*, were amongst the killed, while the commanding officer of the expedition, General Stewart, was severely wounded and disabled. Lord C. Beresford was the next in seniority, but being a naval officer, and also out of health, he waived his right in favour of Sir C. Wilson. Meanwhile, the enemy's riflemen were creeping nearer and nearer, and it was evident that the march to the river would be fiercely opposed. Following the tactics which had previously been attended with success, Sir Charles Wilson, having placed a guard in charge of the camels and stores, moved out with the remainder of the force to attack in square. The Arabs at once rushed forward in a fierce charge against both the zariba and the advancing column, but they were received with such a heavy and well-directed fire that they never got to close quarters, and at length, perceiving the hopelessness of the struggle, they turned and fled. The advancing column reached the Nile the same evening, and having secured a position at Gubat, the remainder of the force with the stores was brought in on the following day, and an entrenched position was taken up. Before pushing onwards to Khartoum, Sir Charles Wilson made a reconnaissance (Jan. 21) towards Matammeh, which he found to be too strongly fortified to be attacked by the force under his command, and while engaged in this operation four of Gordon's steamers, one of them towing a barge laden with provisions, came down the river and steamed alongside Gubat. The arrival of these steamers was hailed with intense delight by the British, and it was at once decided to utilise them for communicating with Khartoum. The two following days, however, were spent in reconnoitring the river as far as Shendy, to see if the enemy was advancing in force, and it was not until the morning of the 24th that Sir C. Wilson, with Colonel Stuart-Wortley, Captains Gascoyne and Trafford, with twenty men of the Sussex regiment, started in two of Gordon's steamers for Khartoum. As they passed up the river they received information from some friendly natives that they were too late, as Khartoum had fallen, and when, at last (Jan. 28), they approached the city, a tremendous fire opened upon them from both banks of the Nile, and the Mahdi's flag hoisted over the palace which Gordon had occupied as his citadel, showed but too clearly that their succour had arrived too late. It was useless to attempt a landing, for the whole place was swarming with hostile soldiers. Orders were therefore given to put about, and the steamers were brought safely out of the enemy's fire, with slight loss. On the return journey a succession of desperate misadventures befell the party. Their steamers ran aground upon the rocks and speedily became complete wrecks. Sir C. Wilson and his party managed to establish

themselves on one of the larger of these rocks in mid-stream, and eventually to communicate with their comrades at Gubat, whence a steamer was despatched, in charge of Lord G. Beresford, who gallantly and successfully brought back the party in safety. From information which afterwards came to hand it appeared that the garrison of Khartoum had been exposed to extreme privation ever since the middle of the previous December, and that Gordon expected the city to fall about Christmas Day. By sending away five of his steamers (one with Colonel Stewart, and four to meet the British expedition) the defensive power of the city had been so greatly weakened that he found it impossible to check the Arabs on the White Nile, and to keep up communication with the fort of Omdurman, which, in consequence, fell into the hands of the Mahdi. The defenders of Khartoum were thus deprived of their only position on the west bank of the White Nile, and the Arabs, by constructing batteries along its banks, were able to close this branch of the river against the armed steamers.

The fall of Omdurman also enabled the Mahdi to despatch a portion of his force to encounter the British column advancing against Matammeh, and it was these troops who had been encountered in the battles of Abu Klea and Gubat. When the news of the British victory reached the camp of the Mahdi it produced no little consternation in the Mahdi's army; and this feeling was so intensified when, two days later, the still more signal success of the British at Gubat became known, that it was decided to make one more desperate attack upon Khartoum before any reinforcements could arrive. Communications were accordingly opened with some of the commanders in the city, and soon after midnight (Jan. 26) a determined assault was made. The principal points of attack were the Boori Gate, at the extreme east end of the line of defence on the Blue Nile; and the Mesalamieh Gate on the west side, near the White Nile. The former post held out against every attack, but at the Mesalamieh Gate the Arabs, having filled the ditch with bundles of straw and brushwood, penetrated the fortifications, and in a very short time the town was in their hands. Either through accident or design, Gordon was left in ignorance of the serious nature of the attack and its result until it was too late to offer any resistance, and when daylight dawned all hope of prolonging the struggle was over. From subsequent inquiries and the statements of refugees it appeared that Khartoum had been closely invested for nearly three months, during which period the inhabitants suffered extreme privations from want of food. Everything that would sustain life was turned to use, and the Egyptians and negroes, forgetting all caste distinctions, were reduced to eating not only their camels and beasts of burthen, but dogs, rats, and the like "unclean" animals. But as each week passed, bringing no rescue and reducing perceptibly the slender supplies of food, hope began to wane. At length the Europeans, with the exception of Gordon,

decided, if within five days no succour had arrived, to endeavour to escape in one of the steamers which remained. Up to this moment there had been no suspicion of treachery, and the city, under Gordon's rule, had been so tranquil that nothing had been done towards making protracted street-fighting possible within the walls. When, therefore, the Arabs entered the city they met with no obstacle. But this in no way modified their wrath, and they rushed through the streets killing indiscriminately every man they met, whilst the bewildered defenders made no attempt at self-protection. A few shots were fired by the Egyptians and blacks, but for the most part the troops sought shelter in the houses, from whence they were hunted by the Arabs and ruthlessly put to death. After a few hours orders came from the Arab commander to cease slaughter, and those who escaped were reserved for slavery.

The massacre, however, had lasted more than six hours, and it was reckoned that at least 4,000 persons had been slaughtered. The black troops were spared, except those who resisted at the Boori Gate or elsewhere; but the Bashi Bazouks and white regulars and the Shaigia irregulars were mostly all killed in cold blood, after they had surrendered. The accounts received of the death of Gordon differed widely in detail, but all the evidence went to show that he was shot in or near the palace, where his body was subsequently seen by several witnesses. His head was afterwards cut off and carried on a spear to the Mahdi. Major Kitchener, in his official report, ascribed the fall of the city to "a sudden assault when the garrison were too exhausted by privations to make proper resistance," adding that "the accusations of treachery have all been vague, and are to my mind the outcome of mere supposition." Against this latter view must be set the fact that native opinion was unanimous as the existence of treachery on the part of Hassan Bey Balmasanz, who commanded at the Mesalamieh Gate, and who, after the capture of the town, took service under the Mahdi. Farag Pasha was also accused of treachery by many of the survivors; but this accusation was not fully established, and three days after the fall of the city he was publicly beheaded by the dervishes at Omdurman.

By the fall of Khartoum, after a siege of 317 days, and the death of General Gordon, the whole complexion of the Soudan campaign was changed, and Lord Wolseley, in reporting these events, applied to his Government for fresh instructions. In the first moment of grief and indignation on the disaster becoming known, the English Ministry announced that the power of the Mahdi must be broken and Khartoum retaken; but the innumerable difficulties and dangers of such a campaign by degrees forced themselves upon the public mind. The force brought together in Egypt, whilst fully adequate for the purposes of a relief expedition, was quite unsuited for undertaking the siege of a remote fortress, in the midst of a hostile country, and defended by a large and well-equipped army. Meanwhile, the hot season

was rapidly drawing on, and throughout its continuance active operations and forced marches would be impossible for European troops. It was, therefore, decided to withdraw our troops from their more advanced positions and to retire upon Dongola, where they might be cantoned during the hot season, and held in readiness for an advance in the autumn, when the campaign could be resumed on an extensive scale. In accordance with this change of plan, the column stationed at Gubat was safely withdrawn, under the command of General Buller, the route taken being the same as that by which the expedition had advanced. One or two slight engagements were fought on the way with the Arabs, who harassed the retreat, avoiding any general engagement; but when the roll of the desert force was called at Korti it was found that, out of a total of barely 2,000 men, it had lost during the expedition, in killed and disabled from sickness and wounds, no less than 30 officers and 450 men, including General Stewart, who had succumbed to his wounds (Feb. 16) at Gakdul.

The column under General Earle had meanwhile successfully advanced for a considerable distance along the Nile, though in a battle fought at Kirbeka (Feb. 10) it had lost its gallant commander, whose place was taken by Colonel Brackenbury. The members of the Monassir tribe which was responsible for the murder of Colonel Stewart, deserted their district before it was reached by the British, refusing to surrender the murderers or to give guarantees. Their villages were destroyed, their palm-trees cut down, and their water-wheels burnt; but the cattle escaped, having been driven out of reach into the desert. By the end of the month the column had reached Hamdab, but by this time Khartoum had fallen, the project of a junction with the desert force for an attack upon Berber or Shendy had been given up, and the column was ordered to return to Korti, where, at the beginning of March, the whole force was reassembled, but only to fall back on Dongola, which for a time seemed designated as the southern limit of our holding. But the centre of military interest suddenly shifted from the banks of the Nile to the shores of the Red Sea, and the port of Suakim, where an expeditionary force composed partly of British and partly of Indian troops suddenly disembarked. According to the plan of the new campaign, a well-equipped force was to be rapidly pushed across the desert to Berber, in order to co-operate with the Nile column in an advance upon Khartoum. Preparations for victualling and supporting this force were commenced on an extensive scale. A railway was to be laid from Suakim to Berber, the workmen advancing day by day under the protection of the troops, and completing the line as they went along. With little delay the contractors for the railway (Messrs. Aird) despatched a large number of workmen and an immense quantity of railway plant, whilst the British Government contracted with a firm of American engineers for a supply of force-pumps and sets of iron pipes similar to those used in the petroleum.

districts, in order that a continuous supply of water might be furnished from the coast. A still more interesting feature of this expedition was the arrival, during its progress, of a contingent of Australians, the members of which were paid and supported by the colonists of New South Wales, and who rendered good service in the engagements which followed their arrival. The command of the entire expedition was entrusted to Sir G. Graham, but he was not destined on this occasion to repeat the triumphs of the previous year. The Arabs, who had been content to leave Suakim comparatively unmolested during the winter, were roused to fresh activity by the arrival of the expedition, and Osman Digna speedily found himself at the head of a very considerable following. From the very first moment the British advance into the surrounding country was opposed, and almost daily encounters with the Arabs ensued. The Indian troops, after displaying a little unsteadiness, soon became accustomed to the Arab methods of fighting, and showed themselves capable and courageous soldiers, and with their European weapons more than a match for the Arabs. The latter, however, had by this time learnt the dangers of a general engagement, and in spite of the losses inflicted on them from day to day they showed themselves ready to resume their skirmishing tactics when the opportunity offered. Several times they contrived to enter the camp of the Indian troops during the night, and having quietly despatched all stragglers they escaped in the darkness, while the knowledge of the country possessed by them, combined with their rapid and stealthy movements, rendered them dangerous opponents in the bush. In the first serious engagement (March 20) whilst the British column was advancing upon the village of Hasheen, it was attacked by the Arabs, who maintained a battle and barred the road for several hours, and were not dispersed without considerable difficulty. Two days later there was a second engagement of which the results were still more questionable. It had been decided to construct a chain of fortified posts inland to guard the proposed line of advance, and to prepare the way for taking possession of Tamai. General Sir J. McNeill moved out (March 22) of the Suakim intrenchments at the head of a force composed partly of Indian and partly of British troops, to convoy a large number of baggage animals laden with stores for the new zaribas. After a distance of about six miles had been traversed a halt was called, and it was resolved to construct at once a zariba, and to send back part of the force to Suakim; but when, however, in the afternoon, the transport animals had been driven out of the zariba, and the troops were preparing to follow, a large force of the Arabs suddenly emerged from the surrounding cover, and rushed upon our men. The camp was momentarily thrown into confusion, but in a few minutes the men fell into their places and opened so hot a fire upon the Arabs from the zariba that they were forced to fall back to the cover of the brushwood, into which they vanished as suddenly as they had emerged. It was then discovered that

nearly the whole of the transport animals of the column had been hamstrung or killed, and that large numbers of the camp-followers had been cut down; while so impetuous had been the rush that many of the Arabs were actually bayoneted inside the zaribas. After this warning, better precautions against surprise were taken, and though subsequent advances were opposed by the Arabs, they never so nearly again succeeded in their tactics. But just when these useful lessons had been at last mastered, the complications on the Indian frontier gave a new current to the thoughts of statesmen and commanders. The project of the line to Berber was abandoned, and most of the troops originally intended for Egypt were despatched to India or to England. The railway plant, moreover, sent from England, which had been described as the pacific means for civilising the Arabs, was reloaded on the transport and sent back to England; whilst so much of the line laid down as had escaped the Arab attacks was removed. Suakim itself, however, was defended on the land side by a series of field works, and though it was occasionally harassed by night attacks, its possession was never seriously contested by the Arabs until up to very nearly the close of the year.

Meanwhile, at Dongola the desert heat was trying to the utmost the health of the troops stationed there, and towards the end of May orders were given for a withdrawal of the army to within the frontier of Upper Egypt. This step was fraught with less danger as the prospect of the Mahdi's advance daily became less probable. The capture of Khartoum, which had been taken in England as a severe blow to English policy in the East, proved to be but a barren victory for the Madhi. His followers had endured the hardships and faced the dangers of the siege, in the anticipation of obtaining rich booty when the city was taken, and they were grievously disappointed at the actual result. According to the story of some of Gordon's soldiers who escaped after being sold as slaves, Farag Pasha himself was butchered by the dervishes because he was unable to indicate to them the whereabouts of a supposed buried treasure. However this may have been, great dissatisfaction undoubtedly prevailed among the besiegers, which increased by the accounts of the fighting received from the survivors of the conflicts at Abu Klea and Gubat. Under these influences the army of the Mahdi began to melt away, and his difficulties were increased by the appearance of a rival prophet at Kordofan, against whom he was compelled to send a large portion of the troops who remained faithful. All chance of an invasion of Egypt being thus postponed until after the summer, it was decided to abandon Dongola, and fix the frontier to be guarded at Akasheh, a little above Wady Halfa. The camp-followers and friendly natives were included in the withdrawal, and the whole city was entirely deserted. The retreat was effected in masterly style. Everything that prudence could suggest to lighten the march was adopted, and the military stations erected

at the end of every stage of the journey were regarded as models of military science. In spite of the fact that the road traversed had never been used in modern times by an army, and that in many places it presented unusual difficulties, not a single failure in the arrangements was recorded, and as each battalion passed from station to station, it found its rations ready and billets prepared, with as much precision as if it had been moving by road from London to Aldershot. The wisdom of the step taken was confirmed when, in July, the news transpired of the Mahdi's death from typhus or small-pox. Before his death he had nominated his nephew Abdullah, as his successor, but his death seemed likely to suspend, at least temporarily, all preparations for an autumn campaign. On the part of the British, also, the change of government produced no reversal of policy, the Conservatives deciding to abandon the whole of the Soudan, save the Red Sea ports, to the Soudanese. So far as Egypt was concerned, this plan seemed fairly successful up to the close of the year, when the Arabs began to make their presence felt at Akasheh, the British advanced post on the Nile. The cause of their attacks, whether the natural Arabian desire for plunder, or religious fanaticism arising out of the movement originated by the Mahdi, was not very clear; but their persistence was such as to cause some alarm in Upper Egypt and at Cairo, where the fear gained ground that the oft-threatened advance of the Arabs upon Egypt might be attempted by the followers of Abdullah. The close of the year found a force of hostile Arabs holding entrenched positions a short distance beyond the outposts held by the British troops, and from there they were only driven out after a series of smart skirmishes, in which they suffered heavily. The British expeditionary force in Egypt, although somewhat reduced before the winter, consisted of about 14,000 men, besides Indians and Egyptians, and exclusive of the transport and other services. Of this force 8,300 were in Egypt proper, north of Assouan, whilst Suakim was held by 400 infantry and a battery of artillery. The frontier field force of 5,400 men was stationed in detachments of varying strength at Assouan, Korosko, Wady Halfa, Akasheh, and Koseh; but it was proposed to raise the frontier force to 16,000 men, of whom one-half were to be British.

Turning from military to civil affairs, at the beginning of the year Sir Evelyn Baring reported to the British Ministry that the delay which had taken place in arriving at a settlement of the indemnity claims had exasperated public opinion and shaken confidence in the English Government. In his letter he stated that "intrigues of all descriptions were rife; the suffering caused by the non-payment of the Alexandria indemnities was very great; trade was very slack; and commercial transactions, as far as they were based upon credit, were almost at a standstill." Law suits against the Government on account of the deductions from the coupons were still pending, and sooner or later another financial crisis seemed inevitable. While, however, the urgent necessity

for a settlement was fully appreciated by the Home Government, it found its proposals of the previous year still blocked by the determined opposition of France. At the same time Prince Bismarck did not disguise his intention to avail himself of the difficulties which England met with or had aroused in Egypt, in order to express his dissatisfaction at the attitude of England towards the German colonial policy, as a means of putting pressure upon her. By the middle of January, however, the French Government, after a delay of seven weeks, submitted, in reply, a series of counter-proposals which opened the way for fresh negotiations. In the French counter-proposals the view that the Egyptian revenues were sufficient to cover the normal expenditure was restated, and it was suggested that a commission of inquiry should be appointed to examine the subject. But as the inquiry meant delay, and immediate measures of relief were needed, consent, it was said, might be given provisionally to a tax of 5 per cent. on the coupons of all the debts, to be repaid if the revenues were found sufficient. With respect to the proposed Egyptian Loan the French Government suggested that it should be for the sum of 9,000,000*l.*, to be issued at the rate of 3½ per cent., under the collective guarantee of the Powers, the amount required for service of the debt being at the same time made a first charge upon the Egyptian revenue. The proposal to tax foreigners equally with natives was assented to, but objection was made to the British proposals for a re-administration of the Daira and Domain lands, and the merging of the Domain Loan in the Privileged Debt, and the Daira Loan in the Unified Stocks. At the time these counter-proposals were made, the British Government was also indirectly made aware of the fact, that during the interval of delay, France had been negotiating with the other Powers, and had already obtained the adhesion of Germany, Austria, and Russia. In reply to the French proposals, Lord Granville accepted the substitution of an international guarantee for the new loan, and relinquished his proposal as to the Daira and Domain lands and loans. He declined, however, to consent to the appointment of a commission of inquiry, and suggested that the new arrangements should have a two years' trial before anything of the kind was attempted. The counter-proposal was accepted, January 28, by the French and the other Governments, and M. Waddington delivered the formal acceptance by the French Government, February 8, with a detailed statement as to the mode of carrying out the scheme. The arrangement of details, however, proved to be a matter of considerable difficulty; but at length a convention was signed (March 18) in London by the representatives of Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Russia, and Turkey, settling the terms of the loan, with the exception of the price of issue. Even after this was accomplished, various difficulties arose, and in spite of the dire financial straits to which the Egyptian Government was reduced, the Khedival decrees authorising its issue were delayed

for some time (July 27). Two days afterwards the loan of 9,000,000*l.* at 3 per cent. interest was offered for public subscription in London, Paris, Berlin, and Frankfort, at an issue price of 95½, and in the course of a few days applications for 200,000,000*l.* had been received. By the Khedival decrees it was also provided that during the years 1885–6 a tax of 5 per cent. should be levied on the coupons of the Preference and Unified Debts, as also under some cases on those of the Daira and Domains. The redemption of the Privileged and Unified Debts was at the same time suspended, and the British Government consented to forego one-half per cent. of the interest due on the 176,602 Suez shares purchased in 1875.

It is possible that some of the delay between the signing of the convention and the issue of the loan was due to a diplomatic controversy with France, which arose (April) respecting the suppression of a French newspaper entitled *Le Bosphore Egyptien*. This journal had for a long period assailed both the Egyptian and British Governments in the most malicious and scurrilous manner; and during 1884 a decree had been made for its suppression, but, owing to French influence, had never been executed. It was generally believed that the journal was supported by a prominent French official, who used it as the exponent of anti-English views stronger than he dared openly to avow; but matters were brought to a climax when the paper began to publish false news in Arabic, for circulation among the Arabs, designed to arouse hostility against the British. A fresh decree of suspension was therefore made, and Captain Fenwick, commandant of the Cairo Native Police, with a strong body of constabulary, proceeded (April 8) to the printing office of the paper, and, having cleared the premises, sealed up the doors and left the place under a guard. The acting French Consul-General, M. Taillandier, at once protested against this act of the Egyptian Government, contending that while the Government had an undoubted right to suppress by decree any newspaper, it had no power to give effect to that decree by closing a printing office. In consequence of this protest notice was given to the printer that he might open his premises and continue his business, provided that he no longer printed *Le Bosphore Egyptien*; but this he refused to do, and his action received the support of the French Consul-General. In these actions, M. Taillandier was supported by the French Government, which approved of the course he had taken, formally demanded reparation and an apology from the Egyptian Government, and when this was declined, ordered him to break off diplomatic relations and retire to Alexandria (April 25). Ultimately the matter was arranged between the British and French Governments, and the Egyptian Government, acting upon the advice of the latter, consented to the reopening of the printing office, to withdraw the decree of suspension, to pay a sum of money in compensation to the printer, and to make a suitable apology to the French Government. *Le Bosphore Egyp-*

tien was immediately re-issued, its articles displaying more violence and malice than before, especially in its personal attacks upon the leading English officials in the service of the Egyptian Government. No further notice, however, was taken by the Egyptian Government, and the publication was continued until September, when the paper ceased to appear.

The success of the new loan, combined with the enforced economy of administration, removed from the Egyptian Government the pressing liabilities by which it had been hampered; and when no payment of the indemnity awards was made (August) the home policy began to offer a more hopeful future. The returns of the revenue and expenditure also indicated that the prosperity of the country was increasing, the revenue being larger and the ordinary expenditure smaller than in the previous year.

The Khedive in the course of the summer made a tour of inspection through the Delta, in connection with the proposed irrigation works, and was everywhere enthusiastically received by the population. In a conversation reported after his return to Cairo, the Khedive expressed himself much pleased at the noticeable increase of comfort among the peasantry, and a growing feeling of independence and self-respect.

At the end of October Sir H. Drummond Wolff arrived at Cairo from Constantinople, and presented his credentials (Oct. 31) as special envoy, bringing with him a copy of the recently concluded Anglo-Turkish Convention. This convention had not been obtained without considerable difficulty, and the unwillingness of the Turks to give any official recognition to the English position in Egypt was further evinced by the delay which ensued in sending the promised Turkish Commissioner to co-operate with Sir H. D. Wolff. When the latter left Constantinople it was promised that Mukhtar Pasha, as Turkish Commissioner, should follow immediately; but, notwithstanding the earnest and renewed representations of Sir W. White, it was not until nearly the end of December that Mukhtar Pasha left Constantinople for Alexandria. The ostensible reasons advanced for the long delay were illness and bad weather; but it is probable the real reasons were certain representations made at Constantinople, to the effect that Turkish interests would be best promoted by the Government remaining on friendly terms with all the Powers, rather than by attaching herself in any way to England. By the arrival of Mukhtar Pasha at Cairo (Dec. 27) one of the chief objects of the mission of Sir H. D. Wolff was accomplished, inasmuch as it implied a recognition of the fact that British authority in Egypt was supported by the acknowledged suzerain of the country, while by the terms of the convention the evacuation of Egypt, instead of being fixed by any arbitrary date, was postponed until peace and order should have been restored, and the native government established on a settled basis.

Closely connected with the political history of Egypt during

the year 1885 was the acquisition of the port of Massowah on the Red Sea by the Italian Government, only anticipating, perhaps, the unexpressed wishes of the English Ministry. The possession of this port had long been earnestly coveted by the Abyssinians; but it was for many reasons undesirable that it should fall into the hands of a people so little civilised and so unsettled. The ready acquiescence of the Italian Government in the views of the British Cabinet gave general satisfaction in England, but it was less appreciated in Italy itself. The Italian expedition arrived at Massowah at the end of January, and a battalion of Bersaglieri and a battery of artillery were at once landed (Jan. 29) and took possession of the town. It was announced that the Italians would in no way interfere with the civil authorities, but that they would occupy the forts conjointly with the small Egyptian garrison. A protest handed in by the Egyptian authorities, reserving the rights of the Sultan, was duly acknowledged, and the Turkish flag was left flying alongside that of Italy. While, however, everything was done that was possible to humour Turkish susceptibilities, the Italians soon gave evidence of their intention to remain. Reinforcements were landed, and the strength of the Italian fleet in the Red Sea was considerably increased.

During the year the hold of the Italian Government upon the port was quietly strengthened, its success in this work being due in no small degree to the tact which the Italian officials displayed in their management of the natives. Under the direction of the military engineers, the defences of the port were greatly improved, and additional fortifications, effectively armed, were erected both on the coast and inland. At the same time a native force of Nubians and Bashi-Bazouks was enrolled and placed under Italian direction. The members of this force were chiefly employed for police purposes, and for the protection, against the attacks of marauding Arabs, of the caravans trading with the port. By a policy of conciliation the confidence of the natives was gained, and friendly relations were established with the surrounding tribes. The commercial advantages which had been anticipated from the possession of the port were hardly realised during the year, for the trade, though brisk at times, was intermittent. But good hopes were entertained that in the future it would prove to be regular and remunerative. The progress of the Italians however awakened considerable jealousy on the part of the Egyptians, and after a time the latter did all in their power to thwart the Italian authorities, and to weaken their influence with the people. After enduring this for several months the civil administration of the district was assumed by General Gené, the Italian commander, and the Egyptian Vice-Governor, Izzet Bey, and the Egyptian regulars were embarked, at their own request, for Suez. At the same time the Italian flag was hoisted over all the adjacent villages—a step which met with no objection on the part of the natives, but which was said to have given offence to King John, the ruler of Abyssinia.

The mission to King John, undertaken by Admiral Hewett in the previous year, had resulted in securing friendly relations between Egypt and Abyssinia, and a promise was obtained from the Abyssinian ruler that an expedition should be despatched for the relief of some of the beleaguered garrisons. Some time elapsed, however, before the fulfilment of this undertaking. In September a large force, composed of friendly Arabs and Abyssinians, under the command of Ras Alula, the Abyssinian general, advanced against the Arab tribe of the Hadendowas, under the command of Osman Digna. An engagement took place at Kafeil, where the Hadendowas were driven out of a strongly entrenched position and defeated with great slaughter. This first success, however, the Abyssinians failed to follow up promptly, and when at length the advance was made it was too late to rescue the Egyptian garrisons. The more important bravely held out so long as any hope of succour remained, but at length, seeing no chance of aid, they were compelled to make terms with the enemy; whilst the garrison of Gallabat, consisting of 1,000 men, managed to cut its way out and found a refuge on Abyssinian territory.

II. SOUTH AFRICA.

Cape Colony.—In the first week of the year, Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner for the Cape of Good Hope, proclaimed anew the British protectorate over Pondoland, a strip of territory lying along the coast between the eastern boundary of Cape Colony and the southern boundary of Natal, and hitherto enjoying a position of dubious independence. Though in itself an event of slight importance, this re-annexation was a wise precaution in view of the unsettled condition of South Africa, and of Sir Henry Bulwer's hoisting the British flag at St. Lucia Bay, thereby extending the Queen's authority over the whole coastline northwards from Natal to the Portuguese border. By this act, the shore of South Africa, from the mouth of the Orange River on the west to Delagoa Bay on the east, was secured to Great Britain. It was not, however, to be wondered at if this consolidation of the British protectorate excited hostile criticism. Prince Bismarck at once complained, through the German ambassador in London, that the Bechuanaland Expedition was an encroachment on the German colony of Angra Pequena; but he had to be satisfied with Lord Granville's assurance (December, 1884) that the two districts were 700 miles apart, that the object of the expedition was to secure the observance of the treaty of 1883 with the Boers, and that it was in no sense hostile to any German colonial movement. He further stated that, so far from the Cape Government being jealous of German extension, the British Government had recognised the German protectorate on the coast of Damaraland and Namaqualand for 20 miles inland, and saw no reason why it should not be extended as far inland as the 20th

meridian of longitude. Eastward of this limit, however, and to the immediate north of Cape Colony lay the Kalahari country, and over this the British Government had consented that the Cape Government should exercise control. Prince Bismarck prudently abstained from any further insistence of German pretensions, and the matter, so far as that country was concerned, was allowed to drop.

The contingency, however, of a war between England and Russia aroused considerable excitement throughout Cape Colony as to its capabilities of defence, and opinion was divided as to whether Simon's Bay and Table Bay should both be thoroughly fortified, or whether the latter should be made a large and impregnable naval station, able to protect the commerce of the Australian colonies and India. In favour of the latter view, it was urged that in Table Bay the British fleet already had a spacious dry dock, and abundant accommodation for coaling or other purposes, available at all tides and in all weathers, and that the breakwater, when finished, would afford a large anchorage-ground, sheltered from the dangerous north-westerly winds. At the mouth of the bay, Robben Island was especially adapted for the site of a strong fort, whilst above the docks and anchorage-ground, Laon Mountain offered tempting sites for the erection of powerful and unassailable batteries. The reasons in favour of Simon's Bay, on the other hand, were chiefly of a sentimental nature, and the expense of adequately fortifying and garrisoning the heights would be enormous, when compared with the natural advantages offered by Table Bay.

When the Cape Parliament met (May 15) the Governor made no reference in his speech to the permanent annexation of Bechuanaland, remarking only that the length of the military occupation and the future form of government of the district were still uncertain, and the Ministry went no further than to introduce bills sanctioning the annexation of the Transkei territories, and creating a council for the representation of the interests of the unenfranchised natives. Mr. Sprigg, the treasurer of the colony, in making his financial statement (June 4) reported that the deficit of 55,000*l.* existing at the close of the previous financial year (June 30, 1884), had been reduced to 28,000*l.* The temporary loan of 1,000,000*l.* from the Standard Bank in 1883, had been reduced to 400,000*l.*, and for the current financial year the revenue was estimated at 3,530,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 3,472,000*l.*, showing a surplus for June 30, 1886, of 58,000*l.*, involving, consequently, no additional taxation on fresh loans.

The chief subject of debate in the Cape Parliament was the Bechuanaland question, which after extending over a week (from June 29), resulted only in the adoption of a motion for the production of papers, and the Ministers were left untrammelled by any pledge or policy. Mr. Upington, the Premier, in a lengthy speech reviewed, in a hostile spirit, the course of Imperial policy

in Bechuanaland, ridiculed the attitude adopted by Sir C. Warren, and paid a high tribute to Mr. Van Niekerk. He expressed, moreover, his belief that it was the duty of her Majesty's Government to hold fast by the inner protectorate until the colony was prepared to take over the responsibility of government. Messrs. Rhodes and Sprigg also vigorously attacked Sir C. Warren and Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Sprigg stigmatising Sir C. Warren's proposal for the settlement of Bechuanaland as that of a madman, and urging the House not to annex the territory on Sir C. Warren's conditions. The Ministry, in a word, were not prepared to state their intentions with regard to Bechuanaland until they knew the consequences of the change of Government in England, but the majority of the Assembly were strongly opposed to its annexation to Cape Colony. A fortnight later Sir Thomas Scanlan moved a vote of censure on the Government for the removal of Mr. Leigh Hoskyns from the office of Crown Prosecutor in Griqualand West, but was defeated by 43 to 13 votes. On a subsequent day (July 29) Mr. Upington announced that the Government had made fresh proposals to the Imperial Government for the annexation of Bechuanaland to Cape Colony, but that these proposals not having been accepted, it would be impossible for a bill to be introduced during the session. Parliament was prorogued (Aug. 14) without any definite settlement being arrived at. A momentary and local difficulty arose in consequence of customs duties having been imposed by the Cape Government on all goods entering the colony across the Natal border. The inhabitants of Griqualand East, who were the first and most to suffer from this restriction of trade, appealed to the Imperial Government (Sept.) against the imposition, but without obtaining much redress. Trade, however, in the early part of the year at least was not affected, for during the first six months of this year the railways of the colony yielded sufficient to pay all their working expenses, besides leaving a surplus of nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. towards payment of interest on the capital expended on constructions. The colony, at the close of the year, had 1,642 miles of railway in working order, representing an outlay of 14,788,600*l.*, inclusive of the Kimberley extension of 80 miles, the cost of which was estimated at 400,000*l.*

Bechuanaland.—This, our youngest colony, lying in the heart of temperate Africa, and equal in area to Spain, was added to the British Empire early in the year. Its official limits are "the parts of South Africa situate west of the boundary of the South African Republic; north of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope; east of the 20th meridian of east longitude; and south of the 22nd parallel of south latitude." It forms part of the great central backbone of Africa, and is for the most part a plateau of from 4,000 to 6,000 feet above the sea-level. It is healthy for Europeans, and the soil is rich, well-watered, and well-suited for agriculture; and though the Boers, from interested motives, depreciate in public its advantages, they tell one another it is the

best pasture-land in South Africa. As a trade route to the interior of Africa it promises to have an important future, and the Queen's protectorate will shield the natives from the filibustering raids of the Boers on the one hand, and from the aggression of native tribes on the other. Sir Charles Warren, who had arrived in December, 1884, in command of an expedition from which great results were expected, was received everywhere with enthusiasm. His good services in South Africa from 1876 to 1879—during the anxious period which followed the Isandlana disaster, he administered the government of Griqualand West—had not been forgotten. He was now charged by the Imperial Government to expel freebooters from Bechuanaland, to restore order, and to hold the country until some regular form of government should be established. On his arrival he proclaimed military law throughout the district, and took over the administration into his own hands. His rapid movements and resolute action at once bore fruit. The filibusters principally "tracked out," and the law-abiding settlers welcomed him warmly, and seconded his efforts to restore order. Even in Stellaland and Goshen, the disaffected districts, the establishment of English authority in some form made itself felt.

Sir C. Warren's policy received support from all classes. He found that, during the fifteen months of the existence of Stellaland as a republic, a debt of 11,000*l.* had been incurred, with no practical means at hand for discharging the liability. Having therefore summoned a meeting of 350 of the leading Stellalanders, he proposed certain radical changes in view of the financial situation: (1) that the existing system of government should be changed for one which the finances of the country could support; (2) that the Government offices should be closed for a week, in order to allow an examination into the claims against the Government; (3) that inquiry should be made into the cases of those officials who had received both land and salary for their services; and (4) that, on the establishment of these claims, the inhabitants of Stellaland should consent to bear their share of the common debt. These proposals having been carried by acclamation, the meeting broke up with cheers for the Queen and Sir C. Warren. The latter then consented to an interview on the Transvaal frontier with President Krüger, who urged the recognition of certain individual claims to land in Goshen. Sir C. Warren, who was accompanied by Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Rhodes, stated in reply that the Goshen 'Bestuur' were a gang of land-robbers, and that no whites would be allowed to remain in Goshen without special permits. He also denied the right of the natives to alienate their lands, but he would admit the validity of such rights as could stand the test of inquiry. After some wrangling and delay, an understanding was arrived at with President Krüger, and officials were despatched to Rooi Ground to order off the Goshenites, and it was arranged that the residents of Stellaland and the Transvaal should only be permitted to cross the frontier when provided with regular passports

from their respective governments. Having settled these points, Sir Charles Warren proceeded to mass his troops at Vryburg, which he selected as his head-quarters, and fixed the date (March 10) for the election of a governing body for Stellaland. By that date also all grants issued by the late Government were to be presented for registry and investigation. His next step was to arrest Mr. Van Niekerk and Commandant Celliers, Stellaland burghers, for complicity in the murder of Mr. James Honey. According to the best-authenticated version of a much-vexed story, Van Niekerk, when chief of the Stellaland Republic, had issued a proclamation declaring Mr. Honey an outlaw, and forbidding him, under penalty of death, to re-enter Stellaland. Undeterred by this proclamation, Mr. Honey re-appeared in Stellaland, was captured, and taken to the Transvaal for trial. The authorities there held that they had no jurisdiction, so the prisoner was taken back to Stellaland and barbarously murdered on the way. This happened early in 1883—and although Mr. Honey was missed in February, it was not until four months later that his remains were found and identified by means of his clothes and letters. The body bore evidence of bullet-wounds, and the skull had been battered with a stone and frightfully disfigured. This event, however, had taken place a year before the British protectorate was declared over Stellaland, and as Van Niekerk was Dutch, while Mr. Honey was English, there was a tendency to regard the affair as a race-quarrel. The little evidence obtainable pointed to murder of a deliberate and brutal kind; but the investigation, after lasting over a week, was adjourned without arriving at a solution of the tragedy. Meanwhile, the Queen's Order in Council, providing for the establishment of civil and criminal jurisdiction in Bechuanaland had been issued; but before it reached Vryburg Sir Charles Warren and the authorities of the South African Republic had grown mutually suspicious of one another, each believing the other to be animated by hostile intentions, and preparing for overt acts. After much difficulty, Sir H. Robinson succeeded in allaying these mutual apprehensions, but only to find himself involved in a still more serious misunderstanding, arising from the presence of Mr. Mackenzie in Sir C. Warren's camp. There was possibly no one more competent to help the administrator to arrive at some conclusion respecting the causes of Mr. Honey's murder, but Sir H. Robinson held strongly to the opinion that Mr. Mackenzie's antecedents and known bias rendered his presence at Vryburg impolitic. The point was referred home to the Secretary for the Colonies (Earl of Derby), who gave his decision in favour of Mr. Mackenzie being permitted to remain, to assist Sir C. Warren in his investigations. A delicate situation was thus created, and the relations between Sir H. Robinson and Sir C. Warren became somewhat strained. The former accordingly wrote (March 11), to Lord Derby that Sir Charles Warren's policy did not, in many

respects, meet with his approval, and requested that if the Home Government preferred to leave the civil settlement of Bechuanaland in Sir Charles Warren's hands, he might be relieved of all responsibility. Lord Derby, in reply, expressed general concurrence with Sir H. Robinson, but reminded him that Sir Charles Warren's appointment was civil as well as military, that public opinion approved his policy so far, and that his supersession would cause great dissatisfaction in England. Sir Charles Warren was instructed at the same time to refer to the High Commissioner all questions of policy whenever practicable, and to treat with special precautions all matters affecting the Dutch population.

About the same time Mr. Rhodes, whose relations with Sir Charles Warren had also become strained, resigned his post as Deputy-Commissioner for Bechuanaland, assigning as his reason for the step that he considered Sir C. Warren's action without justification and contrary to treaty obligations. The latter, however, pushed forward rapidly and reached Rooi Ground (March 10) with twenty men, while the inhabitants believed him to be still at Vryburg. He found most of the houses occupied by Boers and their families, whose names and circumstances he caused to be entered and their title-deeds to be examined. He met with no opposition to his advance, and a deputation of twelve loyalists presented him with a written address of welcome, desiring that the affairs of Goshen might be arranged on the same footing as those of Stellaland. His first act on arriving was to cause the body of Mr. Bethell to be exhumed, and, after removing it from Rooi Ground, he had it re-interred with full military honours at Mafeteng, in the presence of the two brothers of the murdered man. The trial of Van Niekerk and Celliers for complicity in the murder of Mr. Honey was then resumed (April 6) at Vryburg, and it having been proved that the murder was committed outside the Stellaland border, both prisoners were discharged, but were re-arrested and brought before Major Lowe, the Assistant Commissioner of Bechuanaland, and committed for trial. Eventually Van Niekerk was discharged, on the ground of insufficient evidence, and Celliers' trial was again postponed. Mr. Honey's servant Arend, however, had given a detailed account of the murder, which, he stated, was committed by Diedricks and Adrian de la Rey, in the presence of twenty-eight Boers; he further stated that Van Niekerk knew of the murder and spoke about it.

It was not long before Sir Charles Warren in his turn called the attention of the Home Government (March 23) to the difficulties he experienced in carrying out his duties as Special Commissioner, and a few days later he stated that it was all-important he should be allowed latitude in local matters and in the nomination of officers. At the end of May, Lord Derby informed him that the Stellaland titles must be generally recognised and upheld, except in instances of flagrant coercion or unfairness, and that any such cases should be reported for the consideration of

Her Majesty's Government, but that no detailed investigation need take place into titles generally.

Sir C. Warren's policy had so far (April 25) been successful that it had been attended by neither disturbance nor collision. He consequently took the earliest opportunity of abrogating martial law, and remitting the civil administration to the local Bestuur, advised by two British officers. He next proceeded northwards to Shoshong, with the view of securing the adhesion of the important chiefs Sechele and Khama. The former gave an equivocal answer, "When we see what benefits Mankoroane and Montsioa get, we will consider the question: till then, go and do what you came to do!" The native chiefs, however, soon found it expedient to adopt a more definite course, voluntarily accepted the British protectorate, and ultimately both chiefs agreed, in return for the recognition of their independence, to protect the trade route and to adopt certain internal reforms. This speedy pacification of Bechuanaland and the consolidation of its government were not favourably viewed by the Transvaal Republic, and President Krüger denounced the effects of this policy to Sir H. Robinson. But the latter replied that Sir C. Warren considered President Krüger could, if he wished, himself materially assist in promoting peace in South Africa by preventing the recent filibusters congregating near the border. In order to mark the intentions of the Government, the troops reaped the crops of those freebooters who had not presented claims, and handed over one-half of them to the Baralongs, whilst those claimants who had substantiated their rights were left undisturbed. In order, however, to realise accurately the advantages derivable from the annexation of Bechuanaland, it is necessary to turn to Sir C. Warren's report on the country placed under his administration. According to this, the colony comprised an area of 70,000 square miles, including within its protectorate 7,000 farms of 6,000 acres each. He proposed that these farms should, in accordance with the desire of the native chiefs, be rented by English settlers at 9*l.* each. The revenue derivable from the Cape customs, an Imperial contribution, the police allowance, the land receipts, the hut tax, and stamps, he placed at 63,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 62,000*l.* The Government was to consist of (1) a Lieutenant-Governor, under the High Commissioner for South Africa, who should not be Governor of Cape Colony; and (2) a Legislative Council, partly official and partly elected. On Sir C. Warren's return to Vryburg at the end of July, he met with a most enthusiastic reception. The Dutch from the neighbouring farms turned out in large numbers to welcome him, and addresses were presented, signed by nearly every inhabitant of Stellaland. They expressed pleasure at his return, admiration for his work, and confidence in his ability to settle the Bechuanaland question satisfactorily. In his reply he referred to the opposition he had met with from unexpected quarters, which, but for the support

of his subordinates and the people generally, would have involved the failure of his policy. He was glad to say that, whereas there had been an increasing debt up to January 14, the revenue of Stellaland since that time had exceeded the expenditure, and part of the debt had been paid off. There was no need, he hoped and believed, for further military operations, and he could at once enter on the discharge of his civil functions as Special Commissioner. Four hundred inhabitants of Stellaland, both English and Dutch, afterwards joined in a petition praying for the continuance of Imperial rule, and protesting against annexation to Cape Colony, whilst the whole population were desirous that the settlement of the question should be left in the hands of Sir Charles Warren. The Home authorities, however, decided differently, and he was recalled. Judge Shippard, a member of the Cape Bench, and lately Cape Commissioner for adjusting the Angra Pequena question, was appointed his successor, as Administrator of Bechuanaland, which was to be constituted a Crown colony, entirely separate from Cape Colony. Nearly the whole of the expeditionary force had now left the country, and Carrington's police (500) were stationed in different parts to preserve order. Before leaving, Sir Charles Warren was most warmly received at various places in Cape Colony, and on leaving Cape Town (Sept. 24) for England he had quite an ovation. A fortnight later the Governor of Cape Colony was proclaimed Governor of British Bechuanaland, and the appointments of all the officers were vested in him, whilst the Cape laws were to be observed as far as possible. Sir H. Robinson visited Bechuanaland in November, and was well received at Vryburg, but there were also demonstrations of hostility towards him. He told a deputation of farmers that the agreement made by Mr. Rhodes would form the basis of the land settlement, due provision being made for the natives. If the available assets were insufficient to cover the Stellaland debt, the balance would be charged on the farms, in opposition to the plan suggested by Sir C. Warren. With his departure from Cape Town the Bechuanaland Expedition ended. It had lasted about nine months and cost nearly a million of money, but it had vindicated the nation's honour, secured peace and order to a territory larger in extent than the United Kingdom, and opened it up definitely to civilisation and commerce. The peremptoriness with which Sir C. Warren was recalled had all the appearance of disapprobation; but this was not so, and on all sides, from Her Majesty downwards, he received gratifying proof that his task had been thoroughly and successfully carried out. And this was the more to his credit since his success had been frequently jeopardised by the controlling influence of Sir H. Robinson and the Boer sympathies of the Cape Ministry.

Basutoland.—The opening year found that very little real progress had been made towards establishing any well-defined

administration in this colony. When the Imperial Government took over the territory, the only great chief who held out was Masupha; but even he, whilst acknowledging himself "a child and subject of the Queen," maintained that under her he was supreme, and therefore refused to submit himself to the authority of Colonel Clarke. The latter was, however, working smoothly with the loyal Basutos until the expedition to Bechuanaland was set on foot, when it was rumoured by Boer intriguers that Sir Charles Warren was coming to fight the Basutos. Thereupon loyal chiefs like Lerothodi collected their fighting men and prepared for the fray. To allay their anxiety, Col. Clarke at once called a pitso (Feb. 21), to explain matters; the chiefs listened and apologised, but retired only half-convinced. During the following month some intertribal fighting having broken out, a national pitso was summoned, at which the principal chiefs, Letsea, Masupha, and Jonathan were present. The general outcome of the gathering was pacific. Letsea insisted that the payment of the hut-tax should be impartially enforced, and that the property of all enemies of the Government should be declared forfeited.

But if within their own borders the Basutos were able to keep peace and maintain order, it was not so in their dealings with their neighbours. The Government of the Orange Free State officially protested against the lawlessness existing on the Basuto frontier. Thefts of cattle and violation of territory were made the causes of constant complaint, and the British commissioner in Basutoland was accused of not having a sufficient force at his disposal to repress disturbances. This was met by the countercharge that the Free State Government, by offering every facility for the supply of spirituous liquors to the Basutos, had acted in direct contravention of their own laws, and it was to this illicit trade that the disturbances were chiefly attributable. In the interest of economical government, Lord Derby had refused to introduce into the colony the costly machinery of British officers, and allowed the natives to constitute an administration of their own and to govern themselves according to their own customs. The experiment was scarcely satisfactory in its working; the local chiefs within the limits of their districts exercised their powers unrestrained, sanctioned unrestrictedly the sale of spirits, and rapidly reaped the results in anarchy, demoralisation, and the decay of every branch of trade and industry. The Imperial Government being directly responsible for the maintenance of order within the borders of Basutoland, the existence of such a state of affairs threatened to become a grave scandal. The Orange Free State, Griqualand East, Pondoland, the Transkei, and other more or less protected districts near the coast, might one and all reasonably complain of the influence of such neighbours. The only remedy appeared to be the introduction of British officers and the assurance that the country would be administered with a firm hand. One condition

agreed to by the natives on being taken over by the Imperial Government was the payment of a hut-tax of 18s. per annum. Hitherto this tax had brought in 20,000*l.*, but this year it had suddenly fallen to 5,000*l.*, the natives, profiting by the anarchy, having refused to pay. To make up for this deficiency, the chiefs found in the trading class, which was chiefly foreign, a promising substitute. To the British trading licence of 10*l.* per annum, they added an additional 12*l.* Their hopes, however, were not altogether realised, for many traders shut up their stores and retired, rather than suffer the exactions thus put upon them.

Natal and Zululand.—Sir H. Bulwer opened the Legislature (June 18) with a speech favourably reviewing the prospects of the colony, but urging caution in the management of the colonial finances. In July the Council adopted resolutions recognising the fact that the interests of Natal and Zululand were inseparable, and urging that the Queen's rule should at once be extended over the whole of Zululand, including all the eastern territories between the Transvaal and the Portuguese frontier. But these aspirations were not realised. The Budget, with prosaic perversity, showed a falling-off in the receipts of 137,000*l.*, but it was hoped the customs, excise, and land sales would at the end of the year show an improvement to the extent of 44,000*l.*, and that the total deficit would only be 73,100*l.* No proposal was therefore made for increased taxation, before the Council was prorogued (Sept. 24), after a long but barren session. Sir H. Bulwer left Natal (Oct. 23), to the great regret of the colonists, who regarded the loss of his services, at this juncture, as a serious misfortune, and all classes joined in demonstrations of respect and regret. The great coal-fields discovered some years previously were reported to cover an area in Natal alone of more than 2,000 square miles, some of the seams being 10 feet in thickness and close to the surface. In view of the increasing yield of the gold-fields the Durban merchants bestirred themselves to organise a regular waggon service through Zululand district. In this way, the country, though still in a very unsettled condition, appeared to be in a fair way to settle down once more into a feeling of security, of which the need had long been felt. The most disturbing question debated in public was the future of Zululand. By some, simple annexation to Natal was advocated, but others desired to place it under a British protectorate, along with all other territory as far as the borders of the Portuguese possessions. The advocates of the latter policy urged that this would form a definite and final frontier, and that a firm administration might by this means be built up under the British flag, which would secure order among the various native tribes and protect them from outside aggression. The events of the past few years had so completely broken the strength of the Zulu nation that the inhabitants were in danger of being driven out of their own country by Boers and filibusters. When, after the Zulu war, we appropriated the Reserve Territory,

we stripped the Zulus of their choicest lands. The Boers came after us, taking a good one-third of what was left, and are now bent on taking the remainder. It is, therefore, urged that England, in ordinary justice, should secure for the Zulus whatever prosperity is possible in what is left to them of their own country. They are willing to pay the hut-tax, even up to 1*l.* per hut a year; but in return they hope for English protection, whilst many of the chiefs look forward to hold their country under the Queen. The restoration of Dinizulu, Cetywayo's only son and his legitimate successor, acting in co-operation with an English Resident, and under a British protectorate, would, it is felt by many, be a simple and honourable termination to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs. The Reserve Territory, which comprises one-third of the original kingdom of Zululand, continues orderly, and the hut-tax of 8,000*l.* a year is paid to the English commissioner without the slightest trouble.

Transvaal.—The cry of "South Africa for the Africanders!" seems to have waxed fainter as the year rolled by, and, judging from recent events, it may be inferred that soon there will be but few Africanders who do not acknowledge that their individual interests are better secured by close alliance with the British Empire than by any form of Boer independence. In the Transvaal the Boer hold on the northern province is now purely nominal; many of the towns are in ruins and have been re-occupied by natives; the general condition of agriculture is deplorable, recalling the state of affairs immediately preceding the famous invitation to England to annex the country. As regards finances, the efforts of the Government to raise a loan in Europe proved fruitless, notwithstanding the readiness with which they proposed to ignore one-half of their obligations towards the holders of their national debt by reducing the guaranteed interest thereon by one half. Political factions, all of them bitterly hostile to each other, have grown in strength during the year; and many close observers of passing events in the country declared civil war within a year to be by no means improbable, and bankruptcy within three years almost a certainty. President Krüger, on his way from Pretoria to meet Sir Charles Warren, addressed various meetings of Transvaal burghers, exhorting them to remain quiet, and warning them that they would be punished if they interposed between the British Government and the Goshen freebooters. As he could not quit Transvaal territory without the leave of the Volksraad, he met Sir C. Warren at Four Streams (Jan. 24), and having agreed to a cordial co-operation with that general, he returned to Pretoria a month later. On May 4 the Volksraad re-assembled at Pretoria; but the President's opening address offered but few subjects of interest. After referring to his friendly relations with foreign Powers, he announced that negotiations were going on for the construction of a railway to the Portuguese border. He regretted that the commissioners appointed

to beacon off the border line between the Transvaal and Bechuana-land had been unable to come to an agreement, but an arbitrator had been appointed by the President of the Orange Free State. A few days later there was an animated debate on Western border affairs, the President almost charging Dr. Jorissen with high treason, and the Volksraad adjourned in great disorder. At a subsequent meeting the President's report was adopted, with instructions to avoid involving the Transvaal in the question between the Government of Great Britain and the occupants of Goshen. The revenue for the year ending March 31, 1886, was estimated at 220,553*l.*, and the expenditure at 216,526*l.*; but in July the Government, having failed to procure the funds recommended by the finance committee of the Volksraad as necessary to carry on the administration of the country, payments from the Transvaal treasury were temporarily suspended, and great depression prevailed. Sir H. Robinson having, however, postponed for three months the payment of interest due under the convention, the necessity for issuing treasury bills was avoided, and the prospect became brighter, and when the Volksraad closed its session (Aug. 9) the burghers were paying their arrears of taxes and the temporary pressure was relieved. Moreover, the final settlement of the boundary question on the south-west border, leaving the trade route unchanged, caused general satisfaction.

Orange Free State.—This State, in spite of its being administered by a president of such exceptional abilities as Sir H. J. Brand, has outwardly progressed but little during the year. Notwithstanding the establishment of a good system of public instruction, of an efficient magistracy, and of a ready market for farm produce opened out by the diamond fields, the Boers are gradually and willingly reverting to their former state of isolation. The revenue returns showed a deficit instead of a surplus, and there was a debt of 100,000*l.*, which the Boers have taken strenuous measures to pay off in three years. How this can be carried out in face of the prevailing depression is a serious problem. The solution which seems to present itself most readily to the Boers is to continue, as of old, to oppress and crush the natives, to seize their territory, and thereby acquire a fresh, if temporary, lease for themselves; but the dangers of such high-handed policy are now greatly increased, and it is only reasonable to hope and expect that the Orange Free State will share in the general, though gradual, improvement which is showing itself throughout South Africa.

Congo Free State.—This new state, recently added to the civilised world through the enterprise of Mr. H. M. Stanley and the enlightened munificence of the King of the Belgians, has developed rapidly during the year. Only a few years back the upper basin of the Congo was entirely unknown. Now there are European settlements at Stanley Pool, 800 miles from the sea, and above that the river continues navigable for upwards of 1,000 miles, to Stanley Falls. At the beginning of the year Mr. Stanley

estimated about 5,250 miles of uninterrupted navigation above Stanley Pool. Since then Lieutenant Weissman has added 500 miles to our knowledge, and Messrs. Grenfell, Sims, and Von Francois, by their exploration of the Mubangi, Lubiranzi, Itimbiri, Lulungu, and Uruki affluents, another 1,000 miles, making altogether 7,000 miles of navigable water, with their wide expanse of river-banks to explore. The Conference, which assembled at Berlin in November 1884, after many weeks of careful deliberation, secured to the Congo State all the territory needed to provide it with uninterrupted access to the sea. It obtained free and undivided possession of the north bank of the river Congo from Manyanga down to Banana Point, together with about 40 miles of the Atlantic seaboard as far as Red Point. On the south bank its territory, starting from the important trading station of Vivi, included Stanley Pool, but, on the other hand, Portugal secured the whole of the south bank up to and including Noki, whence her frontier line was carried due east as far as the Kuango. On the north bank her territory was limited to the district around Massabe, Landana, Malembo, and Kabinda, and about 40 square miles of territory on the seaboard due north of the river's mouth. There the Portuguese frontier on the west coast of Africa extends from the German flagstaff at Cape Frio northwards to the mouth of the Congo, and then, with a gap of about 40 miles, starts again at Red Point, and ends at Massabe, where the French take up the coast line, and carry it on till the German border is again reached.

During the year explorers have been busy and successful. Weissman, the German traveller who crossed Africa in 1882 from St. Paul de Loanda to Zanzibar, reached Stanley Pool in July, after eighteen months' journeying. He traversed a great extent of country and settled some most important points. The large rivers Lulua, Sankuru, Kassai, and Lubilash, instead of flowing north and joining the Congo, as was supposed, in its great sweep north of the equator, all turn westward and unite in one noble stream, the Kassai, everywhere open to navigation and having no rapids or falls. This river absorbs the great Kwango, and still trending west, receives the waters flowing from Lake Leopold, finally emptying itself into the Congo at Kwamouth. This newly discovered country is rich and fertile, the people are friendly, and strange to say, have some knowledge of religion, *i.e.* they believe in a God who lives in the sky, and who sees and knows all they do, and they expect to go to Him when they die. Another explorer, Mr. Grenfell, made a satisfactory voyage from Stanley Pool to Stanley Falls, a distance of 1,060 miles, in five months. He thereby proved that the Upper Congo river and many of its tributaries could be safely navigated. His trip was performed in a small English steamer, the *Peace*, seventy feet long, which, after a trial upon the Thames, had been taken to pieces and so sent to the Congo, whence the plates were carried overland to Stanley Pool on men's heads, a distance of 225 miles. There she was recon-

structed by Mr. Grenfell and his coloured assistants, who shortly after started on their journey, and soon found the whole upper river to be open to civilisation, commerce, and missionary enterprise. The Congo State has been divided into four administrative districts, viz., the Lower Congo (English), the Livingstone Falls, and the Pool (German), the Congo between the Pool and the Equator (Italian), and the Upper Congo (Belgian). There was a general feeling of disappointment when Mr. Stanley declined to be appointed the first Governor-General of the new State. The post was offered by the King of the Belgians, the chief of the Congo State, to Sir F. de Winton in May of this year, and he was succeeded in December by M. Janssen, of the Belgian Consular Service. The State has adopted the personal arms of the Belgian monarch, to which is added a blue banner centred with a golden star, and bearing for its device *Travail et Progrès*.

In December an agreement was concluded for the construction of a railway, connecting the Lower with the Upper Congo, *i.e.* from Leopoldville, the capital of the Congo State, to a point accessible to sea-going steamers near Noki. By means of this railway, the cataracts, which now cut off all direct access between Stanley Pool and the sea, will be turned, merchandise shipped from all parts of the civilised world will be conveyed to Leopoldville, and there exchanged with the native produce collected from the 1,000 miles of navigable river between Stanley Pool and Stanley Falls, as well as from the numerous tributaries which feed the great river in that region. The capital to be raised is 1,000,000*l.*, and the railway is to be constructed under a royal charter issued by the Congo State to the Company. Subscriptions were to be opened in the capitals of each of the fourteen Powers which took part in the Berlin Conference, so that the railway will become from the outset an international undertaking, though it is intended to register it under British law and to fix the seat of its administration in London. The Congo State Government guarantees the Company 40 per cent. of the gross customs' revenue for export duties until the railway can show a 6 per cent. dividend.

The Cameroons.—Early in January news reached England of a recent German expedition to the West Coast of Africa. On December 18, 1884, two German war-vessels had reached the Cameroons, and two days later 330 men and four guns were landed, because King Bell, from whom the Germans had bought Cameroon in July 1884 for 70*l.*, had been driven out of Bell Town by the inhabitants of Hickory Town and Foss Town. These villages were forthwith destroyed by the Germans, and many chiefs captured or killed, and the authority of the German flag quickly re-established. In March there was a startling report that a German force had taken possession of the British settlement of Victoria, at the head of Ambas Bay, hauling down the British flag and hoisting the German in its place. The rumour was, however, wholly without foundation, and the relations between Germany

and Great Britain, which had been for some time rather strained in respect to colonial acquisitions of the former in West Africa, rapidly improved. An agreement was come to between the two countries, whereby the district between the Baptist settlement of Victoria, on Ambas Bay, and the Rio del Rey was abandoned to Germany, Victoria itself being retained by Great Britain. In return Germany undertook not to interfere with the region lying to the west of the Rio del Rey, and not to take advantage of any possible omissions in British treaties with the native tribes in the district of the Niger. The whole of the coast from the Rio del Rey to Cape Three Points, beyond Cape Coast Castle, was to remain under exclusively British influence.

Madagascar.—The first half of this year, like the last of 1884, was spent in inaction, the Hovas quietly strengthening their defences and improving their army; whilst the French troops found themselves unable to advance without reinforcements. Trade meanwhile revived, and was better than at any time since the outbreak of the war, and, as previously, was almost exclusively carried on by English merchants. The great need of the country, the construction of public works, remained unsatisfied. In the interior no roads or bridges, no drainage or system of irrigation exist; each individual is expected to make what canals are necessary for his own plantations; and since the outbreak of hostilities, all useful progress has been retarded.

In June a Hova expedition, under Andriantsilavo and Colonel Shervinton, started from the capital against the French and their Sakalava allies on the north-west coast. It was given six months to accomplish its work, but it was only absent four, during which time it marched 475 miles and obtained a complete victory over the French and their allies, with a loss of only 22 killed and wounded. The French had reckoned on a mountainous and impenetrable forest proving an effectual barrier to the Hova advance; but Colonel Shervinton ordered a new road 40 miles long to be cut through the forest, and this was done in $3\frac{1}{2}$ days. At midnight, on the fourth day, the Hovas stormed and took the town of Gangoa, which they sacked and burnt. The French at Ambodrinadivo on hearing of this marched out, 250 strong and with three machine-guns, to attack the Hovas, and a battle took place at Refitna. The Hovas had a Hotchkiss gun, and by almost its first discharge the French officer in command was killed. During the engagement the Hovas were attacked by the Sakalavas, but these they soon put to flight, and then, to the number of 400, charged the French, who broke and fled in confusion. More than 100 French were missing, of whom 40 were killed, the Hovas losing only 8 killed and 14 wounded. On October 1 the expedition re-entered the capital, amid great rejoicings, the chief attraction being the trophies taken from the enemy, including a French flag. At Tamatave 600 more French troops arrived at the end of July, and further reinforcements were promised. On September 10

Admiral Miot attacked the Hova position at Tarafat with 1,400 men, but after two hours' fighting was obliged to fall back.

Negotiations for peace had, through the mediation of the Italian consul, been going on (June 13 to Aug. 17) between Admiral Miot and the Queen's prime minister; but they fell through because the latter refused to accept a French protectorate and a French Resident in the capital, to control foreign relations. The Hova Government had already conceded so much to the French demands that the refusal to accept a protectorate gave great satisfaction throughout the island. At the close of the year a basis of agreement was arrived at, after three days' conference at Tamatave, between the plenipotentiaries of the two countries, and the terms were forwarded to Antananarivo for ratification. France waived her claim to a protectorate, and also to a war indemnity. Queen Ranavalona was to be recognised by the French as Queen of Madagascar. The Malagasy Government was to pay a sum of 400,000*l.* in order to satisfy claims of foreigners, and Tamatave was to remain in the hands of the French until it was paid. France was to occupy the Bay of Diego Suarez at the northernmost point of Madagascar, and a French Resident at the capital was to watch external political matters. The ratification of the treaty of peace was anxiously awaited at Tamatave, but it had not arrived by the end of the year.

Mauritius.—An event of the greatest importance to this colony took place during the year, in that, having been virtually governed from Downing Street for seventy-five years, the inhabitants have now been granted the right of electing their own representatives to the Legislative Council. Lord Derby agreed during the summer that the Mauritians should have full control over their local and financial affairs, as distinguished from matters of Imperial concern. A commission to settle the franchise was then appointed, and Colonel Stanley, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, telegraphed (July 29) that the Council might contain ten elected members of the colony (Lord Derby had only consented to six), in accordance with the petition addressed to the Queen three years previously.

CHAPTER VII.

AMERICA.

UNITED STATES—CANADA—MEXICO—CENTRAL AMERICA—WEST
INDIES—BRAZIL—CHILI AND PERU.

I. UNITED STATES.

THE state of parties at the beginning of the year 1885, as indicated by the returns to the forty-ninth Congress, was as follows:—The Senate: Republicans, 41; Democrats, 34; doubtful, 1; total, 76. The House of Representatives: Republicans, 140; Democrats, 182; Greenback-labour, 1; Fusionist, 1; vacancy, 1; total, 325. The most important event in American annals was the return of the Democratic party to power after twenty-four years of Republican administration. The closing session of the forty-eighth Congress was barren of important results. The principal measures enacted were bills providing for the admission of French claims to the Court of Claims within two years; prohibiting the prepayment of transportation or the importation of foreign contract labour; restoring General Grant's rank in the army on the retired list; returning the residue of the Chinese Indemnity to the Chinese Government; appropriating \$1,895,000 for the construction of two cruisers, one heavily armed gunboat and one light gunboat; reducing rates of postage; and regulating settlements in the Indian territory and the forfeiture of certain railroad lands. Most of these matters are more particularly referred to in the preceding volume of the ANNUAL REGISTER as pertinent to the Session 1884-5.

On February 11 Congress in joint session formally counted the votes recorded in the late Presidential election, and declared Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Hendricks to have been chosen as President and Vice-President respectively. The installation of Mr. Cleveland as President of the United States took place, March 4, at Washington, with the customary ceremonies. His inaugural address, which is as follows, was delivered to a vast audience, estimated at 150,000 people:—"Fellow-citizens,—In presence of this vast assemblage of my countrymen, I am about to supplement and seal, by the oath which I shall take, the manifestation of the will of a great and free people. In the exercise of their power and their right of self-government, they have committed to one of their fellow-citizens a supreme and sacred trust, and he here consecrates himself to their service. This impressive ceremony adds little to the solemn sense of responsibility with which I contemplate the duty I owe to all the people in the land. Nothing can relieve me from anxiety, lest by any act of mine

their interests may suffer, and nothing is needed to strengthen my resolution and engage every faculty and effort in the promotion of their welfare. Amid the din of party strife the people's choice was made, but its attendant circumstances have demonstrated anew the strength and safety of government by the people. In each succeeding year it more clearly appears that our democratic principle needs no apology, and that in its fearless, faithful application is to be found the surest guarantee of good government. But the best results in the operation of a government, wherein every citizen has a share, largely depend upon the proper limitation of purely partisan zeal and effort, and the correct appreciation of the time when the heat of the partisan should be merged in the patriotism of the citizen. To-day the executive branch of the Government is transferred to new keeping, but this is still a government of all the people, and should be none the less the object of their affectionate solicitude. At this hour the animosities of political strife, the bitterness of partisan defeat, and the exultation of partisan triumph should be supplanted by ungrudging acquiescence in the popular will, and sober, conscientious concern for the general weal. Moreover, if from this hour we cheerfully and honestly abandon all sectional prejudice and distrust, and are determined, with manly confidence in one another, to work out harmoniously the achievements of our national destiny, we shall deserve to realise all the benefits which our happy form of government can bestow.

“On this auspicious occasion we may renew the pledge of our devotion to the Constitution, which, launched by the founders of the Republic, and consecrated by their prayers and patriotic devotion, has for almost a century borne the hopes and aspirations of a great people through prosperity and peace, and through the shock of foreign conflicts and the perils of domestic strife and vicissitudes. By the father of his country, our Constitution was commended for adoption as the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession, and in that same spirit it should be administered in order to promote the lasting welfare of the country, and secure the full measure of its priceless benefits to us and to those who succeed to the blessings of our national life. The large variety of diverse competing interests subject to federal control, persistently seeking recognition of their claims, need give us no fear that the greatest good to the greatest number will fail to be accomplished if in the halls of the national Legislature that spirit of amity and mutual concession shall prevail in which the Constitution had birth. If this involves a surrender or postponement of private interests and the abandonment of local advantages, compensation will be found in the assurance that thus the common interest is subserved, and the general welfare advanced. In the discharge of my official duty, I shall endeavour to be guided by a just and unstrained construction of the Constitution, a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the

Federal Government, and those reserved to the States, or to the people, and by a cautious appreciation of those functions which by the Constitution and laws have been especially assigned to the executive branch of the Government. But he who takes oath to-day to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States only assumes a solemn obligation which every patriotic citizen on the farm, in the workshop, in the busy marts of trade, and everywhere should share with him. The Constitution which prescribes his oath, my countrymen, is yours. The Government which you have chosen him to administer for a time is yours ; the suffrage which executes the will of freemen is yours ; the laws, and the entire scheme of our civil rule, from the town meeting to the State capitol, and the National Capitol, is yours. Your every voter, as surely as your chief magistrate, under the same high sanction, though in a different sphere, exercises a public trust.

“ Nor is this all ; every citizen owes to the country a vigilant watch and close scrutiny of its public servants, and a fair, reasonable estimate of their fidelity and usefulness. Thus is the people's will impressed upon the whole framework of our civil polity—municipal, state, and federal—and this is the price of our liberty and the inspiration of our faith in the Republic. It is the duty of those serving the people in public places to closely limit the public expenditure to the actual needs of government economically administered, because this bounds the right of government to exact tribute from the earnings of labour or the property of the citizen, and because public extravagance begets extravagance among the people. We should never be ashamed of simplicity and prudential economies, which are best suited to the operation of a republican form of government, and most compatible with the mission of the American people. Those who are selected for a limited time to manage public affairs are still of the people, and may do much by their example to encourage, consistently with the dignity of their official functions, that plain way of life which among their fellow-citizens aids integrity, and promotes thrift and prosperity. The genius of our institutions, the needs of our people in their home life, and the attention which is demanded for the settlement and development of the resources of our vast territory, dictate a scrupulous avoidance of any departure from that foreign policy commended by the history, traditions, and prosperity of the Republic. It is the policy of independence favoured by our position and defended by our known love of justice and by our power. It is the policy of peace suitable to our interests. It is the policy of neutrality, rejecting any share in foreign broils and ambitions upon other continents and repelling their intrusion here. It is the policy of Monroe and Washington and Jefferson—peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.

“ A due regard for the interests and prosperity of all the people demands that our finances should be established upon such a

sound sensible basis as shall secure the safety and confidence of business interests, and make the wage of labour sure and steady ; and that our system of revenue shall be so adjusted as to relieve the people from unnecessary taxation, having due regard to the interests of capital invested, and working men employed in American industries, and preventing the accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury to tempt to extravagance and waste. Care for the property of the nation and for the needs of future settlers requires that the public domain should be protected from purloining schemes and unlawful occupation. The conscience of the people demands that the Indians within our boundaries shall be fairly and honestly treated as wards of the Government, and their education and civilisation promoted with a view to their ultimate citizenship. It demands that polygamy, destructive of family relations and offensive to the moral sense of the civilised world, shall be repressed, and that the laws should be rigidly enforced which prohibit the immigration of a servile class to compete with American labour with no intention of acquiring citizenship, and bringing with them and retaining habits and customs repugnant to our civilisation. The people demand a reform of the administration of government and the application of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end, Civil Service Reform should be in good faith enforced. Our citizens have a right to protection from the incompetency of public employés who hold their places solely as the reward of partisan service, and from the corrupting influence of those who promise, and the vicious methods of those who expect, such rewards. Those who worthily seek public employment have a right to insist that merit, that competency, shall be recognised instead of party subserviency or the surrender of honest political belief.

“ In the administration of a government pledged to do equal and exact justice to all men, there should be no pretext for anxiety touching the protection of freedmen in their rights or the security of their privileges under the Constitution and its amendments. All discussion as to their fitness for the place accorded to them as American citizens is idle and unprofitable, except as it suggests the necessity for their improvement. The fact that they are citizens entitles them to all rights due to that relation, and charges them with all its duties, obligations, and responsibilities. These topics and the constant, ever-varying wants of an active, enterprising population may well receive the attention and the patriotic endeavour of all who make and execute Federal law. Our duties are practical, and call for industrious application, an intelligent perception of claims of public office, and, above all, a firm determination by united action to secure to all the people of the land the full benefits of the best form of government ever vouchsafed to man ; and let us not trust human effort alone, but humbly acknowledging the power and goodness of Almighty God, who presides over the destiny of nations, and who

has at all times been revealed in our country's history, let us invoke His aid and His blessing upon our labours."

The day following his installation President Cleveland officially announced his Cabinet as follows:—Senator Bayard, of Delaware, Secretary of State; Mr. Daniel Manning, New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Senator Lamar, Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior; Senator Garland, Arkansas, Attorney-General; Mr. William C. Whitney, New York, Secretary of the Navy; Mr. William C. Endicott, Massachusetts, Secretary of War; Mr. W. F. Vilas, Wisconsin, Postmaster-General. The most striking feature in the Cabinet was the presence of three Southern gentlemen, all of whom sympathised with the rebellion, and two of whom—Mr. Lamar and Mr. Garland—actively participated in it. As a whole, the Cabinet compared favourably with that of preceding Presidents. It excited little hostile comment. Mr. James Russell Lowell gave place to Mr. Edwin J. Phelps as Minister to the Court of St. James's. By profession a lawyer, and of the first rank, he had for the four years previous to his appointment been a member of the faculty of Yale College, lecturing in the law and academical departments. He was highly esteemed by his colleagues and the students, his lectures being the most popular in the course. As a writer and speaker on public questions, he enjoyed a high reputation in the United States, and was cordially welcomed in England.

Affairs in Central America engaged the attention of the United States Government for a time at the beginning of the session (1885). General Barrios, President of Guatemala, issued a proclamation early in March of a Central American Union. The decree, which had been kept secret, was accepted by Honduras, but indignantly rejected by San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Thereupon the forces of Guatemala began to march against San Salvador, but were checked by the people of that country, who rose *en masse* to resist their approach. Dr. Zaldivar y Lazo, President of San Salvador, informed General Diaz, President of Mexico, of the situation of affairs. General Diaz telegraphed to President Barrios, pointing out the objection of the other republics to the union, and stating that Mexico would prevent the execution of his plan. In accordance with this decision, 15,000 Mexican troops were ordered to the Mexican frontier of Guatemala. Strenuous efforts were also made in Nicaragua and Costa Rica to resist the decree of President Barrios. Those efforts, supported by the action taken by the United States in the matter, probably prevented actual hostilities. On March 17 the United States Senate passed a resolution to the effect that General Barrios should be prevented from carrying out his decree. The resolution, after reciting that President Barrios had threatened an invasion of Nicaragua, San Salvador, and Costa Rica, in order to enforce his proclamation, referred to the fact that the Nicaragua Canal Treaty was at that time still pending, and declared that in

the judgment of the Senate, in view of the special and important interests of the United States, in conjunction with those of Nicaragua and Costa Rica in interoceanic transit, any invasion of Nicaragua or Costa Rica by Guatemala under the circumstances ought to be treated by the United States Government as an act of unfriendly and hostile interference with the rights of the United States, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica respecting the said matter. A copy of the resolution was ordered to be sent to President Cleveland. Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, also wrote to the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee declaring that the United States Government refused to countenance any measure subversive of the free autonomy of any Central American State. The letter pointed out that while the Government believed a voluntary harmonious union between the States to be desirable, it showed no sympathy for coercion, and stood ready to exert its influence in favour of peace. The United States Government also later exerted its influence efficaciously during revolutionary disturbances in Columbia by despatching a naval force to Aspinwall to keep an open route between Panama and Colon.

After a lingering illness which had continued with slight alleviation for nearly a year, General Grant died at Mount McGregor, New York, July 24. The remarkable career of this famous military commander and popular ex-President of the United States is found best related in his own "Personal Memoirs," written, under very affecting circumstances, in a few short weeks preceding his death. Reared in comparative obscurity and poverty, he obtained admission to West Point Academy as a cadet; but, seeing no present prospect of useful occupation as a soldier, he relinquished military life, and settled down to humble trades in provincial towns. The breaking out of the War of Secession in 1861 brought him from retirement; and, offering his services to the Federal Government, he received a commission as lieutenant-colonel of volunteers. Within four years from that time he had been given the chief command of an army vaster than had ever been previously handled by any general of ancient or modern times. By the exercise of unequalled energy, aided by military genius for which few had given him credit, General Grant won battle after battle and succeeded in siege upon siege, eventually receiving the surrender of the Confederate commander-in-chief Lee and his whole army, and obtaining victory for the Northern States in a war waged with indomitable courage and perseverance by the forces of the Confederates. After the war, General Grant, hailed as saviour of the Union, became the hero of the day, and was twice successively elected President of the United States. Even a third term of office was suggested by his supporters. The last year of his life was embittered by his connection in business with a swindler named Ferdinand Ward, who brought him to ruin. He became partner with this man and lost his whole fortune. He righted himself, partly by the generous help of friends, whom

he subsequently repaid, but mainly by his own exertions in writing his "Memoirs" while cancer was gnawing away his life. He did many heroic things, but nothing quite so heroic as this. He had his reward at last in the affectionate reverence of a whole people and the tardy justice of a malignant section of it. Ward was subsequently sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for various frauds. Judicial investigations revealed the fact that General Grant had been made a tool of by a designing knave. The last act of Congress before its final adjournment (March 3, 1885) was the passage of a bill putting General Grant on the retired army list, with the full pay and rank of general. Mr. Arthur signed the bill a few minutes before he retired from office. There was then little probability that General Grant would live long enough to draw the first instalment of his pay; he did, however, live that length of time; the whole country rejoiced at this recognition of his services, and the act brought some measure of consolation to the dying man.

Three months after General Grant's death another of the early heroes of the American Civil War passed away from a generation which had almost forgotten his name. General G. B. McClellan died at New York on Oct. 29. He was first known to the world on his sudden promotion to the command of the troops at Washington after the defeat at Bull Run. He had won a victory at Rich Mountain only ten days before, and had thus distinguished himself at a moment when failure seemed to threaten all the generals in the Northern service. His sudden appointment in the succeeding November to the command-in-chief of the Federal armies was probably due to the confidence with which he had inspired General Winfield Scott. It has been said of McClellan that he was well fitted to serve under others, but had not the capacity to become a great commander. He had the misfortune to come to the front before the people of the North understood the full magnitude of the task they had undertaken. They had under-rated the enemy, and General McClellan was one of the chief sufferers by this miscalculation. Following his appointment, he compelled the evacuation of Yorktown, took Hanover Courthouse, and advanced to the siege of Richmond. After seven days' fighting McClellan was driven back from the Federal capital to Harrison's Landing. He was superseded by Halleck, and a month later retreated from Harrison's Landing with the loss, it was said, of 70,000 men.

Two other prominent personages died during the year: Mr. Hendricks, Vice-President of the United States, and Mr. Vanderbilt, the New York millionaire. Mr. Hendricks' death took place at Indianapolis on November 25; Mr. Vanderbilt's at New York on Dec. 8. By the death of Mr. Hendricks, the most prominent opponent in the Democratic party of Civil Service Reform was removed. He was openly hostile to Mr. Cleveland's reform policy. Mr. Vanderbilt left a fortune estimated at little short of two

hundred million dollars. His unexpected decease temporarily affected the New York Stock Market.

Congress assembled on Dec. 7 for the annual session. The Senate was organised by the election of Mr. Sherman as presiding officer. He thus became provisionally the successor to the President in case of the latter's death or disability. It was proposed to pass immediately an Act devolving the Presidential succession upon the members of the Cabinet in regular order, beginning with the Secretary of State. This was done by the Hoar Succession Bill.

The Lower House was organised by re-electing Mr. Carlisle as Speaker. Both Houses adjourned immediately after organising, out of respect to the late Vice-President.

On Tuesday, Dec. 8, President Cleveland transmitted his first Message to Congress. It commenced by referring in feeling terms to the death of Vice-President Hendricks, and then proceeded to review the relations of the United States with foreign governments, pronouncing all to be friendly. It commended the Tehuantepec route for a ship railway, condemned recent outrages on the Chinese, and, while declaring the purpose of the Government to protect them, intimated that it might be well, in view of the strong race prejudices, to imitate Canada, and make the exclusion of the Chinese more stringent. It referred to the conduct of the American delegates in signing the Congo Convention at Berlin without reserve or qualification, and abstained from asking the Senate to sanction their act. The President proposed the appointment of a commission to consider the whole question of the British and American fisheries, announced negotiations with Great Britain for extending the scope of the Extradition Treaty, recommended a more accurate tracing of the boundaries of Alaska, requested legislation to put in force the commercial treaty with Mexico, commended to the attention of Congress the conclusions of the Berne International Copyright Conference, condemned the proposed commercial treaties with Spain and St. Domingo, favoured the abolition of the duty on foreign works of art and the payment of adequate salaries to consuls at foreign ports, recommended a reduction of the tariff on the ground that the revenue is unnecessarily large, and suggested that any reduction should be made by lowering the duties on the imported necessities of life. The President thought the subject should be dealt with in such a way as to protect the interests of American labour, and at the same time lessen the cost of living.

The Message discussed the silver-coinage question, showing that only fifty million silver dollars, of nearly 216 millions coined, have got into circulation; declared that the desire to utilise the silver product of the country should not lead to the perversion of the coinage powers of the Government; that the continuance of silver coinage at the existing rate would, before long, lead to the substitution of silver for all the gold the Government owned;

pointed out that at times during the six months of the year 1885 58 per cent. of the Customs duties had been paid in silver, while the average had been 20 per cent.; that in view of all this the hoarding of gold had already begun, and its total disappearance would let the country down again on a depreciated currency, fluctuating in value; that none suffered from this state of things so much as the poor; that all efforts to get foreign nations to adopt with America a common ratio between gold and silver had been unsuccessful; that the Latin Union recently entered into an agreement to stop the coining of silver, and redeem in gold what had been coined; that prosperity hesitated and capital shrank, because of uncertainty on this question, and therefore the President recommended the suspension of the silver coinage.

Finally, the President recommended legislation prohibiting the immigration of Mormon converts, and strenuously urged adherence to the Civil Service Reform policy, remarking doubts might well be entertained whether the Government could survive the strain of the old system, which distributed public posts purely as rewards for partisan service.

The Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report, delivered at the meeting of Congress, estimated the revenue for the fiscal year at \$315,000,000, and the expenses at \$290,750,000. For the year ending 1887 the revenue was estimated at \$315,000,000, and the expenditure, including the sinking fund, at \$339,589,000. Excluding this fund the expenditure would amount to \$202,730,000. Bonds to the value of \$45,604,000 in fractional currency had been redeemed and applied to the sinking fund during the year past. The requirements of the present year were \$59,000,000. The Secretary pointed out the ill effects of the continued coinage of silver, and endorsed President Cleveland's views thereon. He also submitted a long report touching the collection of duties with regard to frauds on the revenue, pointing out defects in the consular service in connection with the certifying of invoices, and certain defects in the Customs service at New York facilitating under-valuation.

II. CANADA.

A rebellion instigated by an Indian half-breed, a man of intelligence and energy, named Louis Riel, began in March in the North-West territories of the Dominion, and for some time threatened very serious consequences. A general rising of the Indians, of whom, it is estimated, there are in all about 90,000 in the Canadian dominions, was apprehended. In that event the mission stations and the small and scattered European and Canadian settlements in the North-West, would in all probability have been exterminated. The postponement of the opening-up of the North-West by means of the New Pacific Railroad was one of the less serious results anticipated if the Riel revolt had proved successful. But the energy of the Government, aided by the gallantry and

patriotism of the Canadian militia and volunteers, led by General Middleton, quelled the disturbance before it had extended very far. For nearly two months, however (March to May), the state of affairs was exceedingly critical, and there was much excitement throughout Canada. The capture of Batoche by the troops under General Middleton, and the subsequent surrender of Riel (May 15), put an end to the rebellion. With his capture another difficulty began. He was not without a large number of sympathisers apart from his own immediate followers. The half-breed leader was a native of the North-West. He was born near Fort Garry, now called Winnipeg, in 1844, and was marked by some features of an Indian, with the fair complexion and blue eyes of a European race. He was well-educated, having been trained at Montreal for the Roman Catholic priesthood. He had much of the craft of the Indian, combined with the tact of the Frenchman. He was popular with the whole of the French population of Lower Canada, while his ascendancy over the Indians and half-breeds of the North-West had been shown in two rebellions.

In the Red River Expedition, rendered necessary by Riel's rising at Fort Garry in 1869 and 1870, Lord Wolseley (then Colonel Wolseley) drove him over the border into the United States. He remained some years in exile, and was then elected to the Dominion Parliament, but never took his seat. His presence in the Saskatchewan district (where the rebellion originated) was due to an invitation sent to him in the summer of 1885 by the half-breeds to come back and assist them in obtaining a redress of their grievances. In accepting the invitation he announced his intention of spending some months among them, in the hope that redress might be got by petitioning the Government. The movement, however, developed into an armed insurrection, and Riel himself received much sympathy from the French population, which constitutes a fourth part of the people of Canada. Riel afterwards stated that his papers, captured at Batoche, would show that he was not the leader of the rebellion, but that it had been encouraged by people of good standing around Prince Albert. This statement was significant in connection with the fact that in a speech at Prince Albert in the preceding summer, Riel urged that the three districts of Assiniboia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan should apply for admission to the Confederation with governments of their own. The white settlers in the Alberta district subsequently sent in a petition with a similar prayer. They not only used Riel's language, but asserted that the half-breeds in the North-West were entitled to the same privileges as their brethren in Manitoba. This is what Riel asked. He probably had no intention either in 1869 or 1885 of taking up arms. But he was an enthusiast, with a strong sense of the wrongs of his race, and much power of attaching them to his person. In 1869 he made great professions of peaceful intentions, and it is worthy of note that, as soon as the rebellion was suppressed, the Canadian Government gave the

half-breeds of Manitoba the measures Riel had demanded for them.

In July Riel was put upon his trial for high treason. His counsel made an eloquent appeal, alleging justification, urging extenuating circumstances, and finally advancing the plea of insanity. Afterwards Riel himself (by permission of the presiding judge) addressed the jury at length, setting forth his grievances and those of the half-breeds, and alleging that petition after petition had been sent to the Federal Government, but without effect. These, it is believed, had reference to a more generous policy in the allotment of land-claims. The jury returned a verdict of "Guilty," with a recommendation to mercy. Riel was sentenced to be hanged. Notice of appeal was immediately given, and the full Court of Manitoba sitting at Winnipeg subsequently disallowed the appeal and confirmed the sentence. It held that the jury arrived at the only decision possible on the evidence, and decided that the Court originally trying the case had undoubted jurisdiction, which, it had been alleged, it had not. The plea of insanity the full Court declared to be not sustained, as the evidence showed that Riel, while acting strangely sometimes, was a clever and designing man. A reprieve was granted to allow of a further appeal to the Lords of the Privy Council. The appeal was heard in the House of Lords at Westminster at the meeting of the Law Courts in October, and was again dismissed. Every effort was made by his Canadian sympathisers to have the sentence of death commuted to one of imprisonment, but without effect. Louis Riel was hanged on Monday, November 16. On the following day a demonstration of French Canadians, numbering some 10,000 persons, was made in Montreal, but no harm resulted. There were somewhat similar demonstrations in Quebec and elsewhere. The agitation, however, soon subsided.

A serious outbreak of small-pox in Montreal resulted (Sept. 28) in riots, owing to a first attempt on the part of the health officers to enforce the Compulsory Vaccination Act. The first signs of the disturbances appeared early in the morning, when the men who were placing the small-pox placards in the infected districts were assaulted with missiles, and the placards were torn down. Finally a crowd assembled and proceeded to the office of the branch health officer, where they began to hoot and insult the officials. The crowd soon became a mob of five hundred people, and began to break the windows and threaten the officials with bodily injury. The police were called out, and the mob dispersed. At night the riot began anew. The mob, 800 in number, marched to the residence of the health officer, broke the windows with stones, and then proceeded to the City Hall, where the Local Board of Health were about to meet. The rioters uttered threats against several prominent citizens. The timely calling out of troops prevented further disturbance.

III. MEXICO.

The foreign relations of Mexico in the year 1885 have continued unaltered, except for the Central American imbroglio, which at one time threatened to involve her in a war with Guatemala.

The negotiations with the representatives of England and France for the conclusion of treaties of commerce with their respective countries during the year led to no definite result, owing principally to the fact that the Mexican Foreign Office insisted on the insertion of a clause limiting the right of diplomatic interference, similar to that which formed part of the German treaty.

A special envoy from the King of Norway and Sweden was accredited to Mexico in the early part of the year, and, after numerous and lengthy conferences, signed a treaty of commerce and navigation with this country, the details of which, pending its ratification, have not been made public.

The agreement between the United States and Mexico for the reciprocal passage of troops across the Mexican frontier in pursuit of hostile Indians expired in October, and was again renewed until Nov. 1, 1886.

The ill-advised attempt of General Barrios to force a union of the Central American States against their will, excited the greatest indignation in Mexico, and preparations were made to lend to the threatened republics the assistance they asked for. The defeat of the Guatemalan forces on the field of Chalchuapa, and the death of Barrios, followed by the annulling of the decree of union by the Provisional Government of Guatemala, happily obviated the necessity for taking any stronger measures, and the result has been the establishment of relations of a more cordial nature with all the Spanish republics north of the Isthmus of Panama.

The pecuniary difficulties in which the Government of General Diaz found itself involved on taking office in Dec. 1884 came to a crisis in June, aggravated as they were by a general stagnation of business. In view of the impossibility of maintaining the existing arrangements with the National Bank, or of continuing payment of the subventions to the railway companies, the Finance Minister issued a series of decrees on June 22 involving an entire change in the fiscal system. In the preamble to these decrees, the Minister stated that it was the intention of the Government to put a stop to the system of paying the principal of some debts while leaving the interest on others unpaid, and that in future the available resources of the Treasury would be distributed in equitable proportions among the various creditors of the nation. The decrees themselves, which were three in number, were to the following effect:—By the first the payment of railway subsidies

was temporarily suspended, and an issue of Treasury bonds to the extent of 25 millions was announced, bearing 6 per cent. interest, and amortizable in 25 years, which were to be given in payment of the floating debt contracted since 1882, in which were to be included the various sums due to the National Bank. The second announced the reduction of salaries of all Government employés, whether civil or military, earning more than \$500 a year, calculated on a sliding scale according to the amount of each salary. The third decree comprised an elaborate scheme for the examination and liquidation of all outstanding credits against the Government which were not included in the floating debt. The recognised credits, among which was the London debt of 1851, were to receive interest nominally at the rate of 3 per cent., but, in view of the slender resources of the Treasury only 1 per cent. was to be paid the first year, which was to be increased by 1 per cent. each year until the full rate of 3 per cent. was reached. The first coupon was to become due on June 30, 1886. The arrears of interest on the London debt, as on the other recognised debts, were to remain as a deferred stock pending an arrangement with the creditors.

Defective, and even unjust, as these decrees may appear to be in some particulars, they at any rate show a genuine wish on the part of the Mexican Government to grapple impartially with their whole indebtedness, instead of contenting themselves, as formerly, with making partial settlements of preferential claims, to the exclusion of others equally just.

The exasperation caused by the culpable extravagance of the late Government was so general at the beginning of the year throughout the country that President Diaz came in for no small share of unpopularity on account of his disinclination to take hasty measures for bringing the offenders to justice. The impeachment in May of General Peña, ex-Minister of Finance, proved, however, conclusively that it was not his intention that offences against the nation should remain unpunished. Up to the end of the year the grand jury had not delivered their verdict.

In spite of the alarmist rumours diligently circulated through the columns of foreign, and especially American, newspapers to the effect that the party of the ex-President were attempting to raise a revolution to reinstate him in power, no breach of the public peace has taken place, and the prospects for the continuance of the tranquillity which Mexico has now for a considerable time enjoyed have never been brighter than at the present day.

The only political difficulty of any importance which has arisen in the past year occurred in the State of Nuevo Leon, in November, when the attempt of the Governor of the State to interfere with the liberty of voting in the municipal elections resulted in his deposition, and the nomination of a provisional Governor by the Federal Government. The difficulty was of a purely local nature, and was happily got over without bloodshed.

The new Customs tariff came into force on July 1, but has not been well received. The duties, already enormous, have in some cases been increased (notably those on liquors) and the regulations for the entry of merchandise into the republic continue to be as diffuse and troublesome to commerce as they are useless for the prevention of contraband. The only thing to be said in its favour is that an effort has been made to simplify the classification of goods and the distribution of the different rates of duty.

Considerable discontent has been manifested by the farmers and others living along the line of the Central Railway, at the very low rates of freight charged by the Company on goods brought through from the United States, in comparison with those levied on local produce, and the question, which at one time threatened to assume an almost national importance, has seriously occupied the attention of the Minister of Public Works.

From the standpoint of finance and commerce, the year 1885 can scarcely be considered as having been a favourable one for Mexico, but in other respects it has had its brighter aspect. The country has enjoyed for another year the inestimable benefits of peace, and the confidence thus engendered is especially evidenced by the improvements which are constantly being made in the country districts by owners of estates. To this fact also it is no doubt principally due that the unequalled advantages, which agriculture offers in this favoured country for the investment of capital, are beginning to excite attention abroad, and have already borne fruit in the purchase of several large estates by Englishmen. The crops this year have been fairly good, and the mining industry has flourished to an exceptional extent. With symptoms of an improvement of business in Europe, there is little doubt that a revival will take place of the interest shown in Mexico, and in the great field to be found there for the investment of capital, whether in the pursuance of private enterprise or the construction of important public works.

In this relation one must not conclude without mentioning the patriotic step taken by the municipality of the capital in offering to guarantee an annual payment of \$400,000 for the carrying out of the drainage of the valley of Mexico, a work as important to the agriculture of the surrounding districts as it is imperatively necessary for the health of its residents. Considering that the municipality is entirely free from debt, the subject would appear to merit the careful attention of engineers and contractors.

IV. CENTRAL AMERICA.

United States of Colombia.—Early in the year General Barrios, President of the Republic of Guatemala, announced the design of reuniting the States of Central America, and attempted to carry it out by force. Honduras was favourable to the plan, but not so San Salvador, Nicaragua, or Costa Rica ; and these three republics, besides preparing to resist, appealed to the United States and Mexico for assistance, and from both received favourable replies. The United States Government stated that, whilst believing that a voluntary combination of interests would be desirable, “it would not countenance the display of force by one State to coerce the others,” but was at the same time “ready to exert its influence to avert a conflict and to promote peace.” At the same time a squadron of the United States was despatched to the Central American ports. General Barrios began by attacking San Salvador, the smallest and nearest of the three hostile republics ; but his forces were promptly met with a declaration of war and a rising of the inhabitants *en masse*. Mexico shortly appeared on the scene, in support of the cause of order and civilisation, and effected a timely diversion by threatening General Barrios’ communications. The forces of San Salvador alone, however, were sufficient to avert the danger, and General Barrios was routed at Chalchuapa, with a loss of 1,800 men after ten hours’ fighting ; he was himself killed, and his troops retreated in disorder across the Guatemalan frontier, leaving 1,600 on the field ; whilst the San Salvador loss was only 50 killed and 150 wounded. Peace was concluded between San Salvador and Honduras, and the latter State now joined the alliance against her previous partner, Guatemala. The allied forces then advanced from various points against the city of Guatemala, which was occupied without bloodshed, the populace welcoming them, and General Barillas, the new President after the death of Barrios, who gave his full support to the popular movement in favour of peace.

The Isthmus of *Panama* has likewise been the scene of serious disturbances. This territory owes allegiance to Colombia, and the insurrection which raged there early in the year was supposed to have been brought about by French intrigues and countenanced by the authorities themselves. Colon was burnt and looted by filibusters and Jamaica negroes whilst the troops were absent in pursuit of other insurgents. The fire, assisted by a brisk wind, continued to burn fiercely all night, and at daybreak little was left of the town beyond about twenty houses near the lighthouse and the Pacific Mail Company’s premises. Hundreds of people lost their lives and thousands were rendered homeless. Aspinwall, the terminus of the Panama railway on the eastern coast, was likewise destroyed, and 10,000 more persons made homeless. Panama

itself was spared a similar fate through the promptitude of the American admiral, who occupied the place with 500 marines. But his action was not a moment too soon. Barricades had already been erected in the streets, and had to be carried. The Plaza was cleared by a Gatling gun, and quiet was restored before night, one rebel being killed and several wounded, but Aizpurn, the insurgent leader, and three of his staff were arrested, and Panama was saved. The French consul, however, issued a strong protest against the American proceedings, and as it was hinted that French intrigues had caused most of the recent troubles in the Isthmus American interference was not likely to be viewed with equanimity or silent acquiescence. The protest remained, as anticipated, without consequence. The United States Government had by treaty guaranteed free and uninterrupted transit across the Isthmus, and Admiral Jouett was instructed to confine himself to the work of restoring free transit across the Isthmus and protecting American citizens, without regard to foreign intervention. The insurgents had been already defeated with great loss at Aspinwall when he arrived, but guerilla bands were still looting and cutting the telegraph wires, as it was asserted with the connivance of the Colombian authorities. The American admiral at once proceeded to carry out his instructions. By securing the safety of the town of Panama, the Isthmus transit route was again opened, and trains were running, although guarded by troops travelling in steel-clad cars. After a while, and by agreement with Aizpurn, in command of the insurgents, who guaranteed to preserve order in Panama and not to molest American interests, the United States troops were withdrawn from the line. An arrangement was subsequently arrived at by which the insurgents were to retire from the city and the Colombian Government take possession. On the arrival of a large body of Colombian troops Aizpurn took refuge on board the French flagship, but was arrested with other rebel chiefs by the commander of the Colombian troops. Ultimately all political offenders were pardoned, with the exception of those concerned in the burning of Colon. By the end of May all the American troops were withdrawn from the Isthmus, and peace was restored. The United States Government further concluded a treaty in May with the Colombian Government, at Bogotá, providing for a joint protectorate over the Isthmus, common efforts being used to maintain unobstructed transit.

The Panama Canal has been the subject of much discussion during the year. M. de Lesseps, at the Paris meeting of the shareholders, maintained that it would be finished, as announced, in 1888, or during the first half of 1889, and he estimated the total cost of piercing the $46\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Isthmus would not exceed 28,000,000*l*. During the insurrection, in which Colon was burnt, some of the Company's buildings were destroyed, together with the landing-stage and repairing apparatus; but, by

forming a small tidal harbour near Panama, goods were disembarked by means of lighters. The bulk of the operations was, however, now carried on at Christopher Colomb, a town called into existence by the company at the entrance to the canal; here and at two other places there were three great building-yards, whilst barracks were being prepared for the accommodation of 30,000 workmen.

V. WEST INDIES—CUBA.

The whole of the West India Islands have been passing through a period of great depression, owing to the depreciation in the price of sugar. Their income, as will be seen from the following figures, taken from the Governor's Reports in 1885, was thereby considerably affected, and in most instances, it failed to cover the necessary cost of government.

	Revenue.	Expenditure.
	£	£
Antigua	45,296	42,607
Bahamas	45,475	45,789
Barbados	145,297	143,897
Bermuda	28,769	29,827
British Honduras	51,866	53,585
Dominica	18,758	18,586
Grenada	51,489	45,260
Jamaica	473,306	460,681
Montserrat	5,839	5,232
St. Kitts and Nevis	42,788	40,084
St. Lucia	46,118	39,593
St. Vincent	34,068	33,389
Tobago	11,371	13,482
Trinidad	476,058	471,190
Turks and Caicos Islands	8,476	7,978
Virgin Islands	1,860	1,874

Windward Islands.—The people of Barbados, for some time, had strongly urged that their island should be separated from the group composing the Windward Government, and that, like Trinidad and British Guiana, the colony should have a separate Governor. The legislative bodies in the island having offered to provide salaries for a Governor and his private secretary, the Home Government advised Her Majesty to sanction the wished-for separation; and early in the spring, Mr. W. J. Sendall, Assistant Secretary of the Local Government Board, was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the four lesser Windward Islands, viz., Grenada (the seat of government), St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago, Sir W. Robinson, remaining as before Governor of Barbados, until, at the end of the year, he was transferred to Trinidad. The Home Government had proposed at the same time the legislative union of the four islands, as conducive to greater efficiency of administration and general prosperity; but local influence and jealousies were so strong that the proposal was not pressed. Late in the year, however, Grenada petitioned the Secretary of State to restore the representative form of government of which it had been deprived by the action of Sir J. P.

Hennessy. In Barbados, as in the West Indies generally, the unfavourable state of the sugar market caused great financial depression. The proposed convention with the United States, which had long been talked of, fell through early in the year, the Imperial Government finding the final proposals of the United States Government vague and unsuitable. The aim of the convention had been to abolish the import duties on articles coming to the West Indies from the United States, whilst the latter were to make a material reduction in the duty on West Indian sugar. But the proposals were found, on closer examination, to be of so one-sided a character that their acceptance by the island was impossible. In Trinidad a committee was appointed by the Governor (Sir W. Robinson) to consider a scheme of emigration between that island and Barbados, the latter being in a position to supply, without any injury to itself, a large number of industrious labourers to the neighbouring islands. In Trinidad the financial situation presented certain difficulties, and the year closed without affording a clue to the means by which a deficiency caused by the reduction of 20,000*l.* in customs and excise, besides other charges, could be covered.

Jamaica.—The Government found it necessary to adopt a policy of retrenchment in the island, and it first took the form of reduction in the salaries of public officers, viz., an abatement of 15 per cent. on salaries over 400*l.*, and 10 per cent. on salaries between 250*l.* and 400*l.* After making due compensation for reduction of salaries, it was expected that a permanent annual saving of 27,000*l.* per annum would be finally realised. This, added to a saving of a nearly similar amount by the economic management of the several departments, enabled Sir Henry Norman to hold out the hope of an annual gain of 50,000*l.* to the colony, giving a very sensible relief to its fiscal burdens. The partial restoration of representative institutions has been on its trial since the beginning of the year, and the colony seems to have gained by the change, both materially and morally. The principal advantages under Sir H. Norman's successful and popular governorship are traceable to the free discussion of questions of public interest, and to the voice which the representative members have had in determining the estimates of public expenditure. During the year a Society of Agriculture and Commerce was formed under his patronage. The tea-plant was introduced into the colony with every promise of success, and the first shipment was made direct to London. It is described as of good flavour and combining the peculiar characteristics of a fine China black-leaf tea, with the Ceylon Pekoe Souchong.

Cuba.—In June, a bill was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies at Madrid, authorising the Spanish Government to issue, on account of the Cuban Treasury, a loan of \$20,000,000, bearing interest at 6 per cent. and redeemable in fifteen years. The loan was to be guaranteed by the Cuban stamp-tax revenue, any

deficiency being covered by the Spanish Government. The constantly recurring rumour that the Spanish Government were about to sell Cuba found but few believers in the United States, for it was known beforehand that the present United States Government were opposed to any further acquisition of territory.

VI. SOUTH AMERICA.—BRAZIL.—ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.¹

Brazil.—The result of the appeal to the country, in January, on the Dantas Emancipation Scheme was not favourable to the Liberal Ministry, for although the figures showed that the Chamber consisted of 65 Liberals, 47 Conservatives, and 2 Republicans, several of the Liberals were opposed to Senhor Dantas' proposals. Parliament was opened on March 8, and, as usual, by the Emperor in person. He announced the determination of the Ministry to introduce its Emancipation Bill, "for the purpose of gradually abolishing slavery in our country, in consonance with the wishes of all Brazilians." The Ministry, however, was unable to contend against the political combination that assailed it, and was finally forced to resign (May 7). A Conservative Ministry under Senhor Saraiva succeeded, and on meeting the Chamber (May 11) he stated his intention of bringing in a modified emancipation measure, which he subsequently was enabled to pass into law through a coalition of Conservatives and Liberals. Finding the bill was safe, and anticipating no opposition to it in the Senate, he and his Cabinet tendered their resignations to the Emperor on the ground that on questions of general policy they could not command a majority in the Chamber. A new Conservative Cabinet was promptly formed by the Baron de Cotegeipe, by whom the Saraiva Emancipation Bill was adopted and finally carried (Sept. 24), the Royal assent being given four days later. The principal features of this Act are: A new registry; liberation of slaves over 65; liberation of slaves over 60, with condition of three years' service; fixed official values of slaves; surtax of 5 per cent. on all imposts except export duties; authorised emission of 5 per cent. apolices for liberation of slaves; five years' usufruct of slaves where proprietors wish to substitute slave by free labour, the indemnity to be paid from the fund, and one-half the wages of the freedmen fixed by master and judge; compulsory domicile of five years for all freedmen liberated by the fund, under jurisdiction of police and under penalty of enforced labour for the State; compulsory service under labour contracts for all freedmen, under penalty of imprisonment and judicial lease of services by arbitrary contracts; and the establishment of State agricultural colonies under military control as penal establishments for unemployed freedmen. Although the Act provides that in seventeen years all slaves are to be free, it is predicted that under the new scheme slavery will cease in seven years. The slave population of Brazil was estimated in the spring of this year at 623,274

males, and 553,748 females. The Misiones boundary question with the Argentine Republic was settled by a treaty between the two Governments and ratified by the Argentine Congress. The question with France as to the right of possession of a tract of territory in the region of the Amazon was also placed in a fair way to an amicable termination. The financial position of Brazil at the close of the year was reported to be somewhat stronger than at the beginning; railway enterprise was making active progress, but the prices obtainable for native products were low, and Brazilian trade shared in the general depression.

Argentine Republic.—The announcement that the notes of the National Bank were to be accepted currency for two years was followed, a few days later, by the suspension of specie payments by the Provincial Bank of Buenos Ayres. Although it had been generally supposed that the Argentine Exchequer was in difficulties, the reassuring declarations of President Roca had led people to hope the financial situation was not critical. The serious shock thus given to Argentine credit at the very outset of the year, threw its shadow over commerce generally, but there was no panic, and securities were held firmly. Dr. Pellegrini was despatched to Europe to enter into arrangements with English and continental banking syndicates. His first contract was rejected by the Congress at Buenos Ayres, but later on he succeeded in accomplishing his mission, and an agreement was signed in Paris. Notwithstanding the forced currency, the rapid fluctuations in the value of gold, and the irregularity in exchanges, material progress in the republic has continued to develop. Its railway system has been considerably extended during the year, and its sugar production has notably increased. Vast tracts of fertile land, formerly in the possession of Indians, have been opened up for settlement and partially occupied, whilst immigration has notably increased, the numbers in 1885 reaching upwards of 100,000. The country has sustained a national loss in the death of Dr. Avellaneda, the statesman who so ably conducted its affairs from 1874 to 1880. He was president at one of the most critical moments in his country's history, and displayed such a conciliatory spirit in trying emergencies that even his enemies recognised his great merits. He went to Europe to consult the physicians of Paris, but his health did not improve, and he turned back to die on his native soil, expiring just as the vessel approached the Montevidean coast. The Budget for 1886, as sanctioned by the Legislature, estimated the receipts at \$42,007,500, and the expenditure at \$40,787,548.

VII. PERU—CHILI—VENEZUELA—PARAGUAY.

Peru.—The prospect of internal tranquillity for this exhausted country which was held out at the close of 1884 did not last long, and early in the new year Caceres was again in the field, leading his men against the Government troops. In May he defeated them at Ayacucho and was preparing to march on Lima, when the tables were turned and he was beaten in a great battle at Huancayo, was himself wounded, and many of his men taken prisoners. He, however, soon rallied, and, notwithstanding four battalions had left him and offered their services to General Iglesias, he managed to circumvent Colonel Mas, who had been sent to oppose him, and once more approached the capital. Much depended on the result. Caceres and Iglesias had each about 3,000 men; the former was the idol of the lower classes and generally popular, but his men were badly organised, whilst the Government troops were well-disciplined and better armed. Before any collision took place, Caceres asked for a suspension of hostilities and offered terms. An armistice followed, of which nothing came, and soon after Caceres attacked the Government troops (July) near Janja. The fighting lasted five hours, and the loss on both sides was severe, but the result was inconclusive, for the two forces remained in their respective positions. The armistice was renewed and peace negotiations once more attempted, with similar results, inasmuch as Caceres insisted on nothing less than the retirement of the Government of Iglesias. Fighting was resumed in August, and after two engagements each side was able to claim an inconclusive victory; but in November Caceres was badly beaten at Janja, 500 of his men being taken prisoners and his army dispersed. With indomitable obstinacy or tenacity of purpose, he once more collected a force and attacked Lima (Dec. 1), where the Government troops were occupying the palace, the cathedral, the Archbishop's house, and other buildings on the Plaza. Caceres demanded that Iglesias should abdicate and permit the holding of a general election. These terms were refused, and after three days' fighting in the streets of Lima and the death of 200 men, Iglesias surrendered and a truce was agreed to through the good offices of the diplomatic body. Dr. Arenas was then elected provisional President, a commission was formed to direct public affairs and hold the elections, and a general amnesty declared. The forces of Caceres retired to Santa Clara and those of Iglesias to Chorillos, and Lima, being thus evacuated by both armies, was placed under its Prefect, who was authorised to maintain order. A public banquet was given to Caceres (Dec. 7) by the Constitutional Committee, whose members had done much to aid his cause, and all political prisoners were liberated. Iglesias, who had resigned his office as provisional

President (Dec. 4), decided to leave the country for Spain, whilst it was announced that Pierola, ex-President, was coming to Peru at once from Paris to take his place.

Chili.—At the opening of the Chilian Congress (June 1), the President, in referring to the financial condition of the republic, stated that the revenue for 1885 was estimated at 36,000,000 piastres and the expenditure at 35,000,000. The Budget for 1886 anticipated a revenue of 35,800,000 and an expenditure of 34,000,000, leaving a surplus of 1,800,000 piastres. During the present year, in addition to the usual reductions in the Public Debt, an extraordinary redemption of 350,000 piastres was effected, and beyond this there is not much of importance to be noted. The country has been going on steadily in the development of its resources, but the reduced values of its mineral products have proved a considerable drawback to its industrial prosperity. Some very rich deposits of gold and silver have been discovered. In the department of Ligua an especially rich vein was found, the ore taken from the surface having given by assay 100 marks to the *cajon*, whilst the lode was believed to be a league in length.

Venezuela has been making great strides in advance this year, many railways and other important works being pushed forward. The construction of La Guayua harbour proceeded rapidly, and its official inauguration took place on Dec. 11, amidst much enthusiasm. There was a revolution during the month of July, but it was suppressed without much difficulty by the Government troops, and the leaders were taken prisoners. Gold was being found extensively, but especially in that undefined territory lying between Venezuela and British Guiana, to which each country laid claim; the arrival of merchants and others seemed to point to the necessity for the frontier being determined, so as to avoid possible future disputes. The gold from the Cuyuni river was of very fine quality, the assay showing gold 932 parts and silver 68. The financial condition of the country was bad, and did not improve, whilst business in general was much depressed at the close of the year. It was even found necessary to submit the salaries of all Government employés to a reduction of 25 per cent. until the end of February 1886. But people were looking forward to the return of General Blanco as President in that month, and believed he would do much to improve the state of affairs.

Paraguay is steadily recovering from the effects of the protracted war into which it was thrown by the Dictator Lopez, and under President Caballero much has been done to bring back commercial and industrial prosperity. The year is specially noteworthy for the settlement about the country's external debt. This was issued partly in 1871 and partly in 1872, and the two amounts of the proposed issue were 3,000,000*l.* They were both 8 per cent. debts with 2 per cent. sinking fund, involving a payment of 300,000*l.* a year by the Government of Paraguay. The latter's

income in 1870 was only 20,000*l.*, and in 1871 a disastrous war broke out, which devastated the country and destroyed five-sixths of the population. It was thus impossible for the Government to meet its engagements, and for the last eleven years the bondholders have received nothing. By this year's arrangement it was settled that 1 per cent. should be paid on the old capital for the first five years, then $1\frac{1}{2}$ for the next five, and finally 2, the payments to be made in gold in England. It was also agreed that to meet the arrears of interest—about 1,500,000*l.*—the Government of Paraguay should give up to the bondholders a block of land—about 2,177,000 acres—allowing 145 acres for each bond of 100*l.* Another feature in the arrangement was that the old bonds surrendered should be deposited in the Bank of England as security for Paraguay fulfilling her engagement.

CHAPTER VIII.

AUSTRALASIA.

I. AUSTRALIA.—The increasing difficulties of the Soudan campaign, following the news of General Gordon's death aroused among the colonies a general desire to co-operate in some way or another with the mother country. This generous display of sympathy was the more appreciated in England as it followed in a moment when a feeling of soreness had been aroused by the attitude of the Imperial Government toward German pretensions in New Guinea. The New South Wales Government was the first to telegraph (Feb. 12) its wishes, offering two batteries of artillery and an effective disciplined battalion of 500 infantry, to be landed at Suakim within thirty days of their embarkation, and intimating that they would defray all expenses. On the following day the Victoria Government offered assistance of a similar kind, though not in terms equally precise, and the offer was repeated (Feb. 17) in a definite form, to send 600 or 700 men fully equipped, consisting of a naval brigade and mounted infantry. Other offers followed from South Australia and Queensland, which Lord Derby at first thought it advisable to decline; but he expressed the high appreciation of the Queen's ministers and promised that they should be reconsidered if operations were prolonged into the autumn. Happily this was not Lord Derby's last word on the subject, for a day or two later (Feb. 24) a telegram was despatched intimating that the Government would consider without delay what arrangements could be made in order to take advantage of the offers for the autumn operations. A few days later Lord Derby telegraphed to the three colonies that if they could, either separately or jointly, "despatch a force in August, to arrive in Egypt in September, her Majesty's Government will most gladly

receive it." The offer of the New South Wales Government had been previously accepted by Lord Derby, but with the remark that two batteries with ten guns were really more than could be made use of. The action of the Australian colonies in this matter was admirable throughout, and their spontaneous rally round the mother country at a critical moment was warmly appreciated by all classes at home, the Queen desiring Lord Derby to "express my warm and grateful feelings to the colonies for their proffered aid. It is most gratifying." Eventually the New South Wales contingent started from Sydney on March 3 for the Soudan amid a scene of great enthusiasm. The Act constituting the Federal Council of Australia had passed through both the Houses of the English Parliament with slight alteration, and was almost identical with the draft prepared by the Convention at Sydney, where all the Australian colonies had been efficiently represented. The question, however, of actual federation was not very seriously advanced in the course of the year, but it was arranged that the representatives of those colonies which had agreed to federate should meet at Hobart Town early in the new year, and if four Australian colonies were represented, the Act empowering federation would then be an accomplished fact. It was believed that Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia, and Fiji would be the six original federating colonies, New South Wales and New Zealand having declined for the present to join the others. But when December arrived, it was found that South Australia had omitted to pass the necessary Adopting Bill. In Victoria it was further urged that it would be absurd to federate so long as the larger colonies held aloof, and ultimately it was decided that the adhesion of Victoria should be dependent on the federation of South Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania, the Crown colonies of Western Australia and Fiji not being taken into consideration. In presence, however, of the neglect of South Australia to qualify, the conditions under which Victoria proposed to take common action failed to exist, and it seemed doubtful whether Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia, and Fiji would constitute a federation. The urgency for such a step, moreover, was no longer so pressing as formerly. The dangers and annoyances imminent from the expected influx of French convicts from New Caledonia and the threatened foreign annexations in Queensland had passed away; the French Assembly had mitigated the more menacing features of the transportation scheme, and Lord Derby and Prince Bismarck had divided New Guinea between them. At the last moment, however, it was finally arranged, through the efforts of the Premier of Victoria, that the delegates of the federating colonies of Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia, and Fiji should meet, as originally intended, at Hobart Town, and various questions of intercolonial reform should be submitted for discussion. Absconding debtors might be rendered liable to arrest; the judgments

of one colony might be made to hold good in another; wife-desertion might be made penal throughout the several states, and the laws of marriage and divorce assimilated; and many pressing questions of a like nature might receive a satisfactory settlement.

New South Wales.—The interest awakened by General Gordon and the Nile campaign effectually turned the current of feeling in favour of the mother country. Mr. Dalley, acting-Premier, at once caught the change of public feeling, interpreted it aright, and, without asking any leave but that of his colleagues, telegraphed to England the offer of colonial co-operation. Sir Henry Parkes and others, uninfluenced by sentimental considerations, denounced the policy as foolish and unconstitutional, but Mr. Dalley's action found ample support from one end of the colony to the other. The enthusiasm of the people surpassed all expectations, and the offers of help were almost burdensome. A Patriotic Fund was started, and 50,000*l.* was collected in a few days. Offers "in kind" were accepted by the Government, and within a week the storehouses lent for the occasion were full. Preserved provisions, biscuits, tobacco, boots, and tea were among the numerous donations for the volunteer force; and a clothing firm employing hundreds of hands offered to set aside all work for a fortnight to make up uniforms for the troops, the Government supplying the cloth. Two large steamers of the Orient Company were taken up to convey the troops, horses, and baggage to the seat of war, and fourteen days were given for preparation. The scale of pay was most liberal, the commander's salary being fixed at 1,250*l.* per annum, and each private's pay at 5*s.* a day, of which 2*s.* 3*d.* was direct, and 2*s.* 9*d.* deferred pay. To the latter was also added the wife's maintenance, at the rate of 2*s.* a day, and 6*d.* a day for each child under fourteen years of age. The day of departure (March 3) was observed as a general holiday, and the contingent of 900 men, under the command of Colonel Richardson, an old Crimean soldier, started amid the general acclamation and good wishes of their fellow-colonists. An extraordinary session of Parliament had to be summoned (March 17) for the discussion of the action of the Government in despatching the contingent to Suakim, and for voting the necessary funds. Although an amendment on the address was moved by the minority in the Legislative Assembly, no division was taken on the grant, and practically the Government found itself supported by the House irrespective of party.

The strained relations between England and Russia, so visible at one period of the year, stimulated the colony to make active preparations for placing the coast line in a better state of defence. The land forces were doubled, and arrangements for laying torpedoes were completed without delay. Measures were also taken to replace the troops despatched to Suakim. The Colonial Secretary having urged the colonial authorities to join in the

defence of St. George's Sound, and having offered to contribute the necessary munitions, Admiral Tryon was invited to report on the course to be adopted. He had already pointed out how important it was that Thursday Island and Torres Straits, as well as St. George's Sound, should be protected, for if occupied by an enemy, they would be a favourable rendezvous for a hostile force, and invaluable as coaling stations. The first line of defence, it was decided, should be the navy, and the second the batteries, torpedoes, and floating harbour defences, and to these the Government principally directed its attention. The number of men enrolled in New South Wales was about 9,000, and, although many of these were recruits, it was held that there was no need for any addition to the military force.

The new Land Act came into operation in August, its chief object being to secure the holdings of small graziers and to give them opportunities of purchasing the fee simple. The large squatting runs were to be divided, one half being reserved for the squatters on a twenty-one years' tenure, and the other half thrown open to free selection by actual settlers. The rush for land was not greater than had been anticipated, and as all applications had to pass the scrutiny of local law boards, while the *bona fides* of each applicant was subject to investigation, it was doubted in some parts whether the special favours offered to a particular class would fulfil the expectations of the legislature. The law which this new enactment replaced had been decidedly inoperative, for out of 17,000,000 acres, free-selected on easy terms, not more than 3,000,000 were in the hands of genuine occupiers, the remaining 14,000,000 having passed to a class of persons for whom the special facilities were never meant. Parliament was opened (Sept. 8) by the Governor, Lord Augustus Loftus, who congratulated the colony on its continued prosperity, notwithstanding the severe drought. The Federal Enabling Bill having passed the English Parliament without the amendments the Premier thought desirable, he intimated that he did not see his way to submit the measure to the Colonial Assembly, and the first step towards federation by this colony was consequently postponed. The question, indeed, outside Parliament was hardly mooted, exciting little or no enthusiasm in the colony. The general opinion was that free trade stood on a firmer basis and with better hopes of gradual extension under the existing system than by federation. The movement itself, moreover, was regarded as premature, and it was believed that the desire for federation when required would spontaneously assert itself. The subject of the *récidivistes* from New Caledonia again occupied the attention of the New South Wales Government. These French convicts, to the number of 300, had been conveyed to the colony with the knowledge and connivance of the French authorities. Having served a term of imprisonment, they had received a conditional

pardon, which, whilst binding them not to return to France, legally permitted them to leave New Caledonia. Most of them were known to the colonial police, but watching them entailed heavy expense, against which the Government protested in vain. The Intercolonial Labour Congress, held in Sydney in October, was followed by a strike, which at one moment assumed serious proportions. It began by the wharf-labourers at Newcastle demanding 1s. 3d. an hour instead of 1s., which was the standard wage in Sydney for unskilled labour. This being refused, they struck; they were immediately joined by the coal-trimmers and later on by the seamen also. In this way the whole harbour and coasting trade was thrown into confusion, but the sudden influx of the unemployed from other districts induced the Sydney men to abate their claims, and business was resumed on the former terms.

Early in October the Ministry, in which Sir Alexander Stuart was Premier and Mr. Dalley acting-Premier, resigned on account of the ill-health of the leaders and the want of cohesion among its subordinate members. A new and stronger Administration was then formed by Mr. Dibbs, who became Premier and Colonial Secretary, just on the eve of Parliament dissolving (Oct. 7) by effluxion of time. The Governor, on welcoming the new Parliament (Nov. 18), congratulated the country that, in spite of the drought throughout the colony and the depression of trade causing a falling off in the revenue, there would be no increase of taxation. Mr. Dibbs, in making his financial statement in the Legislative Assembly (Dec. 11), estimated the revenue of the current year at 7,750,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 8,800,000*l.*, leaving a deficiency of 1,050,000*l.*, which he proposed to meet partly by the application of an estimated surplus of 243,000*l.* on the revenue for 1886, (expected to reach 8,850,000*l.*), and the remainder by the issue of short-dated Treasury bills. These proposals were negatived by the Assembly. The Government forthwith tendered its resignation, and the Robertson-Parkes Coalition once more came into power. Pending the constitution of the new Cabinet in Sydney, a loan of 5,500,000*l.* at 3½ per cent. was being issued in London on behalf of the New South Wales Government for the construction of public works. Its success was complete, and the loan was largely absorbed by outside investors, the syndicates only obtaining 21 per cent. of the entire sum. The tenders ranged from 91*l.* (the minimum price of issue) to 92*l.* 1*s.*, and the average price obtained was 91*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.* The year closed with the arrival of Lord Carington as Governor, in succession to Lord Augustus Loftus, whose period of service had expired.

Victoria.—At the commencement of the year the annexation of the northern coast of New Guinea by Germany aroused considerable excitement, and public feeling ran high against the Home Government. Large and influential meetings were held daily in Melbourne, the suburbs, and the provincial towns, pro-

testing against the hoisting of the German flag in New Guinea, and passing strongly-worded resolutions condemnatory of the inaction of the Colonial Office authorities. The Agent-General in London was instructed to make a vigorous protest against any recognition of the German claims, and to declare that if the territory were not reclaimed and the New Hebrides (supposed to be threatened by France) preserved, the estrangement of the colonists from the mother country would increase. The Premier (Mr. Service) also telegraphed through the Governor to the Secretary of State an official protest on behalf of the colony against a policy which was an open invitation to foreign Powers to annex lands in which no Power could be so interested as the Australian colonies, and he urged that steps might at once be taken to save to Australia such of the neighbouring islands as were still unclaimed by foreign Powers. It was during this state of angry excitement that the news arrived of General Gordon's death and the fall of Khartoum. The revulsion of feeling towards the mother country was immediate and complete; a desire to share in the dangers and glories of the expedition to avenge Gordon was universal. Many thousands of pounds were offered towards the expenses, and hundreds of volunteers came forward to enrol themselves. The hot fit, however, was promptly followed by the cold fit, and when the active co-operation of a colonial contingent was declined by Lord Derby, public opinion was found to be agreed in thinking that the Home Government had, after all, acted wisely in dispensing with their assistance.

Sir H. B. Loch, on opening Parliament (June 17), congratulated the Legislature on the flourishing condition of the colony. In the Assembly the Opposition counted only four adherents in a house of eighty-six members, and its numerical weakness was further reduced by its want of organisation. Two were ex-Ministers, and each aspired to lead the other three in hostile charges on the Ministerial benches. One of them, on the opening day, moved the adjournment of the House and the other resisted the motion. The Government opposed the motion more mildly, but the ex-Minister carried his point, and the House was adjourned. The following day he renewed his attack on the Government on general grounds, but without producing any effect upon his colleagues or the public, and the position of the Ministry seemed to be one of unusual security. The Ministerial programme announced for the session included many important measures. Among them was a bill to amend the liquor traffic, by which it was proposed that of the 4,299 existing licensed houses, one-half should be abolished. Each district was to have an hotel for every 250 people up to 1,000, and an extra-licensed house for every 500 beyond that number. Where the prescribed proportion was exceeded, local option was to be brought to bear, in order to reduce the number of houses within the legal limit. The licensing fees were to be 25*l.*, 50*l.*, and 100*l.*, according to the municipal rating of

the house. A sum equal to two years' profits was to be allowed as compensation to those licensees whose houses would be closed by the operation of the Act, and the owner of the house was to be reimbursed by five years' difference between the rent of the house when occupied as a hotel and as a private dwelling-house. The existing licensing benches were to be superseded, and a general licensing court, consisting of three persons, was to be appointed, whose duties would be to grant, refuse, or forfeit licences, adjudicate on offences, and impose fines. Desirable as the bill may have been so far, there were two provisions which raised great hostility and derision. One was that hotels and public-houses were no longer to become the property of wine merchants and brewers, and the other decreed the abolition of barmaids, of whom there were 346 in the colony. A publican's own daughter might not in future help in his hotel nor hand a glass of beer to a customer. This exaggerated attempt at paternal legislation was eventually modified by a clause providing that no barmaid under twenty should be employed, and that none should work more than eight hours a day. The proposed proportion of public-houses to inhabitants was subsequently altered, and the Government consented to a diversion of the licence-fees from the local revenues, which in their place would receive fixed subsidies for five years. There was also considerable opposition to the clauses forbidding brewers and distillers to hold any interest in licensed victuallers' houses; but the Government accepted a compromise by agreeing to the addition of the word "grocers" to the latter class.

The general financial condition of the colony was most satisfactory, and there was every prospect of a rich and abundant harvest. The revenue for the year ending June 30, 1885, was 6,290,652*l.*, exclusive of the opening balance of 314,000*l.* from the previous year—nearly 250,000*l.* more than the Budget estimate, and for the first time in the history of the colony its revenue had exceeded six millions. The expenditure was 6,410,000*l.* Mr. Service estimated the receipts for 1885–6 at 7,000,000*l.*, including the balance from 1884–5, and the expenditure at 6,950,000*l.* This included 12,000*l.* for the extirpation of rabbits, so formidable had become the ravages of these mischievous animals, and 100,000*l.* specially set aside for the construction of railways. He proposed no fresh taxation and declared there was no necessity for borrowing. The public debt amounted to 28,500,000*l.*, after the bonds due on Oct. 1 had been paid. Progress was made steadily with the defences of the colony, and its chief seaport, almost the only assailable point, is expected to be very soon impregnable. The land forces consist of 6,000 men, 1,000 of whom are mounted riflemen, and 500 police, whilst rifle clubs are forming throughout the country. The Government declined to contribute a second sum towards the expenses of the New Guinea protectorate until the Home Government should state what proportion it proposed to bear. The first contribution had been asked for by Lord Derby, and

cheerfully granted, on his assurance that there were no grounds for suspecting that any foreign Power meditated settling there; but now that Germany had been allowed to occupy one side of the island, there were ostensible grounds for refusing further contributions. The floating in London of the Melbourne Harbour Trust Loan of 250,000*l.* on Nov. 17 at 4½ per cent. may be mentioned as an example of the high credit the colony commands in requirements of this character. The total tendered was 2,148,800*l.*, at prices ranging up to 105*l.* 13*s.* per cent., and the required 250,000*l.* was obtained at an average price of 105*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*, the unprecedented number of tenders put in proving the popularity of the security with individual investors. The syndicates tendered 672,800*l.* at 105*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, but notwithstanding that high figure, they failed to carry off a single debenture.

Queensland.—Great excitement was caused in this colony early in the year by the publication of the report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the conduct of the labour trade in New Guinea and the adjacent islands. Public attention had been drawn in 1884 to the enormities of the traffic in Pacific Islanders by the *Hopeful* trials, and the Government, under the leadership of Mr. Griffith, being opposed to the employment of black labour on the sugar plantations, issued a Royal Commission. The result of investigations carried on continuously for three months and the examination of 500 witnesses, disclosed a system which rivalled in wickedness and treachery the worst features of the old African slave trade and startled everybody by the cruelties disclosed. The report stated that “the cruise of the *Hopeful* is one long record of deceit, cruel treachery, deliberate kidnapping, and cold-blooded murder.” It gave an outline of eight voyages by six vessels, of which the *Hopeful* was one, from which it appeared that the natives were enticed on board under false pretences, or else kidnapped; that the so-called nature of their engagements to go and labour in Queensland was never explained to them, and that they had no idea of the kind of work they were to perform. The recruiting agents had not scrupled to shoot or drown those who hindered them in their abominable work. To the credit of the Queensland Government, measures were promptly taken to return the kidnapped Polynesians to their homes, but of the 625 brought to the colony, 97 had died in less than eight months. The planters talked of getting an injunction from the Supreme Court to restrain the Government from removing their legally engaged labourers; but Mr. Griffith sent for their representative, and told him that it was the intention of the Government to send the men back at all hazards, and that nothing that could be done would hinder the action of the Government. Moreover, any who resisted would disentitle themselves to compensation. The labourers were accordingly collected from the various plantations, and placed on board the *Victoria*, a steamer of 1,000 tons, chartered and arranged for the purpose, and were conveyed to their respective homes.

The command of the expedition was given to Mr. Chester, the police magistrate whom Sir T. McIlwraith deputed in 1883 to annex New Guinea to Queensland, and Mr. Romilly, deputy commissioner of the Western Pacific, accompanied him, in order to take charge when within New Guinea waters. To each islander the Government presented a bundle of trade ranging in value from 3*l.* to 6*l.*, according to the length of time he had been employed, and to the relatives of those who had died in Queensland were given bundles equal to what the deceased would have brought with them had they survived. The voyage lasted from June 8 to July 10, and no fewer than 49 places were visited, at each of which islanders were landed. In this way more than 400 were safely returned to their homes, 70 having elected to remain behind in the plantations to complete their three years' term. Some of the scenes at the return of the islanders, who had been given up for dead, were exceedingly touching, and there can be no doubt the effect of this great act of reparation on the part of the Queensland Government will work for good both in New Guinea and the neighbouring islands. Parliament met on July 7, and among the earliest bills introduced was one to "make provision for the assessment and payment of compensation" to the employers of the returned islanders. Claims for loss of service were to be sent in before Jan. 1, 1886, and on these the judge of the Southern District Court, assisted by two assessors, was to adjudicate. The bill was received with satisfaction by all parties and passed through the Assembly almost without discussion. The colony has therefore justified itself in the eyes of the civilised world, and done all that was possible to remove the slur which the infamous traffic had cast upon the fair fame of a prosperous English colony. During the latter half of the year the planters of Northern Queensland were agitating for the formation of a separate colony. They claimed to represent the collective population of that district and denied that the new restrictions on the labour traffic formed the real object of their agitation. They considered the northern a richer division than the southern, and one that would reward material development more rapidly, whilst they were unjustly burdened by taxation and liabilities without receiving corresponding benefits. The northern division was anxious for railways and public works of every sort, yet it had to wait the leisure of the southern, which elected 47 out of the 55 members of the Legislative Assembly. The advocates of separation were not able, however, to make out as strong a case as that of Mr. Griffith, the Premier, who successfully proved the evils of immediate separation to be of a description which the Imperial authorities could not face. During the session the Federal Council Adopting Act was passed, by which the Imperial Federation Enabling Bill was accepted by the colony. To Mr. Griffith is due the credit of drafting the original bill which passed the Imperial Parliament, as well as the adopting bills for this colony, Tasmania, Victoria,

and South Australia; in fact, he has been all along the intellectual head of the federation movement in Australasia. Both he and the leader of the Opposition warmly denounced the attitude of New South Wales with regard to federation, showing clearly that that colony had at the Sydney Convention done all that was possible to pledge the colonies to the step, whilst it had subsequently done the most to defeat it. The Elections Act was passed, embodying the chief provisions of the English Corrupt Practices Act. A comprehensive Licensing Act was also passed, conceding local option, pure and simple, to the body of ratepayers. Rabbits having approached northwards within 100 miles of the frontier, and having caused enormous damage in the south, an Act was passed prohibiting the importation, keeping, or turning loose of rabbits, and 100,000*l.* was voted for a rabbit-proof fence to be erected along the southern border; 50,000*l.* was likewise voted for the purpose of granting loans to small selectors to build central sugar-mills, in the hope that this would encourage the settlement of a class of yeomen-farmers who would grow sugar without the aid of black labour. Just before the prorogation of Parliament (Nov. 19) a deadlock occurred between the Assembly and the Council. It seems that in 1884 a bill "to provide for the payment of the expenses incurred by members of the Legislative Assembly in attending Parliament," passed the Lower House, but was thrown out by the Council. This year the bill was re-introduced, again passed the Lower House almost without discussion, and was again rejected by the Council. Warning had been given that if this happened the Government would follow the precedent set by New Zealand, and pass the sums necessary for the payment of members' expenses in the estimates. A sum of 10,585*l.* was accordingly inserted in the estimates for "the Legislative Assembly's Establishment," including 7,000*l.* for the expenses of members. The estimates were duly discussed in detail by the Assembly and passed; they were then embodied in the usual Appropriation Bill, and this was sent to the Council for their concurrence. The latter, in spite of repeated warnings, amended it by the reduction of 7,000*l.*, partly because they objected to the payment of members, and partly because they claimed a right to amend all bills, including money bills, sent to them for their assent. The Speaker said that such action was a subversion of all constitutional principle, a destruction of all popular and efficient control over taxation and expenditure, and a direct encroachment on popular rights. Loud indignation was expressed in the Assembly, and in the country also, whilst the press unanimously denounced the stand taken by the Council. The latter were asked to reconsider a decision which might entail serious injury to the public service, by the stoppage of all Treasury payments and the consequent deadlock in the administration. This argument having no weight with the Council, the Premier, as a means of arriving at

a settlement, proposed that a joint committee of both Houses should be appointed “to consider the present condition of public business in consequence of no supplies having been granted to her Majesty for the service of the current financial year.” This motion was carried in both Houses, and the committee, having met and discussed the situation, at length reported (1) that the Council should pass the Appropriation Bill as it had originally left the Assembly; (2) that an address of both Houses should be presented to her Majesty asking her to submit a special case on the constitutional rights and privileges of both Houses to the Privy Council for decision; and (3) that while this case was *sub judice*, the Assembly should not embrace in any future Appropriation Bill any subject, the principle of which had been rejected in a separate bill in the same session by the Council. With this proviso the Appropriation Bill was ultimately agreed to by the Council, and the crisis, which threatened to become acute, passed away.

South Australia.—Although a certain amount of distress was reported from Adelaide at the beginning of the year, the country generally showed a prosperous state and many symptoms of a hopeful future. The news of General Gordon’s death and the fall of Khartoum found this colony, like its neighbour, anxious to throw in its lot with the sister colonies by offering to supply at its own expense 250 infantry, with officers, for service in the Soudan. On the first day after the assembling of Parliament (June 12) an amendment of want of confidence in the Ministry was introduced into the debate on the Address by Mr. Downer, and carried by four votes. The Ministry thereupon resigned, and Mr. Downer was entrusted with the formation of a new Cabinet. The revenue for the financial year to the end of June amounted to 2,150,000*l.*, being 271,000*l.* below the estimates, and the actual deficit to 700,000*l.* The imports for the same period were 5,516,000*l.*, and the exports 6,850,000*l.*, making the highest total yet reached. The estimated revenue for the year ending June 30, 1886, was 2,344,124*l.*, and the expenditure 2,704,584*l.* The House of Assembly in this colony passed, without a division, the resolution of Dr. Stirling in favour of admitting single women to the franchise; but no measure founded on it was introduced during the session. The bill authorising this colony to join the Federal Council was withdrawn for this year, not because there was any objection to its principle, but from a general unwillingness to discuss its details.

Western Australia.—The attention of the mother country was directed to the condition of this colony early in the year by its Governor, Sir F. Napier Broome, who gave an interesting account of the colony at a representative meeting in London, attended by the Prince of Wales. Among other things he urged the extreme importance of securing the fine harbour of St. George’s Sound against an enemy, and pointed out that this colony, which is greater in area than Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland

the Colonial Treasurer, making his financial statement (Jan. 20) estimated the revenue for the year 1885–6 at 4,130,000*l.* and the expenditure at 4,100,000*l.*, as compared with an income of 3,820,000*l.* and an expenditure of 3,790,000*l.* in the previous year. He stated that the customs' duties required revision, owing to a diminution in the consumption of spirits and an increase in the local production of dutiable articles. While not committing the State to protection, he declared that the Government were not unmindful of the services the customs' tariff might render to local production. It was further intended, he said, to encourage and develop the mining, forest, and fishing interests. He proposed to increase the duty on tea by 2*d.* per lb., and that on wines and spirits by 6*d.* per gallon, and to augment the succession duties. Half the cost of future district railways would be charged to the local bodies. A scarcely less important change was the extension of the "homestead system," previously existing in Auckland only, to the whole colony. Under this Act any *bonâ-fide* settler under eighteen years of age is enabled to select twenty acres of first-class or thirty acres of second-class land, whilst those above eighteen may select fifty or seventy-five acres respectively. The land is given by the Government free of charge, provided the settler resides for five years upon it, erects a permanent dwelling-house during the first eighteen months, and brings under cultivation each year $\frac{1}{15}$ of the open land or $\frac{1}{20}$ of the bush. The aspect of the agricultural and pastoral interests of the colony was unsatisfactory at the close of the year. The fall in the value of wool has been a heavy blow, and it was estimated in December that there would be a loss to the sheep-owners of 643,000*l.* The question of federation has not been taken up with any degree of enthusiasm in this colony, and the bill to enable New Zealand to join the Australian colonies was thrown out, principally on the ground that it would be injudicious to entrust any very important legislative powers to a small non-elective body.

Outside its own borders New Zealand has been displaying an interest in its neighbours, which may possibly be traceable to the growing jealousy of German influence in the South Pacific, and the native Minister proposed to the Queen of Raratonga, during a visit to New Zealand, a commercial treaty, and that New Zealand should establish a quasi-protectorate over Raratonga. The Queen promised to consult her chiefs upon her return, and would then give a reply.

The gold-mining industry has reached a stage at which, to attain satisfactory results, the work must be conducted on a large scale, and with the best modern machinery. In 1884 there were in the colony 232 registered gold-mining companies, with a nominal value of 4,285,035*l.*, of which 1,664,012*l.* had been called up. In January of this year a loan of 1,000,000*l.* was successfully negotiated, the amount tendered being nearly four times the amount asked. The greater part of the loan passed into the

combined, lacks only men and capital. It has fertile regions, a fine climate, a beautiful coast, and infinite opportunities for the colonist. Railway enterprise is active, a contract being signed for a line to connect Beverley with Albany, 220 miles in length, and a second, of 200 miles, is contemplated from Guildford to Geraldton. Another great public work in progress is the harbour of Freemantle, which is being constructed by Sir John Coode, at a cost of 100,000*l*. For a long time the colony suffered from the drawbacks attendant upon all penal settlements. At the beginning of the year, however, there were only 258 convicts remaining on the books, and the number was rapidly diminishing. On the other hand the colonists are making strenuous efforts to develop the resources of the country, and the steady progress of its agricultural and commercial condition is full of hope for the future.

Tasmania.—In January, it being the holiday season and the parliaments of the different colonies being in recess, a sort of accidental congress of members from the Governments of Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland met at Hobart Town. An attempt, partly successful, to bring about some approximation to free trade between Victoria and Tasmania was the outcome of their deliberations. These two colonies, separated by a narrow channel and having the most intimate relations, were taxing one another's imports. The Hobart Chamber of Commerce took the initiative in protesting in favour of a more enlightened policy, and after some deliberation the outlines of a free trade system were agreed to. Although Tasmania was only remotely interested in the vexed question of the New Guinea protectorate, the feeling grew in force that the Home Government might, without fear of giving offence or of involving itself in vague responsibilities, take a more active interest in colonial defences. The response of the home authorities showed itself during the summer in an offer to supply 200 rounds of ammunition for each of the 80-pounder converted guns recently presented to this colony, together with platforms and carriages, and this was at once accepted by the Governor on behalf of the colony. In the course of the session an animated debate arose in the Assembly on the proposal of the Governor to vote 4,000*l*. towards the expenses of the representation of the colony at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition to be held in London in 1886. The proposal was eventually negatived by 10 votes to 8, but there was a very general feeling that it would be a reproach to Tasmania to hold aloof when every other British dependency was being represented.

II. NEW ZEALAND AND FIJI.

New Zealand and Fiji.—Early in the year the Government began to take active measures for placing the colony in a proper state of defence. Heavy guns were mounted, torpedoes provided, and a large fleet of torpedo-vessels organised. Sir Julius Vogel,

the Colonial Treasurer, making his financial statement (Jan. 20) estimated the revenue for the year 1885–6 at 4,130,000*l.* and the expenditure at 4,100,000*l.*, as compared with an income of 3,820,000*l.* and an expenditure of 3,790,000*l.* in the previous year. He stated that the customs' duties required revision, owing to a diminution in the consumption of spirits and an increase in the local production of dutiable articles. While not committing the State to protection, he declared that the Government were not unmindful of the services the customs' tariff might render to local production. It was further intended, he said, to encourage and develop the mining, forest, and fishing interests. He proposed to increase the duty on tea by 2*d.* per lb., and that on wines and spirits by 6*d.* per gallon, and to augment the succession duties. Half the cost of future district railways would be charged to the local bodies. A scarcely less important change was the extension of the "homestead system," previously existing in Auckland only, to the whole colony. Under this Act any *bonâ-fide* settler under eighteen years of age is enabled to select twenty acres of first-class or thirty acres of second-class land, whilst those above eighteen may select fifty or seventy-five acres respectively. The land is given by the Government free of charge, provided the settler resides for five years upon it, erects a permanent dwelling-house during the first eighteen months, and brings under cultivation each year $\frac{1}{15}$ of the open land or $\frac{1}{20}$ of the bush. The aspect of the agricultural and pastoral interests of the colony was unsatisfactory at the close of the year. The fall in the value of wool has been a heavy blow, and it was estimated in December that there would be a loss to the sheep-owners of 643,000*l.* The question of federation has not been taken up with any degree of enthusiasm in this colony, and the bill to enable New Zealand to join the Australian colonies was thrown out, principally on the ground that it would be injudicious to entrust any very important legislative powers to a small non-elective body.

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hands of the investing public, the tenders at 99*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* receiving about 30 per cent., and those above that price in full, the prices ranging from 97*l.* 10*s.* (the minimum) to 100*l.*

Fiji.—The mixed commission, consisting of one German and one English official, to which Lord Granville, after much importuning on the part of Germany, had assented in 1884, was appointed to examine certain indemnity claims by German subjects and submit the result to the respective Governments. Dr. Krael acted for Germany and Mr. R. S. Wright for England. The latter received his instructions from the Colonial Office on March 3, and on April 15 he and the German commissioner had come to terms. The sums originally claimed through Count Münster amounted to 140,000*l.*, and those agreed upon by the German commissioner to 10,620*l.*, the disparity being in great part accounted for by the withdrawal or modification of certain claims by the German commissioner.

III.—NEW GUINEA, BRITISH BORNEO, AND SAMOA.

New Guinea.—The beginning of the year found the partition of this colony still a sore subject throughout Australasia. New South Wales had refused to contribute any more than her portion of the original 15,000*l.* for the expenses of the protectorate, and Victoria demurred until some definite programme should be announced by the Home Government. When Sir Peter Scratchley was sent out in 1884 as Special Commissioner for the protectorate of New Guinea and Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific, he found himself for some months a Governor without a government, a revenue, or even an assured salary, and he had to contend against the unfavourable impression produced by the dilatory policy of Lord Derby. His first step was to go the round of the Australian colonies, endeavouring to establish a good understanding with the authorities, and for the first six months of the year he was employed in collecting funds among the neighbouring colonies for carrying on the government. The feeling against the Home Government was intensified by the proposal to limit the expenditure of the Special Commissioner to 15,000*l.*, the aggregate of the contributions promised by the Australian Governments, on the ground that the promise was made in view of the annexation of the entire island, of which one-half had been abandoned to Germany. The protests on this point grew so strong that the Colonial Office did not press it. Lord Derby telegraphed that it had been decided to proclaim the Queen's sovereignty instead of a protectorate over the territory occupied, that the Imperial Government would share the expenses of administration, and that the various colonies should have a hand in forming the new Government. This tardy recognition of the propriety of the colonial claims saved Sir P. Scratchley's mission from failure, but it did not efface the unfortunate impression produced by the policy of

the Colonial Office, until the news of General Gordon's death turned the tide of public feeling in another direction. The Special Commissioner proposed establishing on the coast several stations as centres of government, at each of which he would by turns reside. He required a steamer, a schooner, and whale-boats, for he did not contemplate any expenditure at present on buildings. He suggested that the Australian colonies should advance 20,000*l.* per annum, without interest, until New Guinea should be in a position to repay it, and he thought another 20,000*l.* would be wanted for the expenses of government, 8,000*l.* of which, together with the 15,000*l.* Lord Derby was in vain trying to raise, should be paid by the colonies, to meet the current expenses of the year. All his plans were, however, cut short by death, from jungle fever, on board ship while travelling from Cooktown to Townsville. His government was scarcely a year old, so there was little work to show, but that little gave good promise of success, and there was general regret at the premature loss of an able administrator in the prime of life (aged 50), and on the threshold of important and honourable duties.

A charter, dated May 21, was granted by the Emperor of Germany to the New Guinea Company of Berlin, which contained the first authoritative and definite statement yet published of the frontier between British and German territory. German sovereignty was to extend over that portion not under British or Dutch protection, the islands of the New Britain Archipelago (henceforth to be called the Bismarck Archipelago), and all the other islands north-east of New Guinea lying between the Equator and 8 degrees south latitude and between 140 and 150 degrees east longitude. This means that out of an area of 260,000 square miles only 60,000, or less than one-fourth of the island of New Guinea, were left to Great Britain. The boundary arrangements agreed upon between the Governments of Great Britain and Germany were thus set forth in the *London Gazette* (June 19): viz: the point on the north-east coast of New Guinea where the 8th parallel of south latitude cuts the coast, forms the boundary on the coast, and a line described as under determines the boundaries inland of the respective territories: *i.e.* Starting from the coast in the neighbourhood of Mitre Rock on the 8th parallel of south latitude, and following this parallel to the point where it is cut by the 147th degree of east longitude, then in a straight line in a north-westerly direction to the point where the 6th parallel of south latitude cuts the 144th degree of east longitude, and continuing in a west-north-westerly direction to the point of intersection of the 5th parallel of south latitude and of the 141st degree of east longitude. The British possessions lie to the south of the line thus defined, the German to the north. The British possessions will not include Long Island, or Rook Island, or any islands adjacent to New Guinea to the northward of the 8th parallel of south latitude.

About the middle of the year, the Geographical Society of

Australia equipped and sent a complete expedition to explore the unknown interior of New Guinea. New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland having contributed a sum of 4,000*l.*, a party of twelve white men and eleven Malays, all carefully selected, started on their explorations, under the leadership of Captain Everill, a man of great nautical experience, who had been a tobacco-planter in Sumatra, was accustomed to tropical swamps and jungles, and could speak Malay fluently. It was determined, before starting, that no native should ever be fired upon, except the life of a member of the party was in danger. The expedition was to do as much, and go as far, as time and money would allow. It was reported in November that the expedition had failed and all its members had been massacred; the news was so circumstantially given as to create much painful excitement throughout Australia, and two relief parties were despatched to ascertain the truth; the one under private enterprise got away first, but was soon followed by two of H.M. ships, with a picked crew of thirty blue-jackets to form the search party. Before the close of the year news reached England that there was no truth in the reported massacre and that the expedition was safe. A second and smaller exploring expedition reached New Guinea about the same time as Captain Everill's. This was conducted by Mr. H. O. Forbes, from England, and was under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, and with the expressed approval of Her Majesty's Government, the Australasian Society having contributed 500*l.* He was unfortunate at the outset in losing his whole equipment, by the upsetting of a native boat in Torres Strait, but he pushed on nevertheless towards the peaks of the Owen Stanley Range, and over them to the coast on the east side of the protectorate.

British North Borneo.—The company which was incorporated by royal charter in 1881, and, the powers of which were derived from the Sultans of Brunei and Sulu, has been making steady progress, and the fiscal revenue for 1884, as compared with that of 1883, shows an increase of 60 per cent. The company is so well satisfied with the outlook that it has negotiated with the Sultan of Brunei, for a further cession of 4,000 square miles, in addition to the 24,000 it already possesses. Sandakan, the most flourishing of the existing six stations, is inhabited by 3,000 or 4,000 natives and Chinese, and it is proposed to rename it Elopura ('the city beautiful.') The Governor of the colony, Mr. W. H. Treacher, is also acting-Governor of Labuan, and there is an official organisation in existence, which costs 30,000*l.* a year to maintain. The government is based on the Indian penal code, and a force of 180 police has hitherto been sufficient to keep order with comparative ease. The revenue is collected by a duty on imported opium, and by royalties on exports. Several new imports and exports have been started, and during the year gold was discovered, worth 72*s.* per oz. Among the other products of the island are the birds'-nests used by the Chinese for soup-making. The Gormanton caves alone

yield nests worth 5,000*l.* a year, and a range of caves still wealthier has been found near Silam station. There are splendid deposits of guano, valued at from 5*l.* to 10*l.* per ton. In fact the whole district seems to abound in valuable articles of trade, and it is supposed there are few countries, except perhaps Eastern Australia, where coal is so extensively developed. Thick seams crop out in innumerable places on the coast and on the banks of the rivers, and there is little doubt this coal area is the connecting link between the coal-flora of Australia and India. Being situate about half-way between China and Australia, this colony will prove an admirable coaling station, and the harbours are well adapted to shelter a large mercantile fleet. Its position, too, will be considerably strengthened by the protocol, signed in March at Madrid, by the representatives of Great Britain, Germany, and Spain, with regard to sovereign rights and trade regulations in the Sulu Archipelago. Labour is wanted in North Borneo, but this will not be difficult to secure by engaging Indian coolies, or the neighbouring Chinese; but what are needed more even than labour, are capital and the employers of labour.

There was an unfortunate fanatical outbreak at Kawang, a large trading town of the settlement (May 12), in which Dr. Fraser and three Sikh police were killed and the commandant of police wounded, but seven out of the nine Badjows who made the sudden and treacherous attack were killed. The Governor attached no political importance to the occurrence, and no further disturbances followed. By the protocol above-mentioned, the Spanish Government renounced, in favour of Great Britain, all the rights which the Sultan of Sulu may at any time have had to the parts of the mainland of Borneo, including the islands near the coast, which belong to the company. The Spanish Government also undertook to allow free trade among the Sulu Islands, whilst Great Britain guaranteed the same in the territory belonging to the company.

Samoa.—This island, or rather group of islands, otherwise known as the Navigators, has acquired a good deal of notoriety from the high-handed proceedings of Germany against the King of Samoa, and from the latter's anxiety to hand over the island to New Zealand. In consequence of a movement, both in Samoa and New Zealand, in favour of the annexation of the former by Great Britain, the German Government obtained from the British Government, on December 4, 1884, an assurance that the independence of Samoa should be respected, provided that "reciprocal assurances" were obtained from the German Government. The repeated petitions of the king and chiefs of Samoa for annexation to Great Britain had been disregarded, but on January 6 of this year Lord Derby received a telegram from the Governor of New Zealand informing him that two German vessels had arrived at Samoa and that the officers had forced the king to sign a treaty giving the whole authority of the government to the German representative. It further appeared that a state council had been created,

that a German officer of the Samoan Government had been appointed, and that German police had been enrolled to protect the plantations of German subjects, all of which acts interfered with the independence of the Samoan Government. The king had also addressed a pathetic letter (Dec. 29, 1884) to the Emperor of Germany, complaining of the action of German residents in Samoa, and stating that he had only signed the agreement of the previous November 10 through unjust pressure and threats. Lord Derby telegraphed on February 18 to the Governor of New Zealand that our consul at Samoa was not to countenance any movement for annexation to Great Britain. At the end of March news arrived that the German consul had issued a proclamation declaring that, for the protection of German property, he had taken possession of the town of Apia, the harbour, and the native capital. The British and American consuls protested against such an infringement of the rights of the Convention, and the Samoan Parliament forthwith took the extreme step of passing an Act for the annexation of the Samoan Islands to New Zealand. Annexation, however, did not follow, and the excitement caused early in the year by Germany's action in Samoa gradually subsided. The new British consul for the South Sea Islands, whose headquarters were at Samoa, was instructed to cultivate friendly relations with German and American authorities and citizens in the islands. The interest of Germany in these islands is in some degree intelligible, and its jealousy of other Governments to some extent justifiable. In Samoa, for instance, the value of the German imports and exports reach nearly 11,000*l.*, or twice as much as those of all other countries put together. In Tonga the German exports alone are 66,000*l.*, but in both islands English trade is now steadily increasing. In other groups of the West Pacific Islands (Fiji excepted) Germany is still the leading trading nation, but the New Britain Archipelago is the most flourishing seat of the German Pacific trade, though less in extent than in Samoa and Tonga, and not amounting to more than 250,000*l.* To protect this and the interests of 150 German subjects, an expensive squadron of three war vessels is maintained. The cost is probably double the whole profits upon the trade, whilst the number of officers and men is twice that of the persons they have to protect. In Mikronesia Germany cannot claim the foremost place and in the Pelews she has no representatives; but on the other hand, in Northern Melanesia, she not only preponderates but is without a competitor. In the Duke of York group the German Süd See Company alone has a station, and that is kept for recruiting natives from the neighbouring islands to work on the Company's plantations in Samoa. There is no German trade in the Solomon Archipelago south of Bouka and none in the New Hebrides, whilst, except on the occasion of visits of German men-of-war to New Guinea, few or no Germans have settled there or have attempted to open up trade with its inhabitants.

PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1885.

JANUARY.

1. A serious accident happened on the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway near Penistone, the scene of a previous accident. An excursion train from Sheffield dashed into some coal-trucks which had broken down. Two passengers were killed, and about thirty seriously injured, of whom two died in the course of a few days.

— At the inaugural banquet given by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, the health of the Queen was received with mingled applause and hissing ; that of the Lord Lieutenant was omitted ; and on Mr. Maurice Brooks and Dr. Lyons attempting to respond for the Irish members, they were met with such a storm of groans and hisses that they had to resume their seats. Mr. Mayne and Mr. O'Kelly, to whom the duty was then assigned, were warmly received.

2. Emily Redston, a domestic servant, was charged with attempting to drown two children in the Thames at Chiswick, and with endeavouring to commit suicide. Before leaving the house in which she lived as nurse she committed indescribable havoc in the rooms, tearing down pictures, smashing crockery, tearing up the carpets, &c.

— An explosion, subsequently traced to dynamite, took place on the Metropolitan Railway, about 9 p.m., near the Gower Street station. The explosive was supposed to have been thrown from a train going westwards shortly after leaving King's Cross station. A passing train going eastwards suffered severely, all the lights being blown out, as well as those of the neighbouring signal-boxes. The glass windows of the carriages and boxes were smashed to atoms ; and in the street above great alarm was caused by the violence of the shock. No one was, however, seriously injured, and very slight damage was done to the brickwork of the tunnel.

3. After the meeting of the Cabinet Council, orders, it was asserted, were telegraphed to Portsmouth and Devonport to prepare the Channel Squadron at once for sea. Most of the officers and men being absent on Christmas

leave, telegrams were despatched in all directions, and notices posted, ordering the men to join their ships. An official denial, however, appeared as soon as these statements were made public; and the steps taken were explained to be those customary in anticipation of the departure of the Squadron on its winter cruise.

3. Mr. Henry George, the advocate of the land for the people, accompanied by Mr. Macpherson, the "Glendale martyr," arrived in the island of Skye, and an enthusiastic open-air meeting was held at Glendale.

— The centenary of the Brothers Grimm (Jacob and Wilhelm) celebrated by the Berlin University, and at Hanau, the birthplace of the two philologists.

— Ampton Hall, near Bury St. Edmunds, a fine old Tudor building, destroyed by fire.

5. The Scotch limited mail, due at Wolverhampton at 5 A.M., came into collision with a goods train just outside the station, while travelling at great speed. The engine-driver and stoker seeing the danger applied the brakes and then jumped off, and escaped with slight injury. The goods waggon were smashed to atoms, and nearly all the passengers in the express were injured.

— Mr. Chamberlain attended a dinner given in his honour by the working men of Birmingham, and congratulated them on the duties they would be called upon to perform.

— Shocks of earthquake felt, first at Susa, near Mont Cenis, and after some hours' interval at Velletri, near Rome. The seismic instruments in Rome, and at Rocca di Papa, were reported to have shown unusual activity, and the mineral springs of the island of Ischia to have risen in temperature.

6. British protectorate proclaimed over the whole coast of Pondoland.

— According to a Parliamentary return relating to the gas undertakings of the United Kingdom, the following totals appeared :—

	Annual Bonuses.	Total Receipts.	Total Expenditure.	Cubic Feet consumed.
Local Authorities .	£17,874,357	£4,252,296	£2,877,732	22,308,058,516
	Share Capital paid up.	Loan Capital issued.		
Private Companies	£29,038,726	£5,075,804		47,808,265,516

— The House of Convocation of London University nominated a special committee to consider the proposals for establishing a teaching university for London.

7. A case came before the Odessa Criminal Tribunal which threw some light upon a secret religious sect, against which several prosecutions had been instituted. Rachel Ostrovskaia, aged 28, an "angel maker," was charged with various cases of child-murder, including that of her own child. She was convicted and sentenced to fifteen years' hard labour, without evincing the least feeling.

— According to a telegram received from Korti, the Household Cavalry having completed their infantry drill, the men of the Royal Navy serving with the Expeditionary Force received their first lesson in camel-riding.

— The Guatemala Government having arrived at the conclusion that the construction of a railroad from the capital to St. Thomas, a port on the Caribbean Sea, was an object of primary importance to the State, decreed every adult male of the republic to be a shareholder, with the minimum

holding of one share of the nominal value of \$40. In the case of poverty being proved, payment extending over ten years would be allowed. The Government undertook to collect the subscriptions, pay the guarantee, &c., and generally supervise the expenditure, estimated at \$12,000,000.

8. Mr. Parnell attended a meeting of the Nationalist Convention at Thurles, and forced them to withdraw Mr. O’Ryan, who had been brought forward as a candidate for Tipperary, and to accept his candidate, Mr. O’Connor.

— The coming of age of Prince Albert Victor—or Prince Edward, as he was also called—the eldest son of the Prince of Wales, celebrated in various places. The Prince of Wales had assembled a large family party at Sandringham in honour of the event.

— According to the will of Mr. George Gardner, of Boston and Beverley, in the United States, filed at Boston, his trustees were directed to pay to his widow each year 1,161 troy ounces of pure gold, being her actual weight (between 90 lbs. and 100 lbs. avoirdupois) when the will was made.

9. After a trial lasting the whole day, the jury at 2 A.M., after less than half an hour’s retirement, found that Madame Clovis Hugues had not wilfully or with premeditation killed the private detective Morin, whom she had shot in the outer hall of the Palais de Justice. She was consequently acquitted, the Court ordering her to pay 2,000 francs to the father of the murdered man. Her acquittal obtained for her a popular ovation and triumphal return from the court to her house.

— Further shocks of earthquake felt in the district of Malaga. In the mountains round Torrox, where rumblings were heard at frequent intervals, fissures abounded, and during the frequent oscillations avalanches of rocks and boulders descended into the valleys, causing panic and desolation.

— “Captain” Phelan, the superintendent of the workhouse in Kansas, having been summoned to New York to give explanations relative to so-called disclosures regarding the “Invincible” section of the Fenians, was, on his arrival at O’Donovan Rossa’s office, attacked by a man named Barker, who stabbed him with a dagger. Phelan, however, fired at Barker, wounding him severely.

10. The funeral of Dr. Jackson, the late Bishop of London, took place in the parish churchyard at Fulham, where so many of his predecessors had been buried.

— A ‘Japanese village,’ at Albert Gate, in the construction of which 100 Japanese workmen had been employed, finally opened by Sir Rutherford Alcock. The managing director announced his intention of handing the profits of the exhibition to his wife, a Japanese lady who had embraced Christianity, and who proposed to establish a mission in her own country.

— An attempt made to blow up with dynamite the house of a foreman of the Barrow Steel Works. The explosion took place in the back yard, but no injury was done except to the outbuildings. The outrage was attributed to discharged workmen.

12. Vice-Chancellor Bacon, with the assent of all parties, granted a perpetual injunction restraining Miss Devy, or her publisher, from publishing the letters of the first Lord Lytton to his wife ; or the letters written by the second Lord Lytton (plaintiff in the action) to his mother ; and from parting with them for the purpose of publication.

12. The Vegetarian Society held a meeting at Exeter Hall, to make public the results obtained at the Health Exhibition. During its continuance 161,000 meals had been served in a room capable of accommodating only 150 persons at a time, and the highest number of meals served in one day was 1,682. The cash receipts for dinners were 4,500*l.*, in addition to 390*l.* for vegetarian literature.

— It was officially announced that the Queen had sanctioned the adoption of the diapason normal for her private band, and that it would be in future used at the State concerts.

13. Horace R. Jay, who had been convicted of the murder of his sweetheart, Florence Kemp, in a fit of jealousy, executed in Wandsworth Prison. Jay, after the murder, had cut his own throat, and was for some time in great danger. He left a written confession of his guilt, admitting the justice of his sentence.

— Fresh earthquake shocks reported from the neighbourhood of Torrox, where the King of Spain was travelling, hoping by his presence to restore the courage of the inhabitants. The official return showed that in the province of Granada alone 695 persons had been killed and 1,480 injured during the period of each disturbance.

14. Two passenger steamers belonging to the London and North-Western Railway, the *Stanley* (outgoing) and the *Eleanor* (incoming), came into collision off Holyhead. The latter was cut nearly through abaft her starboard paddle-box, and was only saved from sinking by being run in here. The *Stanley* had her bow severely damaged, and would have sunk but for a watertight bulkhead. All the passengers were saved.

— Joseph Flint, a humpbacked tailor, tried at Reading for the murder of his wife with a flat iron, and found guilty. He had continued to occupy the room for several days before the body of the murdered woman was found under the bed in which he had been sleeping.

— At Warminster the inhabitants were startled about 7 P.M. by a loud explosion, and it was found that an attempt had been made to blow up the old Town Hall.

15. At the Sheriff's Court, Red Lion Square, the jury gave damages to the amount of 10,000*l.* to John Neville Maskelyne, of the Egyptian Hall, a well-known conjurer, in his action for libel against Mr. Washington Irving Bishop, the thought-reader. The libel came out of a "thought-reading" exhibition at Liverpool, in the course of which Mr. Bishop had discovered a pin concealed by Mr. Ladyman. There was no defence, and the defendant did not enter an appearance.

— A fatal colliery explosion took place at Lièvre, Pas de Calais, occasioning the loss of twenty-eight lives, and the destruction of underground galleries to the extent of a thousand yards.

— Rev. J. C. Edghill appointed Chaplain in General of the Forces, in succession to Bishop Claughton, deceased.

— At the London Bankruptcy Court Mr. Scholz, a material witness in the case of *Belt v. Lawes*, admitted that he had committed perjury in the trial of that case, and that certain drawings and modellings had been done by him, and not by Mr. Belt, as he had sworn.

16. As the North Staffordshire express from Manchester to Birmingham was passing Stoke at full speed, it ran into a mineral train standing on a crossing line. The passenger engine and most of the carriages were thrown off and scattered about the line, and nearly all the passengers were more or less severely bruised or injured.

— The appeal of Mr. Edmund Yates, editor of the *World*, against the judgment passed upon him for libel, rejected by the Court of Appeal, and Mr. Yates was removed to Holloway Gaol for four months' imprisonment as a first-class misdemeanant.

— Messrs. Oliver Brothers and Phillips, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, one of the largest iron manufacturing firms in the United States, suspended payment. They employed 4,000 hands, and manufactured chiefly bolts and nuts. Their liabilities were stated to be five millions of dollars.—Messrs. John Cisco and Sons, bankers of New York, also suspended payment, with liabilities estimated at two and a half millions.

— The carcass of a whale, 70 ft. long, and estimated to weigh over forty tons, stranded on the banks of the Severn. It was said to be the largest ever stranded on English shores within living memory.

17. A mass meeting of the unemployed held in front of the Royal Exchange; but instead of the large number expected, not more than 2,000 or 3,000, including spectators, attended.

— Severe weather reported from the south of Europe, especially in Spain and the south of France. At Madrid the thermometer registered 6 deg. of frost, at Victoria 14 deg., at Burgos 18 deg., at Segovia 27 deg. The snow lay 8 ft. deep in Navarre and the Basque provinces. In France, Briançon was quite cut off from communication. At Cavaillon and Avignon there were 20 centimetres of snow, and the navigation of the Rhone was interrupted. All along the Riviera snow fell heavily, and weather altogether unprecedented was experienced.

— General Sir Herbert Stewart, at the head of 1,500 men, successfully engaged a large Arab force, numbering from 8,000 to 10,000 men, at the Wells of Abou Klea. The combat was for a long time hand to hand, the Arabs forcing through one side of the British square. They were at length beaten back with a loss of nearly 1,000 killed or prisoners.

19. The heavy fall of snow, which had continued for three days throughout the Alpine districts, followed by terrible avalanches. Two townships in the neighbourhood of Jura were completely destroyed. The tunnel of the Col di Tenda, as well as the Mont Cenis, were completely blocked. At Sparone, near Ivrea, fifteen people were buried in the snow, and great loss of life was reported from various other districts. In the districts of Aosta and Ivrea, upwards of 200 lives were said to have been lost.

— General Sir H. Stewart, whilst fighting his way from the Wells of Abou Klea to the banks of the Nile, severely wounded in one of the numerous encounters with the Arabs, who ineffectually attempted to stop his march.—Communication with Gordon at Khartoum opened.

20. Police Inspector Simmons shot by a man whom he was attempting to arrest in a field between Romford and Rainham. Three men, who had been watched for some time, were followed and called upon to explain their doings. They took flight; but finding themselves closely followed, one of

them turned round and shot the police inspector, who was within a few yards of him. All three men then escaped.

20. The remains of the woman Connell, who was murdered at Corristown, co. Dublin, buried at Clonally. The murderer, Nicholas Archibald, who had afterwards committed suicide, was also to have been buried, but the people of the village would not carry the body, nor permit others to do so, and the grave was filled up. The farmer's body remained in his house. Attempts were subsequently made to bury the body at Clonally and Balrothry, but the people again prevented it, saying that the deceased must be buried on his own land. They, moreover, placed guards day and night at the graveyards for miles round to prevent a secret interment.

21. According to a telegram from Melbourne, the commodore of the Australian Squadron hoisted the British flag on the Louisiades, Woodlark Island, the Huon Gulf, and D'Entrecasteaux Island, all lying between Australia and its French penal settlements, or off the New Guinea coast.

— The colonel commanding the Seaforth Highlanders received notice from the Queen, through Sir H. Ponsonby, that the feather bonnet would be issued to his regiment, thus setting at rest a long-disputed question.

22. Prince Albert Victor of Wales entered as a student at the Middle Temple.

23. The Vienna Skating Club held a grand fancy dress ball on the ice in their ground. The inclosure was illuminated by twenty electric lights, and above two hundred first-rate skaters performed a pantomime, the scenery for which was composed of grottoes of ice and plants embellished with colossal icicles and frozen spray.

24. About 2 P.M. simultaneous explosions occurred at the Houses of Parliament and at the Tower of London. At the former a suspicious package having been observed in the crypt by a lady, information was at once given to the police in attendance. Constable Cole rushed into the chapel and picked up the package, but almost as soon as he reached Westminster Hall he was obliged to let it fall. A terrific explosion followed, blowing a hole in the pavement 6 ft. in breadth, making another in the roof, and shattering the glass throughout the Hall. A few minutes later a second explosion was heard in the inner part of the building, and it was then found that an infernal machine had been placed in the House of Commons itself (it being a day on which the public is admitted), tearing off the doors, and bringing down the strangers' and peers' gallery, besides an almost incalculable amount of damage to panelling, glass, &c. Two constables were seriously injured. At the Tower of London, the middle storey of the White Tower, used as a store-room of modern arms, was chosen by the dynamiters. The chief damage was done to the Bankruptcy Hall and the passage to St. John's Chapel. The armoury caught fire, but after about an hour was extinguished. Two girls and three boys were a good deal cut about by the falling glass and stones, and one of the former burned.

25. Great alarm caused in Guernsey by a terrific explosion, heard all over the island and far out at sea. The crew of the *Commerce* steamer reported—and their evidence was corroborated by others—that about 3 A.M. they saw an enormous ball of fire shoot from the sky and fall into the sea to the west of the island, with a loud explosion.

25. A serious tram-car accident took place at Brussels, two steam tram-cars coming into collision. About twenty people, skaters returning from the Bois de la Cambre, were injured.

26. Khartoum, which had been held by Gordon against the Mahdi for upwards of ten months, carried by the treachery of one of the Pashas, who opened the city gates to the Mahdi's troops. When Sir C. Wilson, who had been ascending the Nile to relieve Gordon, arrived, he found the city in possession of the enemy, and so was forced to retire. It was subsequently asserted that General Gordon himself was assassinated on the day of Sir C. Wilson's approaching the city.

27. The Marquess of Ripon reached Studley Royal, after an absence of five years as Viceroy of India, and received an enthusiastic public welcome. The civic, ecclesiastical, and other county dignitaries awaited the arrival of the train from York, and he was escorted home by a large body of his tenantry and others.

— The Queen conferred the Albert Order upon Police Constable Cole for his conduct at Westminster Hall.

— The P. and O. Company's steamer *Chusan* went ashore on the island of Perim, at the entrance of the Red Sea, but was eventually got off without serious damage.

28. The Court of Appeal unanimously reaffirmed the decision of the Divisional Judge, refusing Mr. Bradlaugh's application for a new trial on the question of his oath and the fine incurred. They held that as the defendant did not believe in a Supreme Being, he could not under any circumstances take an oath. Mr. Bradlaugh gave notice of an appeal to the House of Lords.

— Dr. Temple, Bishop of Exeter, translated to the see of London.

29. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 5 to 4 per cent. ; the reserve being 13,938,000*l.*, and its proportion to the liabilities 45½ per cent.

— At the meeting of the London School Board, the Finance Committee reported that 1,106,138*l.* would be required for the year 1885-6, equal to a rate of 9*d.* in the pound.

30. The authorities at the Post Office, British Museum, and Inland Revenue received anonymous information that those buildings would be made the objects of early attack by the dynamiters.

— Herr Schönerer, a member of the Austrian Chamber of Deputies, having insulted a reporter for one of the newspapers, the Speaker having refused to censure the Deputy, and the House having adopted a resolution restricting the privileges accorded to the press representatives, the reporters of all the newspapers met and agreed to take no notice of the proceedings of the Chamber. After three days the House capitulated. Herr Schönerer, a violent anti-Semitic, was censured, and the press reinstated in all its privileges.

31. At Edinburgh—where he had accepted an invitation to contest one of the proposed new seats—Mr. Goschen commenced a series of addresses on political and economical subjects, in which he indicated his divergence from the Radical school of politicians.

31. Dr. E. King, Canon of Christ Church, and Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford, nominated Bishop of Lincoln (*vice* Dr. Wordsworth resigned); and Dr. Edward Henry Bickersteth, who had for three days held the Deanery of Gloucester, promoted to the Bishopric of Exeter (*vice* Dr. Temple translated).

— H.R.H. Prince Edward of Wales made his first public appearance by opening the Whittington Home for Boys in Whitechapel.

FEBRUARY.

2. O'Donovan Rossa, one of the chiefs of the dynamite faction, shot by Mrs. Yseult Dudley, a young Englishwoman, while walking with her in Chambers Street, New York. Rossa fell at the first shot, and cried at once for mercy. Mrs. Dudley, having discharged the other four barrels of her revolver, walked away, and was conducted to the police station without any resistance or attempt to escape. She had met Rossa by appointment, having expressed her willingness to contribute to the Fenian fund. After two interviews in the street, in the course of which Rossa was said to have explained his views as to the future, she, finding him careless of the injury he might inflict, allowed him to pass in front of her, and then, drawing her pistol, fired, inflicting a severe flesh wound.

— A fierce fight occurred at Concordia Hall, New York, where a Socialist meeting, attended by 2,000 persons, was being held. A quarrel broke out between the dynamite and anti-dynamite factions, which ended in the police having to storm the hall, and after much resistance many of the rioters were arrested.

3. News received that Portugal, disregarding the proceedings of the conference at Berlin, and the wishes of the International Association, had seized both banks of the Congo at its mouth.

4. John Lee, who had been committed for trial for the murder of Miss Keyse, at Babbacombe, near Torquay, found guilty and sentenced to death. According to the evidence, the lady had been struck down in the hall, near the servants' room—her throat cut—and dragged into the kitchen, and the house was then set on fire.

— Emily Redstone, who was indicted for attempting to murder her mistress's two children by throwing them into the Thames at Chiswick, was found guilty, but on account of her youth (16) was recommended to mercy.

6. Trials of telephoning long distances made at the New York Postal Telegraph Office. Satisfactory communication was established with Meadville, Pa., distant 509 miles, but the experiments with Chicago, 1,000 miles off, although working at first, were not altogether conclusive.

7. The champion sculling match between Hanlon (of Toronto) and Clifford (of Sydney, N.S.W.) took place over the course of the Paramatta River, Sydney. Hanlon started with the lead, which he maintained throughout the race, winning with apparent ease by six lengths.

— The Exeter Theatre totally destroyed by fire, which, happily, did not break out until some hours after the audience had left.

— Reinsdorff and Kùchler, two of the men convicted of having been the

instigators in the plot against the German Emperor's life at the unveiling of the Niederwald monument, executed (by decapitation) within the precincts of Halle Prison, in the presence of about sixty persons.

8. The sentry at the Woolwich Powder Magazine bayoneted one of his comrades who had attempted to pass without taking notice of the challenge to halt or to give the pass-word.

9. A slight disturbance took place in Paris between the Anarchists and the military. The former had assembled in the Place de l'Opéra, demanding work and relief. The ordinary traffic being obstructed by the meeting, it was dispersed by cavalry.

— Colonel Williams, of Ottawa, and a member of the Dominion Parliament, tendered his services, and those of a regiment (600 strong) to be selected from the Canadian militia, to the British authorities for garrison duty in England.

— J. G. Cunningham and H. Burton further charged at Bow Street with being concerned in causing the explosion at the Tower. It was stated that evidence would be produced to show that these men had arrived in England shortly before the explosion in St. James's Square, that they then left the country, and reappeared again previously to that at London Bridge, and that they could be identified as being two of the three men who travelled in the guard's brake on the Metropolitan Railway on January 2, when an explosion occurred there.

10. In consequence of orders received from the Home Government Board, the Leicester Board of Guardians issued summonses against nearly 5,000 persons for refusing to comply with the requirements of the Vaccination Act. In consequence of the attitude of the population the administration of the Act was found to be nearly impossible.

— The *United Irishman*, a Nationalist journal appearing in New York, published a letter signed "Shaun O'Neil," and dated "Dublin," offering 10,000 dols. for the body of the Prince of Wales, dead or alive.

— The Earl of Rosebery appointed Lord Privy Seal (in succession to Lord Carlingford), he undertaking at the same time the duties of the Chief Commissioner of Works. Mr. G. Shaw-Lefevre, Postmaster-General, also admitted to the Cabinet.

— General Earle's column of troops, advancing by the Nile route from Korti to Berber, attacked the fortified canal position at Dalka, and carried it after five hours' obstinate fighting and the loss of General Earle.

11. Much excitement caused in the Potteries District by the "miracles" performed by "Major" Pearson of the Salvation Army. Cripples in scores were brought into public meetings, and worked up by excitement showed themselves capable of the most extraordinary movements. Hearing was alleged to have been restored to the deaf, and speech to the dumb.

12. A fire broke out in the lunatic ward of the Philadelphia Almshouses, and before any rescue could be given twenty-eight of the inmates were burnt to death (chiefly those confined in cells), and fifty or more escaped into the city, but were subsequently recaptured.

— The marriage of Prince Fernando Colonna da Galatio with Miss Mackay, daughter of the "Bonanza king," and reported to be the richest

heiress in Europe, celebrated at the Paris Nunciature in the most private manner.

13. The Mayors of Liverpool and Birkenhead, accompanied by about 400 persons, traversed the Mersey Tunnel from their respective sides of the river, and met in the centre, where congratulations were interchanged on the communication then established.

— In the course of excavation in the lobby of the French Protestant church in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, numerous richly carved fragments of stone (in one of which was a pearl) were discovered; as well as the head, hand, and a portion of the drapery of a stone figure. They were recognised as portions of the damaged shrine and burying-place of St. Dunstan; of which, after its partial destruction, the pieces were thrown into the Black Prince's Chantry, the site of the French church.

— Lang-son, one of the principal fortresses of Tong-king, occupied by the French General Brière de Lisle, who had previously routed the Chinese troops in a hotly contested battle near the town.

14. A series of stringent regulations with reference to the admission of strangers and reporters to the House of Commons, issued by order of the Speaker. Under these the press representatives especially were curtailed of many of their privileges, and the restrictions called forth very strong expressions of dissatisfaction from the London Committee of the National Association of Journalists.

16. The trustees of the Peabody Donation Fund stated in their annual report that to the original sum of half a million given by Mr. Peabody, the amount added for interest and rents had at the close of 1884 been 357,319*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* In addition to this 390,000*l.* had been borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and of this about 50,000*l.* had been repaid. Up to the close of the year the trustees had provided the artisans of London with 10,144 rooms (occupied by 18,453 persons), besides baths, laundries, and washhouses. When the buildings in course of construction were completed, no more could be commenced until the debt to the Public Works Loan Commissioners had been paid off.

— A meeting of the "unemployed" to the number of some thousands was held on the Thames Embankment, under the auspices of the Social Democratic Federation. The meeting, having been addressed by Mr. N. H. Hyndman and others, proceeded to the Local Government Board, where they were received by Mr. G. Russell, in the absence of the President, Sir C. Dilke. A deputation having explained the object of the meeting, which turned upon the Government providing labour in some form, Mr. Russell referred the delegates to the local authorities.

17. During a performance of "Diplomacy" at the Haymarket Theatre some of the scenery caught fire, and at one moment threatened to cause a panic. The curtain was lowered suddenly, but Mr. Bancroft came forward to implore the people to keep their seats, as the fire was altogether unimportant. After a short interval the play was resumed.

— Rev. R. H. Montagu Butler, D.D., Head Master of Harrow School, appointed Dean of Gloucester.

— The political prisoners at Irkutsk, having organised a secret society amongst themselves, rose in armed revolt against their warders. In the

struggle which ensued, nine soldiers and thirty exiles were either killed or wounded before order was established.

18. Admiral Courbet having come up with the Chinese Squadron in the Shei-poo Roads, after a number of unsuccessful attempts to approach the ships, at length succeeded in blowing up two of them by means of torpedoes.

— At the Stafford Assizes, Walter Kirton was convicted of inciting a printer to forge tickets of admission to Aston Grounds on the occasion of the Conservative meeting of October 1884. The representative of the Conservatives having asked Mr. Justice Hawkins to deal leniently with the prisoner, he was fined 25*l.* and sentenced to three days' imprisonment.

— The Queen ordered telegrams to be despatched to Victoria, New South Wales, and other colonies, thanking them for their prompt offers of co-operation and material assistance in the war which threatened to spread in Egypt.

19. Three detachments of the Guards left their head-quarters and embarked for Egypt, in anticipation of a fresh campaign in the Soudan. The Grenadier Guards, previously to their departure from Windsor, paraded before the Queen in the Grand Quadrangle.

— The Dynamite Revolutionary section of the Irish Revolutionary party issued from Paris a warning to the British Cabinet, to the effect that in the event of the renewal of the Crimes Act (Ireland) they would have recourse to retaliatory measures.

— A fire broke out in a cotton mill at Knuzden Brook Mill, near Blackburn, in which no less than seven lives were sacrificed.

20. Proclamations appeared in the *London Gazette* calling out the first-class reserves and embodying the militia.

— Discovery made of an extraordinary robbery of the Government despatches, transmitted with the mails from New York on board the *Celtic*. No trace of the person by whom the robbery was committed could be obtained; and it was doubtful whether his object was to obtain knowledge of what was passing between Washington and London relative to the Fenian conspiracy, or only to get possession of the registered letters.

21. Ancrum House, near Jedburgh, the seat of Sir William Scott, Bart., destroyed by fire. The furniture, pictures, and other valuables were saved.

— The trial of the eight Lewes crofters and their sons, for "deforcing" and assaulting the Messenger-at-Arms sent to Valtos to serve the writs of the Court of Session, concluded at Stornoway. The charges having been proved, the sheriff sentenced the prisoners to terms of imprisonment ranging from seven to fifty days.

— The dedication of the Washington Monument took place at Washington in the presence of 6,000 soldiers drawn from all parts of the country.

23. John Lee, who had been convicted of the murder of Miss Keyse at Babbacombe, brought up for execution in Exeter Gaol. The rope was adjusted, the Burial Service read, and the signal given, but the drop would not act. This was repeated three times, and at the end of half an hour it was decided to postpone the execution, and subsequently Lee's sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life. The rains of the two preceding days had, it was said, caused the planks of the drop to swell, and hence the trouble.

23. A congress of Fenians and members of the Dynamite party held in Paris. Eleven delegates attended from the United States, Ireland, and Continental countries. The chair was taken by Kiul, *alias* John Moussey, a native of Carlow. The only persons admitted besides the delegates were thirteen Fenians, who were not allowed to take part in the discussions.

24. The closure applied for the first time in the House of Commons under the new rules, and on the same occasion Mr. O'Brien suspended.

— The French Government, having notified the blockade of the Chinese coast, declared rice to be contraband of war.

25. A Frenchman, M. Paul Thiébault, committed suicide in Paris by walking into the electric-lighting works of M. Chertemps, and deliberately taking hold of the conducting wires of the apparatus at work. He was instantly killed by the shock.

26. The Liberal Associations for the north-eastern division of Edinburgh agreed, by 111 votes to 12, that the "speeches and votes of Mr. Goschen showed that he could not be looked upon as a consistent Liberal, and that he was not fit to represent the district in Parliament."

— The *Poonah* transport, which left Queenstown on the 21st with several hundred troops on board, reported safe after a series of misadventures which had given rise to serious anxiety. Shortly after leaving Queenstown she injured her screw-shaft, and had to be assisted on her way to Portsmouth by two tugs. Encountering a storm off the Land's End, one of the tugs snapped her cable, and, being unable to pass a notice to the transport, steamed to Falmouth for assistance. Meanwhile the transport became unmanageable, and the other tug was sent to St. Ives for immediate help. For two days she drifted about the Channel, no tidings of her being obtained until she was discovered making for Cork harbour.

27. A terrible disaster occurred at the School of Gunnery, Shoeburyness, when several officers, including Col. Fox-Strangways, the Commandant, Col. Lyon, and several members of the Ordnance Committee of the War Office were met to try experiments with "sensitive fuses" invented by Col. Lyon. One of the men was engaged in screwing a fuse into a live shell, when the shell exploded, killing the gunner on the spot. Col. Fox-Strangways had one foot blown off and the leg shattered. Col. Lyon had both legs blown off, as had Capt. Goold-Adams; and Sergeant-Major Daykin had one leg blown off. Operations were performed upon most of the patients, but the majority sunk under them, making six deaths.

— The Government defeated Sir S. Northcote's vote of censure by 304 to 290, after four nights' debate.

— Two sharp shocks of earthquake felt in the neighbourhood of Granada and Malaga, and fears prevailed lest the period of disturbance through which the district had passed was about to recur.

28. The sculling match between Clifford and Beach for 400*l.* and the championship of the world took place at Sydney (N.S.W.), over the championship course on the Paramatta River, Beach gaining an easy victory.

MARCH.

1. The Prince and Princess of Wales attended the Temple Church on the occasion of the seventh centenary of its dedication. The sermon was preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

2. By order of the Commander-in-Chief an examination was held of the whole of the troops stationed in the United Kingdom, with a view of ascertaining what number would be available for immediate active service.

— Peter Joyce, *alias* Larry Mack, convicted of writing and publishing a malicious libel on Mr. R. C. Jarvis, a leading Birmingham Conservative, and sentenced, in spite of a strong recommendation to mercy, to six weeks' imprisonment. The case arose out of the Aston Park riots, Mr. Justice Field insisting that it should be proceeded with, although the parties had come to an arrangement out of court.

— The Prince of Wales unexpectedly paid a visit to the Stock Exchange, and inspected the new buildings recently erected.

— A serious firedamp explosion took place at Usworth Colliery, near Newcastle, by which forty-five lives were lost.

3. The contingent furnished by New South Wales for service in the Soudan left Sydney amid indescribable enthusiasm, being the first occasion on which a British colony had sent, at its own cost, and fully equipped, a body of troops to co-operate with the army of the mother country.

— The representatives of the Australian colonies (the Canadian High Commissioner being unavoidably absent) received by the Duke of Cambridge and Lords Hartington and Morley, and assured that their offer of aid in Egypt would have been gladly accepted had it not been thought inadvisable to convey, during the great heats of summer, more troops than were absolutely requisite.

4. At the Nenagh Assizes, Myles Ryan was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude for the abduction of Mary Harger, aged 25, the daughter of a substantial farmer. According to the evidence the prisoner and a party of friends arrived one night in the previous summer at the farmer's house near Thurles. After firing guns and making noisy demonstrations the young woman was seized and conveyed to the house of another farmer, fourteen miles distant. On the following day she made her way home, and the case being reported to the police, five men were arrested.

— The last convoy of sick and wounded, to the number of 110, safely reached Korti from Gakdul and Adul Klea, the return across the desert having been effected with great skill.

— Mr. Cleveland (Democrat) installed at the White House, Washington, President of the United States, in succession to President Arthur.

5. Count Herbert von Bismarck arrived on a special mission from Berlin, in order to exchange the views of the German with the British Government on the critical state of affairs.

6. A serious explosion took place in the coal mines of Karwin in Moravia, belonging to Count Larisch, by which upwards of a hundred lives

were sacrificed, the greater part being suffocated, the others burnt by firedamp. This proved to be the most terrible colliery accident ever recorded in Austria.

7. The Rev. William Wight, of The Arab's Tent, Chislehurst, after leaving certain legacies to be paid out of his estate, directed that the surplus should be accumulated until it reached 6,000*l.*, and that with this sum an institution should be established at Chislehurst to be called "Wight's College of Social and Domestic Science for Ladies." The testator's will contained directions from which it appeared that in his view the existing education and training of women in England would lead to the ruin of the country. Mr. Justice Chitty, on the application of the heir-at-law, declared the testator to have died intestate with regard to this portion of his will, under the provisions of the Statute of Mortmain.

— A fire broke out in Oxford Street which at one time threatened to spread over a wide area, including the premises of Messrs. Nicholay, furriers, Messrs. Biolle, lace manufacturers, and others. The fire-extinguishing apparatus belonging to the Princess's Theatre was brought into use, and proved of great efficacy.

8. A man named John Turley, returning to Camlough, near Newry, was attacked by several men. His wife, to save him, threw herself across her husband's body. The woman was killed, and the man so maltreated that his life was despaired of.

9. News reached this country that about five weeks previously the Germans had hauled down the British flag at Victoria, situated at the head of Ambar Bay, in the Little Cameroons district, and hoisted the German flag in its place.

— In the United States general strikes took place, throughout Mr. Jay-Gould's south-western system, against the reduction of wages, and the goods traffic was brought to a standstill on certain lines in Illinois, Kansas, Iowa, &c. The number of men on strike was placed at 10,000.

10. Sir James Hannen gave judgment in the case of the Earl of Durham, who applied for a declaration of the nullity of his marriage on the ground that his wife (Ethel E. L. Milner) was of unsound mind at the time of her marriage (Oct. 28, 1882). The case had occupied the court for more than a week, and much conflicting evidence—family, social, and medical—was brought forward. At the close, and after taking two days to consider, the judge found that Lord Durham had not established his case, and dismissed the petition with costs.

— Mr. Edmund Yates released from Holloway Gaol by order of the Home Secretary, on the ground that his health was suffering from the confinement to which he had been subjected.

— Convocation at Oxford adopted, by 412 placets to 244 non-placets, the vote for 500*l.* for the Physiological Laboratory, after a noisy and undignified opposition on the part of the Anti-Vivisectionists.

11. The vacancy occasioned by the retirement of Colonel Kingscote (Liberal) in West Gloucestershire resulted in the return of Mr. B. St. John Ackers (Conservative) by 4,837 votes over Sir William Martin (Liberal), 4,426.

— A Parliamentary return issued, showing that the total casualties in the army and navy during the English occupation of Egypt from July 1882

to March 1884 were 255 killed and 915 wounded ; in addition, 46 soldiers and 17 sailors and marines died of their wounds. Excluding those killed in battle, 766 soldiers, 96 sailors and marines, and 9 of the Indian contingent died in Egypt ; while 3,929 soldiers, 417 sailors and marines, and 49 of the Indian contingent were invalided home from causes other than wounds.

11. A further return showed that the casualties from Sept. 1, 1884, when the Nile expeditionary force started inwards, to Jan. 25, 1885, were 147 officers and 4,100 men sick ; 16 officers and 240 men had died from all causes ; 19 officers and 165 men admitted to hospital for wounds ; 10 officers and 85 men killed in action ; 13 men died from wounds, and 1 officer and 3 men were drowned.

12. James Stephens, formerly Fenian Head Centre, Eugene Davis, head of the Irish dynamite party in Europe, and two other notorious Fenians arrested by the Paris police and expelled from France.

— It was reported that in the town of Northampton during the previous fortnight a large number of women, most of them young and respectable, had been stabbed in the streets after nightfall. The police were unable to discover the perpetrator of these outrages, which, except in a few cases, were not of a very serious nature.

— A grant of 20,000*l.* to the family of General Gordon taken in the House of Commons on the motion of the Government.

13. The day observed as one of public mourning for the loss of General Gordon. Special services were held at St. Paul's (attended by the Princess of Wales and a large number of the nobility), at Westminster Abbey (attended by the Duke of Cambridge and the principal officers of the Horse Guards and War Office), and at the other cathedrals and principal churches throughout the country.

14. The Lord Mayor presided at a meeting at the Mansion House of the Gordon Memorial Committee. The Prince of Wales, who, with many others, was present, moved that Admiral Sir Edward Inglefield should read his proposal, which was to erect at Port Said a hospital open to persons of all nationalities, creeds, and classes.

16. By forty-one votes to seventeen, the Dublin Town Council resolved not to take any official part in the reception of the Prince and Princess of Wales, while expressing the desire that no discourtesy should be shown to them.

16. The large seed-crushing mills of Megor, Stead, Gray, & Co., at Hull, totally destroyed by fire, and much damage done to the Corn Exchange and other buildings, involving an aggregate loss of nearly 100,000*l.* The blazing oil at one time nearly filled the street leading to the mills, paralysing the efforts of the firemen.

— The extensive worsted mills of Sir Titus Salt, at Saltaire, closed in consequence of a strike of the spinners against a 10 per cent. reduction of wages.

— M. Ferdinand Dubois, a French *aéronaut*, and M. Ferenga, a Belgian, descended at Bromley, in Kent, in a balloon which had left Antwerp on the morning of the 14th. They had intended descending near Brussels, but were carried towards Ostend. After many hours they attempted to come to earth, but were rapidly carried out to sea, over which they wandered to and

fro during the following thirty-six hours, ultimately crossing the Channel against their wish and intention, and descending safely within a few miles of London, after a voyage of forty-eight hours.

16. The Prince of Wales, accompanied by his eldest son, presided at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, and spoke of the personal interest as well as the political interest he took in everything attaching to the colonies.

17. The House of Commons sat until 5.25 A.M., discussing certain items of the Civil Contingencies Fund, to which the Irish members took exception, as well as to the vote on account, which included part of the expenses of the Irish constabulary.

— The trial of the seven Glendale crofters charged with mobbing and rioting, and assaulting a sheriff's officer on Dec. 29, took place at Portree. Two of the accused consented to plead guilty to the first two charges. They were thereupon sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment, whilst the charges against the other five men were withdrawn.

— Prince Albert Victor initiated as a Freemason in the Royal Alpha Lodge, No. 16, in the presence of a large and most distinguished company; his father, the Prince of Wales, Grand Master, receiving the apprentice in his quality of Worshipful Master of the Lodge.

18. Mr. Justice Chitty gave judgment for the defendant in the case of *Sumner v. Hoare* for an alleged breach of an injunction restraining him from communicating with Miss Sumner as a ward of the court. The case occupied the greater part of two days, and attracted great attention on account of the numerous well-known persons connected with the plaintiff and defendant.

— A frightful colliery explosion of firedamp took place in the Camp-hausen pit of the Saarbrücken collieries, by which more than 150 lives were lost—the most disastrous accident of the kind ever known in Germany.

— The Prince of Wales, Prince Albert Victor of Wales, and the Duke of Edinburgh left London for Berlin to congratulate the Emperor Wilhelm on his eighty-eighth birthday.

— Zebehr Pasha, "the king of the slave dealers," arrested by order of the British Government in Cairo for treasonable correspondence with the Mahdi and other enemies. He was secretly taken on board a man of war with one or two others and conveyed to Gibraltar, where he and they were kept in confinement.

19. The Bank rate of discount lowered from 4 to 3½ per cent., the reserve standing at 18,270,000*l.*, and its proportion to the liabilities being 49 per cent.

20. In the House of Lords, Lord Thurlow's motion in favour of opening the national museums on Sunday resulted in a tie, 64 peers voting content and 64 non-content. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh, who were absent at Berlin, paired in favour of the motion.

— General Sir G. Graham moved out of Suakin towards Hasheen, and after a few miles' march found the Arabs established in force. An engagement took place, which was stubbornly contested, the Arabs being frequently the assailants. They at length retired, but in good order for fighting.

21. At Temesvar, in Hungary, the post office blown up, the whole of the furniture destroyed, and the three officials in charge seriously injured.

The disaster was attributed to six small bags described as clover seed, received from Mannheim, a resort of German anarchists, and was supposed to be dynamite in a granulated form.

22. The troops which had marched out of Suakin under General Sir John McNeill suddenly surprised by the Arabs, who effected an entry into the zariba or earthworks established by the British troops. A severe struggle ensued, in which the Arabs were slaughtered in large numbers and ultimately forced to retire, but not until severe losses had been inflicted on the British, and two-thirds of the camels and mules had been killed or maimed.

— London, as well as a great part of England, was visited by a snow-storm exceeding in density any that had fallen during the winter. The area of the snowstorm stretched southwards, Portsmouth and Brighton suffering notably, whilst from Dover the snow-covered hills between Calais and Boulogne were plainly visible.

23. The puddlers and millmen in the employ of Messrs. William Cooke and Co., of Sheffield, sent a deputation to the manager to say that, being aware of the difficulties under which the Company laboured in consequence of the stagnation in the iron trade, they agreed to 'do a week's work for nothing. The men's wages could not be reduced, as they were governed by the South Staffordshire Board of Conciliation.

— A riot, headed by Louis Riel, occurred among the half-breeds resident on the North Saskatchewan River, Manitoba. The police sent to restore order met the rioters at Fort Carleton, but were repulsed with the loss of fifteen men. Three Indian chiefs joined the revolt, by which the numbers of the insurgents were raised to 1,500. The insurrection spread rapidly over a large portion of Winnipeg territory.

24. The French troops under General Négrier, having advanced against the Chinese troops entrenched at Bangbo, were forced, after seven hours' fighting, to retire, with the loss of 200 men killed and wounded.

— The crematory at St. John's, Woking, erected by the National Cremation Society, used for the first time, for the burning of the body of Mrs. Pickersgill, in accordance with her wishes.

26. The Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt), in the presence of several members of Parliament and representatives from all the divisions of the metropolitan police, in Westminster Hall, near the spot where the dynamite explosion occurred, presented to Constable Cole the Albert medal, conferred on him by the Queen in recognition of his courageous conduct in carrying away the burning charge of dynamite. He also called up Sergt. Cox and complimented him for his bravery on the same occasion, and Sergts. Snell and Garner, who had been wounded whilst capturing a burglar at Hoxton.

— The failure of Messrs. Scaramanga & Co., Greek merchants, with liabilities estimated at 1,000,000*l.*, announced. This event, combined with alarmist rumours concerning the state of politics in Europe, brought about a heavy fall in the value of Stock Exchange securities.

— A message from the Queen read in both Houses of Parliament, declaring that the state of public affairs and the extensive demands upon her

Majesty's forces constituted a case of great emergency within the meaning of the Act of Parliament, and induced her Majesty to call out the Reserve Force and the Militia Reserves for permanent service.

26. Explosions took place almost simultaneously in a shaft of a mine at Tropham in Silesia, where forty miners were entombed, and at Baron Rothschild's coal mine at Ostran in Moravia, by which fifty-six men lost their lives.

27. John Gilbert Cunningham, *alias* Dalton, and Harry Burton, after repeated remands, committed for trial on a charge of treason-felony for causing an explosion at the Tower of London, the capital charge of high treason being abandoned.

— The Inter-university Athletic Sports resulted in the victory of Cambridge in three contests, viz.—Throwing the hammer, J. R. Orford, 99 ft. 7 in.; 100 yards, H. E. Booty, $10\frac{4}{5}$ secs.; three miles race, E. F. W. Eliot, 15 min. $27\frac{4}{5}$ secs. : and of Oxford in five, viz.—High jump, Hornby and W. P. Montgomery, 5 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; one mile, E. R. Holland, 4 min. $37\frac{3}{5}$ secs. ; putting weight, J. H. Ware, 36 ft. 11 in. ; quarter-mile, A. S. Blair, $51\frac{4}{5}$ secs.; 120 yards hurdle, A. M'Neill, $17\frac{2}{5}$ secs. ; long jump, A. G. Ashar, 19 ft. 10 in.

28. The annual University Boat Race rowed in splendid weather over the usual course from Putney to Mortlake. Oxford won the toss, choosing the Surrey station, and precisely at 12.30 both went off at great speed, Cambridge having, along the Concrete Wall, about half a length to the good. At the first turn at the steps the time was 1 min. 35 sec., and here both crews steered well across towards the Surrey shore. Nearing the Crab Tree the Light Blues held their lead; but Oxford made an effort off Walden's, and reduced it. At the bottom of Rosebank Oxford forged in front, and took a lead of half a length, rowing with great power and regularity. The Cambridge stroke appeared to lack determination, and the steering was not first-class. Oxford retained their lead to Hammersmith Bridge, where they were a length and a half ahead. The bridge was shot by Oxford in 7 min. 43 sec. from the start. Immediately after passing this point the advantage of station commenced to tell, and Oxford further improved their already considerable lead. For the first time in the history of the race boats were moored to decide the course to be taken by either crew so as to equalise as far as possible the two stations. Opposite Chiswick Oxford showed a clear lead of a length and a half, which was increased at Thornycroft's to three lengths. The leading crew were completely under self-command, while the Cambridge men appeared to be quite demoralised and a thoroughly beaten eight. Their style was not by any means up to university form, whereas their opponents were rowing faultlessly. There was a difference of 10 sec. at Barnes Bridge, which was passed by Oxford in 16 min. 15 sec. from the start. In the straight row home Cambridge made a despairing effort, which died away in a few strokes, and only had the result of sending their rivals away at a more rapid pace. At the Brewery, the water being lumpy, Oxford made one or two mistakes; but the Light Blues were too far in the rear to take advantage of this incident. The end was a very easy win for Oxford by one length and a quarter in advance of an exhausted crew. The time, as taken by Benson's chronograph, was 21 min. 36 sec.

CAMBRIDGE.			OXFORD.		
	st.	lb.		st.	lb.
1. N. P. Symonds, Lady Margaret (bow)	10	8	1. W. S. Unwin, Magdalen (bow)	10	10½
2. W. K. Hardacre, Trinity Hall	10	9	2. J. S. Clemons, Corpus	11	9
3. W. H. W. Perrott, First Trinity	12	1	3. P. W. Taylor, Lincoln	13	6½
4. S. Swann, Trinity Hall	13	4	4. C. R. Carter, Corpus	13	2
5. F. E. Churchill, Third Trinity	13	3	5. H. Maclean, New	12	12
6. E. W. Haig, Third Trinity	11	8	6. F. O. Wethered, Christ Church	12	6
7. R. H. Coke, Trinity Hall	12	3	7. D. H. Maclean, New	13	1½
F. J. Pitman, Third Trinity (stroke)	11	13	H. Girdlestone, Magdalen (stroke)	12	7
G. Wilson, First Trinity (cox)	7	11	F. J. Humphries, Brasenose (cox)	8	2

Mr. Taylor's shoulder, which had been dislocated some years previously, slipped out of the socket halfway in the race, and although it went back again after some strokes, it caused the oarsman intense pain, and naturally interfered with his rowing. At the close of the race Mr. Taylor was attended by a surgeon and taken home.

— At the antipodes, or rather at Sydney, N.S.W., the sculling match between Hanlan and Beach took place over the championship course on the Paramatta River. The event created the greatest interest, and the attendance was enormous, every point of vantage in the river and on the steamers being crowded with spectators. The weather was favourable and the water smooth. Both the competitors were in good condition. After keeping well together for some distance, Beach overhauled his opponent when nearing the winning-post, and eventually won by six lengths.

— The French troops in Tonkin under General Négrier suffered a severe repulse, and forced to evacuate Lang-son. The French general was severely wounded, and 1,200 of his men were said to have been placed *hors de combat*.

29. A heavy snowstorm swept over the greater portion of Scotland, the drifts in some places being so great as temporarily to suspend traffic.

— The Belvedere Oil Mills, on the Thames near Erith, belonging to Charles Price & Co., the largest oil-refining company, totally destroyed by fire. The fire originated, it was supposed, in spontaneous combustion. All efforts to quench the flames by water were useless, and the attempt was abandoned and the fire allowed to burn itself away. The damage done was estimated at 250,000*l*.

— The first detachment of the New South Wales contingent arrived at Suakin, and welcomed with great enthusiasm by General Graham and the British troops.

— At a meeting of the Irish dynamite faction held in New York a resolution that "the Prince of Wales was an alien invader, meriting death by all laws if he set foot in Ireland," was passed unanimously.

30. After a trial at the Central Criminal Court lasting over many days, Mrs. Weldon found guilty of libel on M. Rivière, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment without hard labour, and ordered to find sureties for good behaviour during two years.

— The Ferry Ministry, after two years of office, summarily dismissed by a vote of the Chamber, condemning the Government policy pursued in China.

— Mr. Henry Irving delivered an address at the Harvard University on the art of acting, its elements, aims, and rewards. The audience was said to be the largest ever assembled in the Memorial Building.

30. The Russians under General Komaroff attacked the Afghans at Penjdeh, driving them from their position with the loss of five hundred men, all their ammunition, provisions, and two standards.

31. H.M. ship *Mersey*, one of the first of the fast "protected" cruisers built in a Government yard, launched at Chatham. All the vital points of the vessel—engine, boilers, magazines, and steering apparatus—were enclosed in an hexagonal steel hulk, covered with armour-plates. Her estimated speed was to be $17\frac{1}{2}$ knots, and she would carry 500 tons of coal.

— The Queen and Princess Beatrice left Portsmouth for Cherbourg, *en route* for Aix-le-Bains.

— The Alexandra Palace and Park, where the first of a series of international exhibitions had been arranged, formally reopened by Lord George Hamilton, M.P.

— The Ameer Abdur Rahman arrived at Rawul Pindee, and received in great state by the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, attended by nearly 20,000 troops of all arms.

APRIL.

1. Prince Bismarck's seventieth birthday and the fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into public life celebrated with great enthusiasm throughout Germany. Amongst the presents made to him was that of the purchase deeds of the ancestral estates of Schönhausen, which had been sold some time ago by the family when in difficulties, but which were now bought back for 150,000*l.* raised by public subscriptions throughout Germany. Among the congratulations received by the Prince were an autograph letter from the Emperor of Germany, telegrams from the Emperors of Russia and Austria, the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Sweden, Roumania, Siam, Wurtemberg, and of the Belgians, as well as 2,100 letters and 2,322 telegrams from various sources.

— Nearly half the colliers in South and West Yorkshire, numbering about 30,000, went out on strike against a ten per cent. reduction of wages. The members of the Coal Owners' Association met at Sheffield and unanimously agreed to insist upon the full reduction, and to accept no compromise.

2. The British flag hoisted at Port Hamilton, in the island of Quelpart—an island of the Korean Archipelago. The cession of this new coaling station, about sixty miles to the south-east of Corea, was due to the influence of Sir Harry Parker with the Corean Government.

3. At St. Paul's Cathedral, during the early celebration of the Holy Communion, a well-dressed young man swept off the table on to the floor the chalice, paten, and other vessels used in the celebration. He was at once taken into custody and removed, and subsequently, although he pleaded to be a lunatic who had escaped from his friends, he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour.

— A serious accident, by which twenty persons were injured, occurred at Bury by the overturning of a steam tramcar belonging to the Manchester, Bury, and Rochdale Tramway Company. The accident was attributed to the extra speed at which the car was travelling when rounding a sharp curve to make up for a delay.

4. The race for the fifty miles International Bicycle Championship took place at Leicester, and won by H. O. Duncan (Montpelier, France). There

were twelve starters, amongst whom were F. Wood (Leicester), twice winner of the cup, F. de Ciry (France), and T. Battensby (Newcastle), each of whom had been once a winner. Time, 3 hrs. 17 min. 14 secs. Birt, Clemonson, Lees, and Battensby close up in the order named.

4. H.M. ship *Monarch*, one of the largest ironclads of the Mediterranean squadron, towed into Malta, having broken down within a day or two after leaving Port Said. The machinery had been reported to be in a bad condition, but no attempts were made to repair it; and when urgent need for the ship arrived, she was found to be useless.

6. The Easter volunteer manœuvres took place at Brighton, Dover, and Aldershot. At the first named the supposed invaders, numbering about 8,000, had taken up a position between Wick Farm and New Market Hill, where they were attacked by the home contingent, 11,000 strong, most of whom had been marching from town during the two previous days. The march past subsequently took place before the Duke of Cambridge. At Dover between 5,000 and 6,000 volunteers and regulars were engaged in a sham fight, and similar manœuvres, involving about 5,000, took place at Aldershot.

— Experiments made at Montrose with the oil-shells invented by Mr. Gordon for saving life at sea. Eleven shells, each containing a gallon of oil, were fired, and on bursting smooth patches of water were at once produced on a very boisterous sea.

7. The Prince and Princess of Wales and Prince Albert Victor left London on a visit to Ireland, and on their arrival at Kingstown and Dublin were received with general expressions of loyalty and welcome.

— The vote for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Jersey brought up for discussion before the States Assembly, and after a warm debate thrown out. It contained amongst its provisions a clause providing for the inspection of the College of St. Louis and other institutions.

8. The Bishop of London, Dr. Temple, installed and enthroned at St. Paul's Cathedral by the Dean, Dr. Church.

— The illumination of many of the shops and houses in Dublin in honour of the Prince of Wales's visit having led to a considerable amount of window-breaking by the disaffected, the police sent round a request that the illuminations should be discontinued during the royal stay.

9. A panic prevailed at the Stock Exchange in consequence of the news received of the Russian movement on to the Afghan frontier and the storming of Penjdeh. Russian stocks fell nearly 10, Egyptian about 6, and Consols 2 per cent., and other stocks in proportion—home as well as foreign.

— At Brussels, as the royal cortège was on its way to the Cathedral to attend the Te Deum in celebration of the fiftieth birthday of the King of Belgium, a man rushed at the carriage in which the Crown Prince Rudolph (of Austria) and the Count and Countess of Flanders were seated, and broke the window.

10. At Dublin, in the presence of a large assemblage of people, the Prince and Princess of Wales laid the foundation-stone of the new Science and Art Museum and National Library of Ireland. Subsequently the royal party attended the Royal University, when the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the Prince and that of Doctor of Music on the Princess—both wearing the robes of their respective degrees.

10. A sharp shock of earthquake felt in Rome about midnight. Bells were set ringing in the churches and private houses, and much alarm was occasioned. The disturbance was felt also at Frivione, Avezzano, and elsewhere.

11. The Lord Mayor of London (Nottage), who had been present at the Brighton Review, and on the following day had received, according to annual custom, the Christ's Hospital (Blue-coat) scholars, died after a very short illness. The last case of a Lord Mayor dying during his tenure of office was that of Alderman Beckford (1770).

12. A meeting, said to number 10,000 people, of the Social Democratic Federation assembled in Hyde Park to demand compulsory reduction of the hours of labour in all trades to eight hours a day, and the immediate organisation of the labour of unemployed workmen on artisans' dwellings, public works, &c.

— A great fire broke out on the malting premises of Messrs. Gillman and Spence, in Rotherhithe, and, in spite of the efforts of from twenty to thirty engines, the flames were not subdued for many hours, nor before damage had been done to the amount of upwards of 100,000*l*.

13. The Prince and Princess of Wales left Dublin for a tour through Ireland, and in most places were received cordially. At Mallow station a counter demonstration was prepared under the auspices of Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., and a large body of Nationalists who occupied the station previously to the arrival of the royal party. Orders were given to clear the station, and that was not effected without a display of force ; but on the arrival of the train the station was filled by Loyalists, whilst the Nationalists made their demonstration from an adjoining field.

— The panic on the European Bourses continued to make itself felt throughout the Continent. The Hague Banking Company, amongst other large institutions, suspended payment, its chief official disappearing, whilst his principal colleague committed suicide at Antwerp.

14. Mr. Alderman Fowler, whom Alderman Nottage had succeeded as Lord Mayor, unanimously chosen by both Livery and Court of Aldermen to be Lord Mayor for the remainder of the civic year.

— At a meeting of the Charnwood Forest (Leicestershire) Railway Company it was admitted that debenture stock to the extent of 135,000*l*. had been dealt in, whilst 46,000*l*. only had been authorised and legally issued by the directors. The two officials most implicated in these frauds had, it was stated, fled to Spain.

15. The discovery made in an hotel at St. Louis of the body of a man greatly decomposed, concealed in a trunk. It transpired that two Englishmen, giving the names of Dr. Maxwell and Alfred Preller, had arrived on March 30 from England. They were seen together up to April 5, on which day Maxwell purchased six ounces of chloroform, and in the evening of the same day left for San Francisco. The autopsy showed that death had been caused by poisoning by means of cyanide of potassium.

— The Prince and Princess of Wales continued their Irish tour to Cork, where, after a hearty reception at the railway station, they were met by a demonstration of Nationalists as they drew near to the harbour. Various collisions took place between the police and the mob, and several persons were arrested, but no serious injuries were inflicted.

16. A meeting held at the Cannon Street Hotel, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, attended by a large number of gentlemen irrespective of party, to give expression to the anxiety felt by the commercial world at the condition of the navy. The principal resolution, urging upon Government the necessity of taking immediate steps, was moved by Mr. H. H. Gibbs, and seconded by the Right Hon. W. H. Smith.

— The High Court of Bombay, Mr. Justice Scott presiding, after a trial lasting fourteen days, gave judgment in the case of the son of a Hindoo millionaire, Sir Munguldass Nuthoobhoy, who sought to obtain from his father a partition of all the family property. The father refused ; but the judge, following the decisions of the Privy Council, ruled that the son, who was a member of a Hindoo joint family, had an equal right with the father and an equal share in the family property, and could claim partition against the father's will at any time after majority.

17. According to a telegram received from Mexico, Colombian officers at Aspinwall had selected one hundred of the most conspicuous rebel prisoners, and, having taken them on board a steamer out into the bay, threw them overboard and left them to drown.

— The “ Sphénophogones,” a Paris club composed of men who wore pointed or Vandyck beards, held their annual dinner. The members comprised, amongst others of less note, Gérôme and Detaille, the painters ; Léo Delibes, the musician ; Clermont Ganneau, the archæologist ; Charles Garnier, the architect of the Opera, &c.

— Twelve steel boats for use on the Nile, the contract for the finish of which was signed on March 9, left the Clyde on board the steamship *Parthia*. Ten of the boats were 80 feet long by 20 feet broad, and 95 feet over all.

18. The funeral of the Lord Mayor took place at St. Paul's Cathedral, the coffin being brought in solemn procession from the Mansion House. The Dukes of Edinburgh and Cambridge were present at the ceremony in the cathedral, which was attended by the principal civic authorities and by the mayors of a large number of provincial towns.

— At the Hôtel Drouot, in Paris, amongst the lots offered for sale by auction was the throne of Louis XIV., accompanied by a certificate of genuineness, showing that at the accession of Louis XV. it formed part of the Garde-meuble of the Crown. It was sold for 6,500 francs after a very slight competition.

— The annual banquet of the Primrose League in commemoration of Lord Beaconsfield held at St. James's Hall, under the presidency of Lord Randolph Churchill, M.P. During the day Lord Beaconsfield's statue in Parliament Square had been profusely covered with flowers, and primroses were worn by large numbers of people of every rank of life.

20. An alarming gas explosion took place in Eugene Road, Rotherhithe, by which two houses were almost destroyed and half a dozen more or less damaged, and four persons injured. The street lamps were extinguished, heaps of rubbish, bricks, and dirt thrown up, and the flames shortly appeared through the ground, suggesting that the gas main might have taken fire. This danger, however, was averted by the timely arrival of the fire brigade.

— Fort Pitt, on the north-west frontier of Canada, which for two weeks had been surrounded by hostile Indians, entered by night and seized. The

garrison and settlers had, however, embarked on board a boat under the leadership of Inspector Francis Dickens, of the mounted police, a son of Charles Dickens the novelist. The Indians pursued them along the bank, firing at every opportunity, but ultimately Mr. Dickens brought the whole of his party, with the exception of one man, in safety to Battleford.

21. Ten thousand Sunday school children connected with the Protestant Church in Ireland assembled in the grounds outside the Viceregal Lodge, Dublin, to present the Prince of Wales with an address.

— Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons applied for a vote of credit for eleven millions, of which four and a half millions were for the expenses of the Soudan expedition, and six and a half millions for “naval and military preparations.”

— The memorial stone of the new hall and library of Sion College, on the Thames Embankment, laid by the President, Rev. A. Povah, rector of St. Olave, Hart Street.

22. The Queen left Aix-les-Bains in the course of the afternoon, travelling by way of Geneva, Berne, and Bâle; and reached Darmstadt early in the following morning.

— Letters from Iceland reported great destruction of life and property in Seydisford, on the east coast, by an avalanche. Fifteen houses were buried and twenty-four persons killed.

23. An explosion occurred at the Admiralty, Whitehall, in the room occupied by Mr. Swainson, the assistant under-secretary. The room and its contents were wrecked, numerous windows throughout the building were broken, and Mr. Swainson blown from his desk and seriously injured. Subsequent search brought to light fragments of an iron pot in which, it was surmised, the explosive material might have been placed. Little doubt remained that the explosion was the result of an accident.

— M. de Lesseps received at the French Academy, the *discours de réception* being pronounced by M. Renan.

— The Prince and Princess of Wales arrived at Belfast from Dublin, and received with enormous enthusiasm by the Ulster people.

24. A serious fire broke out in the shop of a paraffine and petroleum oil merchant, situated in Union Street, Borough. Soon after the flames got possession of the building two violent explosions followed in rapid succession. A young servant, Amelia Eyres, who was living in the house, was instrumental in saving the lives of three children, lowering them from the windows. On jumping out she was severely injured, and subsequently died. Four other occupants of the house were burned.

— Right Hon. John Naish, Irish Attorney-General, appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in succession to Sir Edward Sullivan, deceased.

— Several persons arrested at Tarragona, Gerona, and Sarragossa, on suspicion of being connected with a republican rising in Spain.

— General Middleton, in command of the Canadian forces, came across a large party of rebels under Riel, at Tub Creek, and fell into an ambush prepared for him. After an obstinate struggle the Canadians maintained their position, but found their advance too seriously impeded for further immediate operations.

25. The Rev. Edward King and the Rev. Edward Henry Bickersteth consecrated at St. Paul's Cathedral, the former as Bishop of Lincoln, and the latter as Bishop of Exeter. The Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by the Bishops of London, Oxford, Rochester, Ely, Bedford, and Victoria, took part in the ceremony.

— The Queen assisted at the Confirmation of her granddaughter, Princess Irene of Hesse, which took place in the Royal Chapel at Darmstadt.

27. The Prince and Princess of Wales brought their tour in Ireland to a close, returning from Baron's Court by way of Dungannon and Carrickfergus to Larne, whence they crossed the Stranraer, and travelled to London by rail.

— James Lee convicted of the murder of Inspector Simmons, whom he had shot whilst attempting to escape at Romford, Essex, and sentenced to death. His companion, Dredge, was found not guilty by the advice of the judge.

28. At the Epsom Spring Meeting, the great Metropolitan Stakes won by Mr. J. V. Laurance's Althorp, 3 yrs., 5 st. 7 lb., in a canter, by a dozen lengths; dist., $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles; time, 4 min. $14\frac{3}{5}$ sec. Seven started.

— A fire took place at Brentwood Lodge, the seat of the Duke of St. Albans, by which a valuable collection of twenty-five paintings, chiefly by Sir Peter Lely, Sir Godfrey Kneller, &c., were totally destroyed, and six others seriously damaged. Amongst the former were portraits of Prince Rupert by Vandyke, Nell Gwynn by Gascar, Charles I. by Jameson, &c.

29. The City and Suburban Handicap at Epsom won by a head by Mr. H. E. Tidy's Bird of Freedom, 3 yrs., 6 st. 4 lb.; time, 2 min. $11\frac{2}{5}$ sec.; $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles. 15 started.

— Mr. Henry Irving entertained at dinner at the "Criterion" on his return from America. The Earl of Wharncliffe presided.

— A magnificent archiepiscopal cross presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the gift of a number of the clergy and laity of the Southern Province. The cross, 7 ft. long, on a silver-gilt shaft, richly jewelled with sapphires, pearls, and diamonds, was an exact copy of the Canterbury crosses carried before Archbishop Benson's predecessors.

MAY.

1. The governing body of Harrow School unanimously elected Rev. J. E. C. Welldon, Head Master of Dulwich College, to be Head Master of Harrow School, in succession to the Rev. Dr. Montagu Buller.

2. The Queen and Princess Beatrice, travelling from Darmstadt *via* Flushing, returned to Windsor.

— The "Japanese Village" at Knightsbridge took fire in the early morning, and in the course of a couple of hours the whole structure was destroyed, considerable damage being also done to Humphreys' Hall and the adjoining buildings. The remains of the body of one of the Japanese workmen was subsequently discovered among the ruins.

— The Antwerp Exhibition opened by the King of the Belgians, and the Pesth Exhibition by the Emperor of Austria.

2. Vesuvius suddenly burst out in active eruption. Two new craters opened with loud explosions about 600 yards above the upper railway station ; and from there large streams of lava rolled in the direction of Torre del Greco and Pompeii.

— Lord Wolseley, having been recalled from the Upper Nile, arrived at Suakin and assumed the general command of the forces.

— A reply received from the Russian Government to the English proposals for referring the points in dispute on the Afghan frontier to arbitration produced a very favourable impression, which was shown by the immediate rise of the funds, &c.

4. The International Inventions Exhibition at Kensington opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

— A violent thunderstorm swept over a large portion of the south-west of Scotland, doing serious damage to buildings and cattle. Paisley Church was struck by lightning, the roofing injured, the lightning-conductor broken, and several internal fittings torn up. The weather was intensely cold.

— A deputation, consisting of the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and other members of the Corporation, visited Brussels in order to present a congratulatory address to the King of the Belgians on the recognition by the Powers of the new Congo State, of which the King was named Protector.

— The Princess Louise and Marquess of Lorne opened the East London Industrial Exhibition, and subsequently Carlton Square Garden and the churchyard of St. Bartholomew, Bethnal Green, both of which had been laid out as gardens and recreation grounds by the Public Gardens Association.

5. Extensive strikes of colliers occurred at Joliet, Illinois, and in the Chicago coal-fields. At the Lemare mines 1,000 strikers assembled to attack the troops which, 400 strong and provided with cannon, had been sent against them. Two of the colliers were killed and nine wounded.

— A soap factory at Brooklyn while under repair fell down, the shores giving way, and the furnaces set fire to the ruins. In the panic which ensued fifteen men and women lost their lives, and twenty more were severely injured.

6. At Newmarket the Two Thousand Guineas was won by Mr. Brodrick-Cloete's Paradox by a head. Seven started. Time, 1 min. 51 $\frac{2}{5}$ sec.

— Two of the leaders of the Colombian insurrection, whose complicity in the burning of Colon was clearly proved, publicly hanged.

— At an early hour a serious fire broke out in the workshop of Messrs. Jackson and Graham, furniture makers, Oxford Street, and raged with great fierceness for some hours, totally destroying a large range of buildings ; and before midnight the chemical works of Messrs. Spencer, Dunn, & Co., Abbey Mills, East Ham, were discovered to be in flames, and after burning for some time an explosion took place, of which the effects were felt to the distance of a mile in every direction.

7. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 4 to 3 per cent., the reserve standing at 17,786,000*l.*, a proportion of 50 $\frac{3}{8}$ to the liabilities. The reserves as well as the stock of bullion were larger than at any time since 1880, except in the third week of March 1881.

7. The Lords' Committee on the Manchester Ship Canal Bill decided to allow the Bill to proceed, subject to the insertion of a clause compelling the promoters to have five millions of their capital subscribed before the commencement of the week, four per cent. of which was to be impounded.

— Mr. Lowell, a United States Minister, unveiled in Westminster Abbey a bust of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, executed by Mr. Harris Thorneycroft, and presented by Dr. Mercer, of Newport, U.S.A.

— The New York jury, appointed to try Short for the attempted murder of Phelan, returned, after two hours' deliberation, a verdict of "not guilty," which was received by the judge with an expression of his surprise.

— In the Sheriffs' Court, in the case of Weldon v. Gounod, a special jury awarded Mrs. Weldon 10,000*l.* damages for libel, slander, &c., in addition to 1,640*l.* for board and lodging and performance of secretarial duties. M. Gounod withdrew his defence. Mrs. Weldon, who was represented by counsel, was brought up from Holloway Gaol under a writ of *habeas corpus*.

8. The One Thousand Guineas Stakes won by the Duke of Westminster's Farewell by three lengths. Time, 1 min. 47 $\frac{4}{5}$ sec. Sixteen started.

— The Maharajah of Travancore performed the ceremony—traceable to the fourth century—of "Tulabhara," being weighed against a mass of pure gold, which was then dispensed in charity. The Maharajah weighed a little over nine stone.

— A young girl named Sarah Henley, having quarrelled with her lover, jumped off the Clifton Suspension Bridge. The tide being low, she fell upon the soft mud, where she would have been suffocated but for prompt assistance. Although she had fallen 230 feet she was conscious and uninjured. During her short stay in the hospital to which she was removed she received one offer of marriage and two of engagements from showmen.

9. The extensive timber yards of Messrs. Groom & Son at Camberwell took fire about 5 A.M., and, in spite of the efforts of thirty large fire-engines, burned fiercely for nearly six hours. One fireman was much injured by the fall of the timber on which he was standing, and two others were removed to the hospital suffering from partial blinding. Some few hours later (5 P.M.) an alarm of fire was raised at Messrs. Farmiloe & Co.'s, glass merchants, Rochester Row, Westminster, which for some time threatened great destruction of property in the narrow streets round the Grey-coat Hospital. The premises were completely destroyed, and many hundreds of people thrown out of employ.

— The Belgian steamship *Helvetia* crushed in the ice and sunk off Cape Breton. The ship sank almost at once, but the crew were saved by the tug which had been in tow.

— Mr. Henry Irving announced that, in consequence of the display of feeling on the part of the frequenters of the pit and gallery, his innovation at the Lyceum of permitting seats in those parts of the theatre to be booked beforehand would be discontinued.

10. In Paris, at the Église Libre of the Rue Madame, at the close of the religious services, Hermann Keller, a native of Zurich, drew a revolver from his pocket and shot himself through the temple. He had lost the use of an arm through the treatment of a quack doctor, and his means of earning a living were very precarious. A Protestant pastor's daughter had refused

an offer of marriage from him, and for this he determined to revenge himself on both by shooting himself in church.

11. A heavy fall of snow (the second within three days) occurred generally throughout Scotland. In some parts of Aberdeenshire the average depth of snow was from five to seven inches, and many accidents and much damage to the flocks were reported. The Welsh and Monmouthshire hills were likewise covered with snow.

— In the House of Lords, whilst the Duke of Argyll was speaking of the Afghan frontier policy of the Government, Lord Dormer, a Liberal peer, was observed to fall from his seat, uttering at the same moment a piercing shriek. Great alarm was caused, and Lord Dormer was removed as quickly as possible to an adjoining room, where he speedily recovered from the effects of an epileptic seizure. Meanwhile, however, the House, on the motion of Lord Granville, had adjourned, without hearing the end of the Duke of Argyll's speech.

12. The House of Lords gave judgment in the case of the Dowager Baroness Wenlock *v.* the River Dee Company, rejecting an appeal from the judgment of the Court of Appeal, which decided that only 25,000*l.* of the sum of 173,000*l.* advanced by the late Baron Wenlock for the improvement of the navigation of the Dee could be recovered, the balance which had been applied to paying off the liabilities of the company having been borrowed *ultra vires* on their part.

— In the House of Commons Sir Edward Watkins' motion to read a second time the Channel Tunnel Bill rejected, after a strong protest from the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), by 281 to 99.

— Mr. A. Condie Stephen, second secretary of the British Legation at Teheran, but attached to Sir P. Lumsden's mission for the Russo-Afghan frontier, reached London with despatches, having left Meshed on April 23. He reached Shah Rood (300 miles) on 27th, Askabad (140 miles) on 29th. After six days' hard riding he reached the Caspian at Chikriliar, whence he crossed to Baku, where he caught a train to Tiflis. Thence he crossed the snow-bound Caucasus to Vladikavkaz (130 miles) in sixteen hours, and thence by train through Rostov and Kharkov to Dünaberg, where he joined the main line from Petersburg to Berlin.

13. A mass meeting, summoned to protest against the proposed increase of the beer and spirit duties, assembled in Trafalgar Square, attended by about 6,000 persons. The proceedings were disorderly, and the crowd was eventually dispersed by the police.

— The highway of the steamers between Europe and America reported to be covered with enormous floes and icebergs. Vast fields of ice stretched away as far as the masthead look-outs could see, interspersed with ice towers rising from 700 to 1,000 ft. in height. Numerous ships were temporarily inclosed by the floes, and many accidents were reported.

14. The tug *Hecla* arrived at Hull, having in tow the keels of two vessels, one of which, the *William and Edward*, had capsized in the Humber on the previous day. On being towed ashore knocking was heard from the inside; and a hole having been cut through the bottom the captain's wife and child were discovered. The woman and her children, two of whom had died before

the rescue, had been seventeen hours in the submerged ship. The body of the captain was found entangled in the rigging.

14. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 3 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ; the bullion in stock amounting to 26,500,000*l.*, the reserve to 17,500,000*l.*, its proportion to the liabilities being $50\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

— The sale of the Osterley Park Library, belonging to the Earl of Jersey, extending over eight days, brought to a close, having realised 13,077*l.* Amongst the principal lots sold were Caxton's *Historyes of Troye*, 1,820*l.* ; *King Arthur*, 1,950*l.* ; *Confessio Amantis*, 810*l.* ; Colard Mansion's "*Ovide*," 1493, 510*l.* ; Tyndale's *New Testament*, 1536, 146*l.* ; Caxton's *Vyrgyle Boke of Eneydos*, 1490, 235*l.*

15. One of the most terrible storms ever witnessed raged over Vienna, destroying shrubs, trees, and even houses. In the outskirts of the city the cold was so intense that six persons who had been thrown down and injured were found on the following morning frozen to death. From all parts of Austria and Hungary news arrived that the corn-fields and vineyards were covered with snow.

— Orders issued for the withdrawal of the Guards, the Royal Horse Artillery, and British cavalry from Suakin.

— Louis Riel, the leader of the half-breeds in revolt, captured by three scouts and brought to General Middleton's head-quarters.

— A juror who visited O'Donovan Rossa's office at New York, during the progress of Short's trial, sentenced to 30 days' imprisonment and a fine of 250 dollars for contempt of court.

— The revised translation of the Old Testament, which had been for fifteen years the constant study of the committee, distributed to the public press. The translation was issued jointly from the Oxford and Cambridge Universities' press, and the strictest precautions were taken to prevent the premature publication of a single copy.

— A fire broke out in the Exhibition Hall on the Moorweide at Hamburg, completely destroying the woodwork and the principal doors of the building.

— The expedition sent to Uig (Lewis), for the seizure of the crofters' cattle, managed to capture nine head before the crofters appeared in force, and, after some exciting scenes on board, the sheriff's officers managed to get away to Stornoway.

16. Lord Wolseley, at Suakin, inspected the Australian contingent previously to their embarkation for Sydney, and expressed his satisfaction at having had them under his command.

-- The Queen and Princess Beatrice went to Netley Hospital from Windsor, to visit the sick and wounded soldiers returned from the Soudan.

— Lieut.-Col. Noble, R.A., communicated the account of a sparrow's nest discovered in the axletree-box of the gun (9lb. fuse) used twice every day for announcing the time to the Woolwich garrison. After the discovery of the nest, which contained five eggs, the parent sparrows continued to frequent it, and hatched their brood without suffering any apparent discomfort.

— A great fall of temperature, followed by heavy snowstorms, reported from various parts of Eastern and Southern France. In the Vosges large tracts

were covered with snow ; at Aix-les-Bains, and generally in Haute Savoie, the hail stripped the vines of their young buds. At Marseilles and Toulon a storm raged with scarcely any intermittence for fifty-eight hours, even overturning vehicles and wholly uncovering 10,000 soldiers encamped in the district for exercises.

18. After a trial extending over an entire week, James Gilbert, *alias* Cunningham, and Harry Burton convicted of being connected with the dynamite explosions at the Tower of London, Houses of Parliament, and elsewhere. Mr. Justice Hawkins, after listening to the prisoners' protestations of their innocence, sentenced them both to penal servitude for life. By this verdict the number of persons convicted of connection with the dynamite conspiracy was raised to 24. Burton was known to be a principal in the movement.

— James Lee hanged at Chelmsford for the murder of Police Inspector Simmons at Romford on Jan. 20.

— Dr. Ferran, of Alcira (a town near Valencia, where cholera was raging), stated that out of a population of 16,000, about 5,400 had been inoculated with his protective virus against cholera, with generally favourable results.

19. Lord Wolseley with the members of his staff left Suakin in H.M. transport *Queen*, the bulk of the troops leaving almost immediately afterwards.

— The warehouse of Messrs. Mitchell Bros., one of the largest firms of mohair and worsted spinning in Bradford, caught fire, owing to the explosion of a gas engine. Before the fire could be extinguished mohair to the value of 150,000*l.* had been destroyed, and considerable damage done to the building.

— Oko Jumbo, King of Bonny, arrived in Liverpool on his visit to this country.

20. A fire broke out in the old palace of Monbijou, at Berlin, formerly one of the residences of Frederick the Great, but subsequently used as a museum for relics connected with the Hohenzollern family.

— A professional swimmer named Odlum succeeded, in spite of the efforts of the authorities to prevent him, in jumping off Brooklyn Bridge into the water below, a drop of about 130 feet. For a second or two he preserved a straight balance, but before touching the water his back bent, and falling on it he broke every rib in his body, besides inflicting injuries to all the other organs of his frame. He was conscious when picked up, but died in a few minutes.

— Two fatal cases of cholera reported from Marseilles.

— The *Bosphore Egyptien* reappeared at Cairo after its temporary suspension.

21. In consequence of a raid made by the Manchester police on the great betting clubs, over two hundred men were placed in the dock at Oldham, charged with infringement of the Betting-house Act.

— The election for Antrim (co.) resulted in the return of the Liberal candidate, Mr. W. P. Sinclair, by 3,971 votes, over Hon. R. M. O'Neill (Conservative), who polled 3,832.

— A fire broke out in a printing office at Cincinnati which resulted in the death of fifteen persons, chiefly employed in the upper storeys. Eight girls jumped from the windows, to escape suffocation, and of them five were

killed on the spot. The fire originated in the carelessness of a boy who, whilst carrying a two-gallon jar of benzine, stumbled as he was passing a printing press beneath which was a gas jet. The spirit at once took fire, caught the paper on the drying racks, and then reached the elevator and staircase.

22. Mr. J. Alexander, a diamond merchant of Hatton Garden, shot in his office about 7 P.M. by a man who succeeded in carrying off a purse of diamonds, valued at some thousands of pounds. The thief, on being discovered, drew a revolver from his pocket and shot Mr. Alexander through the right hand. He then rushed out of the house, jumped into a hansom cab, and escaped before an alarm could be given.

— The Spanish Government issued orders to the authorities at Valencia to stop all Dr. Ferran's inoculative experiments, on account of reports that several inoculated persons had been attacked with cholera.

23. Centenary fêtes held at Guines, near Calais, to commemorate the balloon voyage made across the Channel in 1784 by M. Blanchard, a Frenchman, and Dr. Jeffries, an American, who were the first to accomplish a feat then regarded as impossible.

— The stage-coach leaving Madera (California) from the Yosemite Valley attacked by highwaymen, who took all the travellers' money and jewellery as well as the express treasury-box.

24. Rioting took place in Paris in the cemetery of Père la Chaise on the occasion of the anniversary of the fall of the Commune, and was renewed on the two following days at the funerals of Courmet and Amouroux, two Communist leaders. A great deal of violence was displayed by the police, especially against those who were bearers of red flags ; but, although more than a dozen people were injured, no lives were lost.

25. The inaugural address of the Co-operative Congress, held at Oldham, delivered by Mr. Lloyd Jones, who urged the adoption of a practical scheme of co-operative production.

— The Dublin Corporation, in full committee, decided to substitute for the hitherto existing city flag (three black castles on a blue ground) a harp on a green ground, and in one quarter three white castles on a blue ground.

— From a communication published in the Leipzig *Buchhandlung Zeitung* by Herr Böhlau, of Weimar, it appeared that Goethe, during his lifetime, between 1795 and 1832, received from his publisher, Cotta, 233,969 florins (about 20,054*l.*), and his heirs down to 1865 a further sum of about 23,223*l.*

26. The bust of the poet Gray (executed by Mr. H. Thorneycroft) unveiled by Lord Houghton in the hall of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Speeches were made on the occasion by Mr. Lowell, Sir Frederick Leighton, and Mr. Edmund Gosse.

— The French Government, having decided on secularising the Church of Ste. Geneviève, otherwise known as the *Panthéon*, M. Grévy signed a decree constituting it the burying-place of illustrious citizens, subject in each case to Parliamentary consent to interment therein.

27. The maritime ship canal from St. Petersburg to Cronstadt formally opened by the Czar. The imperial order for the work was given June 1, 1874,

but it was not actually commenced until 1878. The amount of earth excavated was calculated at 830,000 cubic fathoms, and the cost at 10,265,400 roubles.

27. The fêtes of the Félibres, a Provençal custom, celebrated with great success at Hyères. Little children dressed as characters in Mistral's poems recited verses and presented bouquets to the visitors. The prizes of poetry, history, and songs were awarded by the verdict of the Court of Love.

— The chief médaille d'honneur at the Paris salon awarded for painting to M. Bouguéreau.

28. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount to 2 per cent. ; the reserve amounting to 18,369,000*l.*, and its proportion to the liabilities 51½ per cent. The bullion amounted to 26,841,880*l.*, and the notes in circulation to 24,223,385*l.*

— Mr. A. S. Napier, Professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Göttingen, elected first Merton Professor of the same subjects in the University of Oxford.

— The Manchester Cup won by the favourite, Mr. R. Jardine's Borneo, 4 yrs., 7 st. 11 lbs., about 1¾ miles ; time, 3 min. 24½ sec. Fifteen started.

— The Camberwell Radical Club, having considered that there was no statutory law against a lady sitting and voting in the House of Commons, invited Miss Helen Taylor to stand for North Camberwell. After much discussion, Miss Taylor consented to accept the invitation on the understanding that by so doing she did not destroy the chance of any working-man candidate.

29. A shock of earthquake felt at Gibraltar.

— Gabriel Dumont, who commanded Riel's army in the Canadian rebellion having escaped over the borders into the United States, arrested and taken to Fort Assiniboine, Montana. The Secretary of War, however, decided that the military authorities should not arrest or detain him, and he was set at liberty.

30. At a meeting of the Mansion House Committee of the fund for providing a national memorial to General Gordon, held at Marlborough House, it was decided, in view of the reports received, to abandon the idea of erecting a hospital at Port Said.

31. The French Derby won by Reluisant, the favourite, who easily defeated a moderate field of seven starters.

— Srinagar, in the province of Cashmere, was the scene of a series of earthquake shocks, repeated at intervals and lasting for many hours. About nine lives were reported to have been lost, and both the Maharajah's palace and the British Presidency were severely injured.

JUNE.

1. The funeral of Victor Hugo took place in Paris, and made the occasion of a great popular demonstration. The procession left the Arc de l'Étoile, under which the body had been lying in state, at 9 A.M., and it was 7 P.M. before the last battery of artillery passed before the Panthéon, where the deceased was interred.

1. A great strike commenced in the Pittsburg and neighbouring iron districts of Pennsylvania, extending to Western Virginia and Ohio, against a proposed reduction of twenty per cent. in the wages. Upwards of 78,000 men, it was said, went out almost simultaneously.

— St. Paul's Church, Woodford Bridge, Essex, a pretty church, erected in 1854, destroyed by fire. Presumably originating in the gallery, the fire passed apparently along the aisle up to the chancel, burning each side as it went. The flooring and seats were completely consumed, only the joists of the gallery floor remained; the stained-glass windows, which were of great beauty, were destroyed; and the spire and centre walls only remained standing, but so much damaged as to render them unsafe and useless.

2. M. Dekeirel, who was tried at the Court of Assizes at Douai for having killed his antagonist in a duel, acquitted on the ground that, by turning away the latter's rapier with his left hand, he had done nothing contrary to the laws of honourable combat.

— The International Faith-healing Conference commenced its sittings at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, and was largely attended, blind and lame being brought in considerable numbers, and about 250 presenting themselves to be anointed. This was performed by Mr. Boardman, and after singing a hymn the meeting separated. In the evening the sitting was resumed, and testimonies were given by those who had received healing in the anointing service of the afternoon.

3. The Derby Stakes at Epsom won by the favourite, Lord Hastings' Melton (F. Archer), defeating Mr. Brodrick-Cloete's Paradox by a short head, the race finishing in an exciting struggle between them, the remaining ten horses being completely distanced. Time, 2 min. 44½ sec. Value of the stakes, 4,525*l*.

— The officials of the "Palatine" and other so-called clubs in Manchester sentenced by the Manchester magistrates to heavy fines, ranging up to 100*l*., for keeping common gambling-houses, and infringing the provisions of the Betting-houses Act.

— A cyclone passed over the Persian Gulf, and inflicted damage at Aden to buildings and shipping to the extent of 50,000*l*.

— The Philadelphia or Peggy Pit of Lord Durham's collieries at Fencehouses, Durham, suddenly inundated by the breaking down of a portion of the machinery. A large number of men were in the workings, but all were able to escape, or were ultimately rescued, with the exception of thirteen who were drowned.

4. The Epsom Grand Prize (1½ miles for 3 yr. olds) won by the favourite, Mr. Tidy's Bird of Freedom, in a canter, by a length. Six started. Time, 2 min. 10⅔ sec. Value, 3,700*l*.

— Mr. Alfred Waterhouse, architect, elected a Royal Academician; and Mr. Henry Moore, Mr. E. Burne Jones, and Mr. J. W. Waterhouse, painters, elected Associates.

— Shortly before reaching Holyhead, the London and North-Western Railway steamer *Banshee*, going at the rate of 20 knots an hour, struck upon the rocks at the entrance to the harbour. The shock created a panic among the 170 passengers on board, and great confusion prevailed for a time; but the

ship was eventually got off and brought into harbour, her safety being due to her having been built in watertight compartments, the forepart of the ship being completely filled.

5. The Oaks won by the favourite, Lord Cadogan's Lonely (F. Archer), by a length and a half in front of Lord Zetland's St. Helena (J. Watts) and eight others. Time, 2 min. 43 $\frac{2}{5}$ sec. Value of the stakes, 3,375*l*.

— The Emperor of Austria (King of Hungary), on the advice of the Transleithan Ministry, decided that the thirty life peers to be appointed by the Crown to the Hungarian Diet should (with one exception) be chosen from the circles of art, science, commerce, and industry.

— All the material collected at Kizil-Avat for the construction of the Trans-Caspian railway destroyed by fire, together with twenty carriages which were stationed there.

6. Sir Peter Lumsden, on reaching Charing Cross station, received a popular ovation. In addition to his friends who had assembled in large numbers to welcome him, large crowds were waiting in the streets and Trafalgar Square, and by them Sir P. Lumsden was loudly cheered.

— The Albert Palace, Battersea Park, formally opened by the Lord Mayor of London.

7. A waterspout broke over Jalisco, a thriving city in Mexico, and extending its ravages to Guanajata and the adjoining town, occasioned the loss of two hundred lives, and enormous destruction of property.

— The greater part of the township of Suffolk, in Western Virginia, destroyed by fire, high winds carrying the flames along the streets unchecked. Almost simultaneously at Williamsburg, in another part of the same State, the lunatic asylum was discovered to be on fire, and two at least of the patients lost their lives.

8. No fewer than twenty cases of children who had been poisoned on the previous day by eating penny ices sold in Lambeth were brought by the police to the knowledge of the magistrate.

— An explosion of coal gas, attended with very serious consequences, took place on board H.M. turret-ship *Inflexible* whilst lying in Portsmouth harbour. About 1,300 tons of coal had been taken on board when the bunkers were shut down for a couple of days. On resuming work a naked light was lowered into the bunker; an explosion at once ensued, injuring twelve men, eight of them being seriously burnt.

— Consequent upon two days' heavy rain the brick sewer at the bottom of Sloane Street burst, discharging its contents through an opening into the Metropolitan District Railway. Sloane Square station soon became flooded, and all the traffic had to be suspended for the remainder of the afternoon and throughout the night.

— The gold medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects conferred upon Dr. Henry Schliemann, F.S.A., in recognition of his services as an explorer and archæologist.

9. Mr. Gladstone announced that, in consequence of the defeat of the Government on the budget resolution, the Cabinet had tendered its resignation.

9. The Prince of Wales, representing the trustees of the British Museum, unveiled at the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, a marble statue of Charles Darwin, erected by Mr. Boehm. The cost was defrayed by public subscriptions raised in all parts of the world, and of the total sum collected (4,500*l.*) 2,000*l.* was devoted to the statue, and the remainder to founding studentships for promoting biological science.

10. A heavy dredger, having broken its chains, drifted into the middle of the Suez Canal between Port Said and Ismailia, where it was struck by a steamer and sunk, completely obstructing navigation.

— At a trial for murder at Thiers (Puy-de-Dôme), whilst the people were leaving the court-house, the staircase gave way, killing twenty and maiming nearly a hundred persons.

— Prince Albert Victor “created” into the dignity of a Master of the Bench of the Middle Temple at a grand banquet given in his honour, Mr. Higgins, Q.C., treasurer, in the chair.

— A fire broke out at Grodno (West Russia), destroying three-quarters of the town, including the finest streets, three churches, and the Government offices.

— The celebrated rocking-stone at Buckstone, in the Wye valley, Monmouthshire, thrown down by a party of excursionists. The stone, which measured 56 feet round the top, and tapered down to about 3 feet at the base, after being tilted over from its position on the summit of a high hill, fell crashing into the wood below.

12. A fire broke out in the kitchen of one of the restaurants attached to the Inventions Exhibition, and rapidly extended to the Indian section of the South Kensington Museum, a small portion of which was destroyed; but its valuable contents, including the Prince of Wales’s loan collection of Indian presents, for the most part escaped with slight injury. There was at one time great danger of the fire spreading to the Inventions Exhibition and the National Portrait Gallery.

— In Parliament Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone announced that the Queen had accepted the resignation of the Cabinet.

— The announcement appeared that Bechuanaland, a large district in Southern Africa, watered by the Zambesi, had been annexed by Great Britain as a fresh dependency.

— A river-tunnel on the Cincinnati and Tennessee Railway, about 100 miles from Chattanooga, fell in, owing to the vibration of a passing train, all the cars of which and their passengers were injured, and twenty persons killed.

— Cases of cholera having appeared in Madrid, as well as in Valencia, Alicante, Cartagena, &c., a rapid exodus of the families from the capital ensued, and in the course of a few days upwards of 12,000 people left the city.

13. Sir Randal Roberts, a well-known *littérateur* and journalist, garotted at the corner of Vere Street, Oxford Street, in the broad daylight of early morning. Whilst one man seized Sir R. Roberts from behind and nearly throttled him, the other rifled his pockets.

13. Sir Charles Dilke presided at the annual dinner of the Cobden Club, which was also attended by Mr. Chamberlain, and speeches were made by both Ministers.

— The Lord Chief Justice (Coleridge) and thirteen judges sat in the Court for Crown Cases Reserved to hear the arguments in the case of *Reg. v. Ashwell*. In this case the man had been tried at Leicester for the larceny of a sovereign which a fellow-workman had given him in mistake for a shilling, which Ashwell had wished to borrow. On discovery of the mistake the lender requested to have the sovereign back, but Ashwell refused, and was then given into custody. He was committed and tried for larceny, and although the jury found that he did not know the coin was a sovereign at the time he received it, they held that he had fraudulently detained it afterwards. Mr. Justice Denman on that entered a verdict of guilty, reserving the point of law. This was first argued before five judges, who were unable to agree, and the case thereupon came before the full bench, and on this occasion the Court, after hearing the arguments, reserved its judgment.

— Lord Salisbury at Balmoral accepted the task of forming an administration, and at once left for London.

14. The Grand Prix de Paris won by Mr. Brodrick-Cloete's *Paradox*, defeating *Reluisant*, the winner of the French Derby, somewhat easily by a length, and six other starters. Value of the stakes, about 6,000*l*.

15. The Prince of Wales formally opened the Sanatorium at Virginia Water, founded by the late Mr. T. Holloway, in accordance with a scheme proposed by the Earl of Shaftesbury. The intention of the founder, by whom 300,000*l*. had been spent on the buildings and furniture, was to make the sanatorium self-supporting, and consequently chiefly for the use of the middle class.

— H.M. ship *Benbow*, one of the largest twin-screw ironclads of the *Admiral* class, launched from the yard of the Thames Iron Works, and christened by Mrs. Gladstone, who was accompanied by her two sons, Mr. W. H. Gladstone, M.P., and Mr. Herbert Gladstone, M.P.

— The Queen offered an earldom to Mr. Gladstone on his retirement, but he requested to be permitted to decline the proffered honour.

16. News received of the terrible eruption of Smeroe, the principal volcano of Eastern Java. For some weeks it had shown signs of increased activity, and suddenly an outburst of lava and ashes occurred, involving the death of upwards of 500 persons.

— A serious labour riot broke out at Brunn, in consequence of a disagreement between the masters and men as to the hours of labour, as recently determined by the law passed in the Austrian Assembly. After much damage had been done to the factories the military were called out, and at once became the objects of attack by the mob. The dispute was protracted for some days, and eventually closed by a compromise, the men agreeing to work for ten hours on three days of the week, and three-quarters of an hour longer on the other three days.

— A balloon containing a French gentleman picked up in the Channel by the Dieppe and Newhaven packet. It proved to be a balloon in which M.

Glorieux had on the previous day ascended from Lille, hoping to descend in the neighbourhood of Paris. The wind, however, after keeping him a long time hovering between Calais and Boulogne, finally took him out to sea, where he was nearly wrecked.

17. The earthquakes in Cashmere, which had recurred at intervals during the past three weeks, culminated in a frightful catastrophe in the district of Muzuporabad, in which 3,081 persons perished, whilst 25,000 sheep and goats, 8,000 cattle, and about 70,000 habitations were estimated to have been destroyed.

— At the Oxford Commemoration honorary degrees were conferred upon the Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Alcester, Right Hon. G. O. Trevelyan, M.P., Mr. Justice Lawson, Mr. Whitley Stokes, Professor Huxley, and Mr. Geo. Dennis.

— A fire (the fourth within two years) broke out on the premises of Mr. Whiteley, the “Universal Provider” in Westbourne Grove. After raging fiercely for about three hours it was at length got under, but not until four large shops were completely destroyed, together with goods valued at from 100,000*l.* to 200,000*l.*

18. An alarming explosion occurred at the Clifton Hall Colliery, near Manchester. At the time (9 A.M.) 349 men were in the pit, and of these 160 were in the lowest or Trencherbone seam, 540 yards below the surface. Of the men in the upper seams 23 were taken out dead, and ultimately the loss of life was ascertained to be 186.

— The funeral of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia (the Red Prince) celebrated with great solemnity at Potsdam.

— Slight shocks of earthquake felt in various parts of Yorkshire, especially in the neighbourhood of Driffield, Stamford Bridge, Doncaster, and York itself. In the north-west of Argyleshire, in the neighbourhood of Glencoe, and Ballachulish, the shocks were distinctly felt.

— H.M. ship *Leander*, a steel cruiser forming part of the evolutionary squadron, went ashore on the rocks in Bantry Bay, but was subsequently got off without loss of life.

19. The principal races at Ascot showed the following results :—

Coronation Stakes.—Lord Zetland's St. Helena (J. Watts), 3 yrs. Seven ran.

Royal Hunt Cup.—Duke of Beaufort's Eastern Emperor (Tomlinson), 4 yrs., 6 st. 10 lbs. Twenty ran.

St. James's Palace Stakes.—Lord Bradford's Sheraton (J. Osborne), 3 yrs., 8 st. 7 lbs. Six ran.

Gold Cup.—Mr. J. Hammond's St. Gatien (C. Wood), 4 yrs., 9 st. Four ran.

New Stakes.—Mr. Childwick's Saraband (C. Wood), 2 yrs. (7 lbs. extra), 9 st. 5 lbs. Seven ran.

Windsor Castle Stakes.—Mr. T. Cannon's Fullerston (owner), 2 yrs., 8 st. 10 lbs. Eight ran.

Alexandra Plate.—Mr. J. Hammond's St. Gatien (C. Wood), 4 yrs., 9 st. 5 lbs. Four ran.

Hardwicke Stakes.—Mr. H. T. Barclay's Bendigo (Snowden), 5 yrs., 9 st. 12 lbs. Seven ran.

— Bartholdi's statue of ‘Liberty,’ designed for a lighthouse, arrived at New York from France, and received with great display of enthusiasm.

19. In removing the surface stonework of the parish church of Folkestone the workmen came upon a lead reliquary, which was recognised as containing the remains of St. Eanswide, the patron saint of the place, and the granddaughter of Ethelbert, the first king of Kent.

20. In consequence of the unpopular measure of the Spanish Government in declaring the existence of cholera in Madrid all the shops, clubs, and restaurants of the capital were closed as a protest. Later in the day the weekly visit of the King to the Atocha Church was made the pretext of a less peaceful demonstration. A large mob collected in the Puerta del Sol and elsewhere, and on the arrival of the carriage of the Civil Governor of Madrid, hooting commenced and rioting followed. The mounted civil guard were called out and a collision took place, which resulted in two young men being killed and twenty or thirty being injured.

— An explosion in the Burley pit of the Aberdale Colliery, near Stoke-upon-Trent, resulted in the loss of nine lives, and the narrow escape of 180 others.

21. The attempt of the Leicester Secular Club to inaugurate Sunday cricket-playing on the Corporation grounds, known as Abbey Meadows, almost led to a disturbance. After play had proceeded for some time, the opponents of the practice stormed the wickets and seized the bats. The chief constable, who was present with a large body of police, declined to interfere, and the game was abandoned.

22. A fire broke out at the Lambeth pottery works of Messrs. Doulton and Watts, which in the course of a short time completely burned out and destroyed two large buildings.

— By the explosion of a gunpowder mill near Lucca the buildings were completely destroyed, and most of the workmen were either killed or severely injured.

23. The official returns issued by the Spanish Government of the progress of the cholera in the provinces of Valencia and Murcia showed 855 cases and 355 deaths. In the city of Murcia, containing about 86,000 inhabitants, 1,400 deaths and 3,000 cases were reported in twenty days. More than half the population fled after the first outbreak, carrying infection into the neighbouring districts.

24. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues went to Windsor to deliver up their seals and insignia of office, which shortly afterwards were handed over to their successors, Lord Salisbury and his colleagues.

— Amongst the honours and titles conferred at the instance of the retiring Ministry were peerages on Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild (the first Jew peer) and Mr. Edward Baring, and baronetcies on Mr. Millais and Mr. Watts, two Royal Academicians; the latter, however, declined the proffered honour. Mr. C. P. Villiers and Mr. Samuel Morley also declined peerages, and Mr. R. N. Philips a baronetage offered to him by Mr. Gladstone.

— Canon Elwyn, vicar of East Farleigh, one time head master of Charterhouse School, elected to the Mastership of the Charterhouse in the room of Dean Currey.

25. The Lords' Committee of Privileges without hesitation declined to admit the claim of Mr. John Fraser to the Lovat title and estates, on the ground

of his descent from Alexander, an elder brother of Simon, Lord Lovat, who had killed a piper in a quarrel and then fled to Wales and worked in the slate quarries. To identify the ancestor of the claimant with the refugee would have entailed the belief that the former lived to the age of 112 and a son was born to him at the age of 95.

26. The body of the Duke of Albany, which had been temporarily deposited in St. George's Chapel, placed in the sarcophagus erected for his remains in the royal vault. A ceremony was performed by the Dean of Windsor in the presence of the Queen and the Princess Beatrice.

— A colliery explosion at Dudweiler, near Saarbrück, occasioned the death of seventeen out of thirty-seven miners working in the pit.

— The Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, President of Maynooth College, presented by the diocese as dignissimus, appointed by the Pope as Archbishop of Dublin.

— At the Westminster Aquarium, W. Cook, who received 2,000 points start in a match 12,000 up, spot stroke barred, beat J. Roberts, after a contest extending over the week, by 266 points.

— At New York Mr. J. D. Fish, formerly president of the Marine Bank, who had been found guilty on seven charges of fraud and embezzlement, sentenced to seven years' penal servitude upon each count, the terms of imprisonment, however, to be concurrent.

— Earl Spencer left Dublin, escorted to the railway station by a large concourse of people, the majority of whom cheered him warmly, but were unable to prevent an adverse demonstration from a smaller body of Nationalists and Fenian sympathisers.

28. The Lord Mayor (Sir Robert N. Fowler) preached the jubilee sermon at Brunswick Chapel, Great Dover Street, Borough, a chapel which for fifty years had belonged to the Methodist New Connexion.

29. Prince Albert Victor of Wales admitted to the freedom of the City of London, and in honour of the occasion there was a very large attendance of civic and other dignitaries. The Prince and Princess of Wales and other members of the family were present, and were received at the Guildhall by the Lord Mayor and aldermen.

— A sham naval fight, protracted for the greater part of two nights and a day, took place in Bantry Bay ; the ironclads of the evolutionary squadron attacking the forts on Bere Island, which were defended by booms, torpedoes, &c.

— A fire broke out on Lowestoft Pier, by which the reading-room, band stand, and northern projection (300 ft. long) of the south pier were totally destroyed.

30. In the case of *Hall v. the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway*, which raised the question of terminal and other charges, Mr. Justice Wills delivered a judgment, concurred in by Mr. Justice Mathew, to the effect that whilst the company should make no additional charge for anything that was incidental to the carriage of goods, they could make such a charge in respect of weighing, checking, labelling, and doing other work incidental to the duty of a carrier.

— The trial of Mrs. Lucilla Dudley, at New York, on the charge of shooting O'Donovan Rossa, terminated in her acquittal on the ground of insanity, and she was temporarily removed to an asylum.

JULY.

1. The University cricket match at Lords' ended in the victory of Cambridge by seven wickets. The stand made by Messrs Page and Bastard on the second day was the chief feature of the match, and saved Oxford from a defeat in one innings. The following was the score :—

OXFORD.

First Innings.				Second Innings.			
Mr. J. H. Brain, c Rock, b Toppin	.	.	1	l b w, b Rock	.	.	0
Mr. E. H. Buckland, b Rock	.	.	16	b Smith	.	.	0
Mr. K. J. Key, b Toppin	.	.	5	c Hawke, b Toppin	.	.	51
Mr. T. C. O'Brien, c Smith, b Rock	.	.	44	run out	.	.	28
Mr. H. V. Page (captain), b Smith	.	.	22	not out	.	.	78
Mr. L. D. Hildyard, b Toppin	.	.	13	c Wright, b Buxton	.	.	18
Mr. W. E. T. Bolitho, b Toppin	.	.	24	b Smith	.	.	30
Mr. A. E. Newton, l b w, b Toppin	.	.	1	b Smith	.	.	11
Mr. A. H. J. Cochrane, b Toppin	.	.	1	b Smith	.	.	0
Mr. H. O. Whitby, b Toppin	.	.	1	c Hawke, b Rock	.	.	0
Mr. E. W. Bastard, not out	.	.	4	b Smith	.	.	12
Byes, 2 ; leg-byes, 2	.	.	4	Byes, 6 ; leg-byes, 5	.	.	11
<hr/>				<hr/>			
136				239			

CAMBRIDGE.

Mr C. W. Wright, b Whitby	.	.	78	c Buckland, b Bastard	.	.	15
Mr. H. W. Bainbridge, c Cochrane, b Brain	.	.	101	l b w, b Bastard	.	.	7
Hon. H. M. Hawke (captain), b Cochrane	.	.	17	not out	.	.	5
Mr. C. W. Rock, b Cochrane	.	.	6				
Mr. J. Turner, b Whitby	.	.	3				
Mr. G. M. Kemp, c Bolitho, b Whitby	.	.	29	b Bastard	.	.	26
Mr. C. D. Buxton, c Newton, b Whitby	.	.	2	not out	.	.	36
Mr. F. Marchant, run out	.	.	8				
Mr. P. J. de Paravicini, b Cochrane	.	.	0				
Mr. C. Toppin, not out	.	.	11				
Mr. C. A. Smith, c O'Brien, b Bastard	.	.	23				
Byes, 4 ; leg-byes, 5	.	.	9				
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287				89			

— A severe shock of earthquake felt in the Lake District. At Grasmere and at Ambleside much alarm was caused, the shock being accompanied by a noise like thunder.

2. The election at Wakefield to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. R. B. Mackie (Liberal) resulted in the return of Mr. Edward Green (Conservative) by 1,918 votes over Mr. Lee (Liberal), who polled 1,661.

— The House of Lords (Committee of Privileges) decided that the Hon. Charles Finch, deceased, son of the sixth Earl of Aylesford, had made out his right to the honours and dignities of the Earl of Aylesford and Baron Guernsey, which had been claimed on behalf of a child born to the seventh Earl during wedlock, but after separation from his wife.

3. The Henley regatta closed with the following results :—

Thames Challenge Cup.—Eight oars, London Rowing Club beat Thames R.C.
Grand Challenge Cup.—Eight oars, Jesus Coll. Camb. beat London A.C. and Twickenham R.C.

Diamond Challenge Sculls.—W. S. Unwin (Magdalen Coll. Oxford), beat F. J. Pitman and W. R. Patron.

Wyfold Challenge Cup.—Four oars, Kingston R.C. beat London R.C.

Stewards' Challenge Cup.—Four oars, Trinity Hall B.C. beat Jesus Coll. B.C. and T.R.C.

Ladies' Challenge Cup.—Eight oars, Eton beat Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford.

Silver Goblets.—Pair oars, H. and D. H. McLean (Oxford) beat G. R. B. and C. Earnshaw (London).

Visitors' Plate.—Four oars, Trinity Hall B.C. beat Magdalen Coll. R.C.

— A fire broke out at Hovodenka in the Bukovina, and continued burning for two days, destroying in its progress 650 houses and leaving 5,000 persons homeless.

4. The Queen held an investiture of the Order of the Bath, the Star of India, and the St. Michael and St. George at Windsor Castle, where the newly created knights attended.

— The Annamites treacherously attacked the French garrison at Hué, but were repulsed by General de Courcy with great loss. The French took possession of the citadel.

— The Prince and Princess of Wales, accompanied by their family, opened the Albany National Memorial Hospital for the Paralysed and Epileptic, Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, and subsequently opened the new buildings of the Birkbeck Institution, in Chancery Lane, of which the foundation-stone had been laid by the Duke of Albany in 1883.

6. A balloon which had ascended from the Lillie Bridge Grounds, West Brompton, descended in Hyde Park, and was carried into the Serpentine. After some little difficulty the two occupants of the car, Messrs. Dale and Shadbolt, succeeded in escaping, drenched but uninjured.

— Pasteur Duclaux, republican deputy for La Charente, fought a duel on the Belgian frontier with M. Rulhière, the editor of a Bonapartist journal at Angoulême, the pastor inflicting a severe sword-wound on the forearm of his adversary.

7. A fire broke out in a piano factory at St. Ouen, near Paris, and in consequence of a sudden shift in the wind the flames were carried to the adjoining cemetery, where over fifty trees and nearly all the crosses, coronals, &c., with which the tombs were decorated were destroyed.

— Lord Carnarvon made his State entry into Dublin as Lord-Lieutenant. Although there was no formal attendance of the Lord Mayor and Corporation, there was no lack of loyalty in the throngs of all classes who filled the streets, through which the imposing procession passed.

8. A fire broke out on the premises of Messrs. Young & Co., glue and size manufacturers, Bermondsey, and in the course of a few hours nearly an acre and a half of buildings, including several brick and timber sheds belonging to Messrs. Powell, leather manufacturers, were in ruins, and immense damage had been done to the surrounding property.

— The magnificent building at Aberystwith, known as the University College of Wales, opened in 1872, was partially destroyed by a fire which originated in the chemical laboratory. It rapidly extended to the northern wing of the college, which contained the library, museum, and lecture-room. The damage done was estimated at nearly 50,000*l*.

— Riseholme Palace, the residence of twenty successive Bishops of Lincoln, sold—the new Bishop having decided to restore and enlarge the old palace at Lincoln.

10. Mr. Atkinson (Conservative) elected by 4,052 votes for North Lin-

colnshire in the room of Mr. Rowland Wain (Conservative) created Lord St. Oswald, over the Liberal candidate, Sir Meysey Thompson, who polled 2,872 votes.

11. The annual cricket match between Eton and Harrow resulted in the victory of the latter with three wickets to go down, the winning hit being made only two minutes before seven o'clock, at which hour the stumps would have been drawn. The score was :—

ETON.			
First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr H. Phillipson, run out	53	c Bovill, b Benton	27
Mr. H. St. G. Foley, B. Ramsay	49	b Young	20
Mr. F. Thomas (captain), st Dauglish, b Watson	29	c Dadglish, b Ramsey	0
Lord George Scott, b Young	5	b Young	17
Mr. H. W. Forster, b Young	5	l b w, b Ramsay	11
Mr. T. H. Barnard, c Bovill, b Young	4	b Young	14
Mr. H. J. Mordaunt, c Watson, b Bovill . . .	36	c Ramsey, b Bovill	9
Mr. T. W. Brand, b Bovill	18	c and b Ramsay	4
Mr. E. G. Bromley-Martin, not out	26	c Dent, b Watson	18
Mr. S. E. Forster, c Young, b Bovill	4	c Young, b Watson	16
Mr. R. C. Gosling, b Young	23	not out	4
Byes. 10; leg-byes, 3	13	Byes, 10; leg-bye, 1	11
	—		—
	265		151

HARROW.			
Mr. E. Crawley, b Bromley-Martin	100	c Phillipson, b Bromley-Martin	7
Mr. W. H. Dent, b Bromley-Martin	0	c Gosling, b Bromley-Martin	6
Mr. A. K. Watson, c Gosling, b Bromley-Martin	135	b H. W. Forster	5
Mr. E. M. Butler (Capt.), c Mordaunt, b Bromley-Martin	2	not out	48
Mr. W. A. R. Young, b Brand	11	not out	15
Mr. M. J. Dauglish, c Foley, b Brand	6	c Gosling, b Bromley-Martin	6
Mr. C. H. Benton, b Gosling	25		
Mr. H. F. Kemp, b Brand	0	b Brand	0
Mr. J. T. Sanderson, c Scott, b Bromley-Martin	27	run out	4
Mr. G. B. Bovill, not out	3		
Mr. A. D. Ramsay, b Bromley-Martin	8	c Scott, b Bromley-Martin	4
Byes, 6; leg-bye, 1	7	Bye, 1	1
	—		—
	324		96

— A shopman passing through Regent Street, about midday, was suddenly covered from head to waist by a swarm of bees which alighted upon him. With care he divested himself of his coat and hat; the bees took flight again, leaving the man unharmed.

13. At the Wimbledon Club Grounds, Mr. W. Renshaw, who had held the Lawn Tennis Championship of England for four years, defeated Mr. H. F. Lawford, by three sets to one, Mr. Lawford having previously defeated Mr. E. Renshaw in the contest for the All Comers Gold Prize.

— Lord Wolseley, accompanied by Sir Redvers Buller, Lord Charles Beresford and others, arrived in London from the Soudan.

— The New National Museum of Fine Arts at Amsterdam, erected from designs by M. P. Cuypers, was opened by the Home Minister in the presence of a distinguished assemblage of persons from all countries. The new building, which was commenced in 1876, cost two millions of guilders.

13. Henry Alt, a German journeyman baker, hanged at Newgate for the murder of Charles Howard, whom he had stabbed with a dagger.

— A serious fire broke out in the timber-yard of Messrs. Smith, Belvedere Road, Waterloo Bridge, which rapidly spread to the adjoining premises in the Waterloo Road, and was not got under until half a dozen houses had been destroyed.

14. A police-constable named Davis was shot three times whilst attempting to apprehend two burglars wearing masks, on the roof of a house in Kensington Park Gardens, Notting Hill. The burglars escaped, leaving behind them a revolver, four chambers of which had been discharged.

— Thunder and hail, combined with water-spouts and deluges of rain reported from most parts of Austria; in some cases serious inundations following swept away houses and live stock to a considerable extent.

— The Munster Bank, established in 1879, with a subscribed capital of 1,500,000*l.*, suspended payment, causing great panic and distress among the Irish farmers and others who were the principal depositors and shareholders.

15. The Prince and Princess of Wales drove from Studley Royal, where they were the guests of the Marquess of Ripon, to Leeds, to open the Yorkshire College, of which the buildings had been completed.

— The Royal Agricultural Show held this year at Preston opened.

— The celebration of the National Fête at Paris, although wanting in many of its usual attractions, was marked by an anti-English demonstration in front of the Hotel de Normandie.

— Numerous large fires reported from various parts of Russia. In the suburb of Warsaw known as Neupraga thirty houses were destroyed and four hundred persons rendered homeless. Almost simultaneously the older portion of the city of Kursh was in flames, and in less than an hour above a hundred houses had been destroyed.

16. The Guards "Camel" Corps, including the Heavy Dragoons, which had done so much good service in the Soudan and marched across the desert from Korti to the Nile, reached London and were received with great honour by the Commander-in-Chief and principal officers of the Guards.

— The election at Aylesbury, consequent on the elevation of Sir Nathaniel Rothschild to the Peerage, resulted in the return of Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild (Liberal) by 2,353 votes over the Conservative candidate, Mr. Graham (1,416 votes).

— The grounds adjoining the Niagara Falls on the American side having been purchased by the New York State, and the proprietary and other rights extinguished at a cost of nearly one and a-half million dollars, the park was formally given over to the public and thrown open.

17. In the course of certain building operations going on near the Monte Testaccio, the English Cemetery at Rome, two of the ancient warehouses or granaries used by the ancient Romans for the storage of imports were discovered. One of these was found to be filled with elephants' tusks, and the other with lentils. The latter were presumably shipped as ballast; the ivory of the tusks was wholly decayed.

20. About 25,000 cotton operatives at Oldham came out on strike against a proposed reduction of 10 per cent. in their wages.

20. The yacht race from Dover to Ostend won by the yawl *Arethusa*, which covered the distance (70 miles) in 4½ hours.

— A fourth part of the town of Resht on the Persian shore of the Caspian, including numerous mosques, warehouses, and caravanserais, destroyed by fire.

— In reply to a deputation of the shareholders in the Munster Bank, Lord Carnarvon stated that the Government could not properly give aid to a commercial institution in active operation. It subsequently transpired that part of the difficulties were due to the conduct of the managing director, Mr. Farquharson, who absconded, and against whom defalcations amounting to upwards of 70,000*l.* were charged.

21. H.M.S. *Hecla*, a torpedo-ship, one of the evolutionary squadron, on returning to Portland, and a steamer, the *Cheerful*, bound from Falmouth to Liverpool, came into collision off the Land's End in a thick haze. The *Cheerful* was struck amidships and at once began to settle down, and in four minutes disappeared. Of the fifty passengers and crew on board all except thirteen were saved by the *Hecla*, which received severe damage, and with difficulty reached Plymouth.

— Sir Michael Hicks-Beach announced the intended resignation of Captain Gosset, the Serjeant-at-Arms, after having been in the service of the House for forty-nine years.

22. The Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords gave judgment in favour of Major Maitland, who claimed the Earldom of Lauderdale, against Sir James Gibson Maitland.

— The Caistor life-boat, when hastening to rescue the crew of a vessel which had gone ashore on the Barber sand, struck on a sunken wreck and sank almost immediately ; eight of the men were drowned, and the remainder saved by a shrimp-boat.

— At Frankfort-on-Maine, during the burial of a Social Democrat, the police suddenly ordered the assembly to disperse, and without giving the mourners time to obey drew their sabres and wounded a number, including women and children.

23. The marriage of H.R.H. Princess Beatrice with Prince Henry of Battenberg celebrated at Whippingham Church, Isle of Wight, in the presence of the Queen, the Royal Family, and a distinguished party of English nobility; no representatives of the German reigning dynasties attended.

— During a violent thunderstorm at Torre-Cajetani, a small town near Anagni, thirteen persons were killed and twenty-two severely injured by lightning.

— Severe shocks of earthquake felt in the neighbourhood of Rungpur (Bengal), during which a village near Natron sank completely into the earth.

— Cotopaxi, the principal volcano of Ecuador, burst into violent eruption, streams of lava and showers of stones burying the greater part of the town of Chimbo and destroying many lives.

24. A terrible fire broke out in the Batignolles quarter of Paris amongst the carpenters' shop and warehouses where carpets are stored during the summer months. Five blocks of buildings containing workmen's lodgings were burnt out ; several persons were severely injured, and property to the value of several millions of francs destroyed.

— Earl Spencer entertained at a dinner at Westminster Palace Hotel, attended by 200 Peers and Members of Parliament and presided over by the Marquess of Hartington.

24. At Cologne, two houses on the Holzmarkt, occupied altogether by sixteen families, suddenly fell in. Seven persons were killed and nearly fifty were more or less injured.

25. A crew of eight members of the Oxford University and Dover Rowing Clubs left Dover in an outriggered skiff about 10.15 A.M. and reached Calais in safety at 2.45 P.M. In the course of the row two of the crew were disabled by the heat of the sun. Six-inch splashboards had been fitted to the boat and its ends covered with canvas, and each man was furnished with a sponge for baling.

— A water-spout broke over the Cordal mountains, near Castle Island in the south of Ireland, causing a torrent, which swept down the mountain sides and carried away everything in its course.

26. An alarming accident took place at Chatham pier, where a large number of excursionists were awaiting the arrival of their steamboat. The “brow” connecting the upper and lower piers suddenly gave way, and nearly a hundred persons were thrown into the water. By the prompt exertions of the piermen and boatmen all were extricated, with trifling injuries, except one child.

— The principal events of the Wimbledon meeting of the National Rifle Association were decided as follows :—

Alexandra Prize—any rifle, highest possible score 65—Corp. T. Loach (1st Notts)	64
Alfred Prize—Martini Henry, 7 shots 200 yds., highest possible score 35—Sergt. J. P. Williamson (1st Renfrew)	32
St. George’s Vase—any rifle, 500 yds., highest possible score 35—Private Ferguson (2nd Perth)	34
Queen’s Prize, 1st stage—Martini Henry, 7 shots 200, 500 and 600 yds.—Sergt. Bulmer (31, 31, and 24)	86
Do. 1st and 2nd stage—10 shots at 500 and 15 at 600 yds.—Colour-Sergt. R. H. Simonds (14th Middlesex, winner N.R.A. Silver Medal and Badge)	189
Do. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd stages—15 shots at 800 and 900 yds.—Sergt. Bulmer (2nd V. B. Lincoln)	127
Aggregate 3 stages	307.
Prince of Wales’s Prize—Martini Henry, 7 shots at 200 and 15 shots at 600 yds., highest possible score 105—Sergt. Garnett (4th Stafford)	96
Duke of Cambridge’s Prize—Military Breech-loading, 15 shots 1,000 yds., highest possible score 75—Private W. Braithwaite (10th Lanark)	68
Albert Jewel, 1st stage—600 yds., highest possible score 75—Arrow-smith (Bristol Engineers)	70
Do. 2nd stage—1,000 yds, highest possible score 50—Arrowsmith	46
” ” 1,000 yds., highest possible score 75—Major M’Kerell (1st Ayr.)	66
Wimbledon Cup—any rifle, 1,000 yds., highest possible score 75—Turner (Birmingham)	68
Spencer Cup—500 yds., highest possible score 35—Vogel (Charterhouse)	29
China Cup—10 men 10 shots each, 500 yds.—Dampier	414
Ashburton Shield—teams of 8, Martini Henry, 7 shots each—Clifton { 200 yds. 237 } College { 500 yds. 193 }	430
Humphrey Challenge Cup—any rifle, 4 men 15 shots each, highest possible score 900—	
800 yds. 900 yds. 1000 yds.	
Oxford . . . 266 237 203 Total	706
Cambridge . . . 251 216 195 „	662
Vizianagram Cup—any rifle, 3 on a side, 5 shots each 500 yards, highest possible score 300—	
Lords	277
Commons	270

International Trophy—teams of 20, 7 shots each, 200, 500, and 600 yds.	
Scotland	1688
Do. Teams of 8, seven shots each, 200, 500, and 600 yds.	
Kolapore Cup—Martini Henry, highest possible score 735—Mother Country	650
United Service Challenge Cup—teams of 8, 7 shots, 200, 500, and 600 yds.—Volunteers	674
Army and Navy Challenge Cup—7 shots each, 200 and 500 yds—	
1st stage, O'Shaughnessy, P.O. 1st Class (H.M.S. <i>Excellent</i>)	63
2nd stage, L. C. Gahagen (2nd Tel. Bat. Royal Engineers)	27
Wimbledon Cup—Martini Henry, 600 yds, highest possible score 50—	
Private D. Yates (1st Edinburgh)	45
Marquess of Hartington's Cup—any rifle, 900 yds., highest possible score 35—Major Pearce (4th Devon)	34
St Leger—any rifle, 900 yds., highest possible score 50—Lieut. J. Gibson (1st Roxburgh and Selkirk)	39
Public Schools Veterans—team of 5—Cheltenham	205
The Chancellor's Plate—Cambridge	606
(Oxford scored 610, but one rifle not standing the trigger test was disqualified),	
Elcho Shield—teams of 8, 15 shots each at 800, 900, and 1000 yds.—	
England	1574

27. The Egyptian three per cent. loan of 9,000,000*l.* guaranteed by the European Powers, issued simultaneously in London, Paris, Frankfort, and Berlin at 95½.

— The Transvaal Government, being unable to meet its liabilities, suspended payment.

— In an allocution delivered at a consistory, the Pope condemned the interference of the Italian Government with ecclesiastical processions, and renewed his protest against its occupation of Rome ; he expressed his regret at the obstacles created for the Church in France and the difficulties which had arisen in the way of a complete understanding with Prussia.

28. The grain-wharves on the Neva, in St. Petersburg, were set on fire by lightning, and burned for four hours ; and the cotton spinning manufactory of Messrs. Rossovanoff, at Kinechma, was burned to the ground, involving the loss of nearly a million roubles.

29. Her Majesty's Ministers entertained at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor, Lord Wolseley returning thanks for the Army, Lord Charles Beresford for the Navy, and Lord Salisbury for the Government.

30. A fire broke out in the scene store belonging to the Elephant & Castle Theatre, New Kent Road, and rapidly spread to the adjoining railway station, which for some time was in danger of total destruction.

— A new first-class ironclad, the *Francisco Morsini*, of 10,000 tons burden, launched at Venice in presence of the King and Queen and an enormous assemblage of people.

— After thirty-three days' hearing, Mr. W. E. Forster's Committee of the House of Commons decided that the projectors of the Manchester Ship Canal had proved the preamble of their Bill, with the following conditions :—That the dredging should be 15 feet instead of 12 feet ; that the five millions of capital should be raised independently of the 1,710,000*l.* required for the purchase of the Bridgewater Canal and Mersey and Irwell undertakings ; and that the canal should come through the land after entering the lock at Eastham.

30. The garrison of Kassala, unable to hold out longer, made an amicable arrangement with the hostile tribes, and surrendered the town after a protracted and heroic resistance of more than a year.

31. The principal events at the Goodwood Race Meeting decided as follows :—

Richmond Stakes.—Mr. J. H. Houldsworth's colt, Sunrise, 8 st. 13 lbs. Seven started.

Goodwood Plate.—Baron Rothschild's Laveret, 4 yrs., 8 st. 5 lbs. Four started.

Steward's Cup.—Mr. F. Morton's Dalmeney, 5 yrs., 6 st. 13 lbs. Eighteen started.

Sussex Stakes.—Mr. Brodrick-Cloete's Paradox, 3 yrs., 8 st. 10 lbs. Six started.

Goodwood Cup.—Baron de Hirsch's Althorp, 3 yrs., 7 st. 7 lbs. Five started.

Chesterfield Cup.—M. Lefèvre's Hermitage, 4 yrs., 8 st. 12 lbs. Ten started.

— The rector of Saham Toney, Norfolk, before a large congregation, excommunicated a parishioner aged 82, for persistent neglect of the Church's ordinance, and refusal of her ministrations.

— Prince Henry Maurice of Battenberg attended the House of Peers and took the oath of allegiance according to the prescribed form ; but, as appeared, prematurely. A Naturalisation Bill was at once introduced, and rapidly passed through both Houses.

— At an auction held at the Tam o' Shanter Inn, Ayr, several relics of the poet Burns were sold. The 'Tam o' Shanter' and 'Souter Johnnie Chairs' fetched 47*l.* each, and were secured for the Burns Cottage. The 'Stirrup Cup,' a small wooden bowl with a silver band, was bought by Messrs. Christie for 55*l.*

— The unostentatious funeral of Sir Moses Montefiore took place in the Mausoleum of the Jewish Synagogue at Ramsgate, a facsimile of the tomb of Rachel at Bethlehem.

AUGUST.

1. The cholera reported to have appeared at Marseilles.

2. A fire broke out on the water side of the city of Toronto, and rapidly extended for a distance of half a mile. Enormous damage was done to warehouses and shipping.

3. Joseph Tucker executed in Nottingham gaol, for the murder of Elizabeth Williamson by pouring paraffin oil over her and setting fire to her clothes.

— A serious collision between two excursion trains took place outside Chester railway station, three carriages being completely overturned and jammed against a signal-box. Thirteen passengers were somewhat seriously injured.

— A terrible cyclone burst over Philadelphia, destroying hundreds of houses in the city and suburbs. Five persons were killed outright, and nearly a hundred, on being extricated from the ruins, were removed to the hospital. On the Delaware river great wreckage took place, and one large pleasure steamer was completely destroyed.

— Payment of house-tax for the British Legation at Madrid having been demanded and refused, the Finance Minister despatched an official with the object of making a seizure of furniture to cover the claim (30*l.*). On the

object of his visit becoming known, he was promptly and vigorously ejected from the Legation.

4. The trial of the twenty-six half-breeds who had been made prisoners in the rebellion in the North-West province of Canada, took place at Regina. Riel was found guilty and sentenced to death. Some of his councillors pleaded guilty.

— A funeral service held in Westminster Abbey on the occasion of General Grant's interment, at which representatives of the various members of the Royal family and numerous distinguished persons, political and military were present. In the United States the services began at the cottage of Mrs. McGregor, whence the coffin was borne to the railway station by veterans of the great war, and placed on a magnificent car for conveyance to New York where the body was to lie in state in the City Hall.

5. At Ilkeston, Notts, where the colliers have been on strike, it having become known that some men had resumed work at reduced wages, upward of a thousand men and women assembled at the pit's mouth to await the arrival of the "blacklegs." Disappointed of their victims, they commenced rioting and wrecking all the property in the neighbourhood. Reinforcement of police having been telegraphed for, the mob was attacked and driven several miles along the road.

— The English Consulate at Adrianople burned down, Consul Calvert and his two sisters having barely time to rush from the house barefooted in their night-dresses in order to save their lives. Miss Calvert, by her presence of mind, was able to extricate her servant.

6. The Emperor and Empress of Austria visited the Emperor of Germany at Gastein, where they spent two days.

— Mr. H. Herkomer, A.R.A., elected Slade Professor of Art at Oxford in the place of Mr. Ruskin.

— At Vittoria, during a bull fight, a bull on being let into the arena dashed over the barrier and alighted in the midst of the crowd, tossing and goring those nearest to him. A company of civil guards ran off. When the bull had half-cleared the plaza of its occupants, he trotted out into the promenade and made further onslaughts on the crowd. At length he was brought down by a shot—but not before he had killed many and severely injured more of the spectators.

7. During a trial trip on the Newry and Bessbrook Electric Tramway, the car having reached a point where there was a sharp decline, the brake was applied, but the apparatus did not work. The car dashed down the hill and the three occupants, seeing a collision with two empty trucks to be inevitable, jumped out and were all severely injured.

— The Cunard Line Steamer *Etruria* reached Crookhaven, having made the passage from New York in six days six hours—the fastest on record.

— A respectable middle-aged man committed suicide in Paris by throwing himself from the gallery connecting the two turrets of the Cathedral of Notre Dame.

— During a severe thunderstorm which burst over London and its neighbourhood, the steeple of St. Michael's Church, Highgate, was struck by lightning and the building damaged.

8. Charles H. Boydell, who had been arrested at Vienna for writing threatening letters to Mr. Gladstone, with a view to extort money, sentenced to six months' hard labour. His defence was that his only object in writing them was to be brought to London, as he was penniless.

— The body of General Grant brought from Mt. McGregor and interred in Riverside Park, New York, overlooking the Hudson River. The funeral pageant was of imposing grandeur. The military, 25,000 strong, were headed by General Hancock, with other distinguished generals and admirals of the Federal and Confederate armies. A procession, 2½ miles in length, preceded the hearse, drawn by twenty-four black horses led by negroes, and escorted by a guard of honour drawn from the Grand Army of 1865. Amongst the pall-bearers were Federal Generals Sherman and Sheridan, and Confederate Generals Johnston and Buckner. Behind the crowd of carriages came, under the command of General Sickles, 20,000 veterans (mostly maimed) of the Civil War.

— A robbery of 15,000*l.* worth of jewellery committed in Oxford Street in the middle of the day from the carriage of a lady, who had alighted at a shop door.

10. Two executions took place in Paris, the culprits being Marchandon, the murderer of Madame Cornet, a Creole lady, and Gaspard, the assassin of M. Delaunay, a truck maker.

12. A vote of thanks to the army under Lord Wolseley for its services in Egypt moved and unanimously carried in both Houses of Parliament, and the announcement made that the Queen had raised Lord Wolseley to the dignity of a Viscount.

— A small boat, 18 feet in length and 4 in breadth, manned by one person, Captain Christian Svendsen, reached Milwall in safety, having left Stockholm thirteen days previously. He suffered more from want of sleep and provisions than from other causes, although he had met with stormy weather in the North Sea.

— The Orange Apprentice Boys' celebration at Londonderry passed off quietly, neither procession nor speeches being interrupted.

— Severe gales on the eastern coast of Scotland and England. In the former the cold was intense, six inches of snow on some of the mountain ranges and the fishing fleets of Fraserburgh suffered serious damage; whilst in the southern parts of England a long protracted drought coupled with hot weather seriously compromised the harvest.

13. News received at Madrid of the occupation of the Caroline Islands, or New Philippines, in the North Pacific, a group claimed by and recognised as belonging to Spain for many generations, although never colonised. Two of the islands contain some very imposing ruins of stone works, the object and origin of which have never been ascertained.

— The Duke of Richmond and Gordon appointed Secretary of State for Scotland, the first appointment under the new Act.

— Sir Andrew Clarke, Inspector-General of Fortifications, decided to employ the railway plant intended for the Suakin-Berber line (about 60 miles), but never required, in perfecting the defence of the south coast, by laying down lines in the rear of the forts protecting Chatham, Portsmouth,

and Plymouth. These purely military railways would also be connected with the various main railroads of their respective districts.

14. The sixth session of the tenth Parliament of the present reign prorogued by Royal Commission.

— M. Henri Rochefort published in his journal "l'Intransigeant" a letter from M. G. Selikovitsch, "ex-interpreter of the Military Staff in the Soudan," affirming that Olivier Pain was "assassinated by order of the English Military Staff," and further asserting that a reward of 50*l.* was offered for the capture of Olivier Pain alive or dead. M. Rochefort followed up this publication with the suggestion that, unless reparation were demanded by the French Government, reprisals should be made on the English Ambassador, or on the Prince of Wales when next in Paris.

15. A ceremony took place at the Albert Palace, Battersea, recalling the custom of crowning a "rosière," still retained in a few places in France. Instead of the rosière being elected by the voices of her townspeople the Vicar of St. Anne's, Walworth, fixed upon a workgirl, Fanny Butler, who had most distinguished herself by industry, good character, and devotion to an old and invalid parent. The choice was approved by her fellows and confirmed by a large congregation. In addition to the floral crown the rosière was presented with a purse of money.

16. A statue by M. Frank erected to the memory of General Chanzy and the Army of the Loire unveiled at Le Mans by the Minister of the Interior, M. Allain Targé, in the presence of a large assemblage.

— A grand historical procession, a mile in length, passed through the streets of Brussels, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the introduction of railways into Belgium. It represented the modes of conveyance from the earliest times, and was closed with a faithful reproduction of the first train from Brussels to Malines in 1835, on which occasion George Stephenson was present.

17. M. Rothan, a French diplomatist, who had for many years been living in retirement on his Alsatian estates, expelled from Germany by the police. In 1865 M. Rothan had been Secretary to the French Embassy at Berlin, and subsequently Consul-General for France at Hamburg. He was the author of several well-known books. The reason alleged for his expulsion was his nomination (without his knowledge) as one of the Vice-Presidents of the French Patriotic League, of which body he was not even a member.

— Rev. John Wordsworth, Canon of Rochester, and Oriel Professor of Scripture, appointed Bishop of Salisbury.

— The prefect of the Paris police, adopting the suggestion of the Municipal Council, decided that the remains of bodies dissected in the Paris hospitals, averaging above 4,000 per annum, should be cremated.

18. A large block of warehouses in Bucknell Street, Bloomsbury, totally destroyed by a fire originating on the premises of the "Bent Wood Company," but spreading to the buildings on either side.

— The Guatemala Government announced that, owing to the expense of the late war, interest-payments on the foreign and domestic debt would be suspended for one year, in order to meet the arrears in the army and civil expenditure.

19. In consequence of the general prevalence of cholera throughout Spain, the local authorities of the Canary Islands, supported by the whole population, refused to admit to their ports any vessels from the home country. The newly appointed Governor on arriving from Cadiz was allowed to land without opposition, but within a very short time riotous proceedings began, the Governor and his escort being attacked by the population. The local authorities resigned *en masse*, and the streets and public buildings were occupied by soldiers.

20. The little town of Landeck, in the Tyrol, almost wholly destroyed by fire.

21. A conference, lasting the whole day and evening, held at St. James's Hall, attended by representatives, from all parts, of those interested in the enforcement of the laws dealing with vice and immorality. A pastoral from the Bishop of London was read at the meeting.

— At Arklow, Mr. Parnell, entertaining the Dublin Corporation, delivered a speech in which, in sketching the future of Ireland separated from English rule, he declared himself strongly in favour of a policy protecting, by high duties, Irish trade and manufactures against English competition.

— A party of five English gentlemen, who were staying at Homburg, arrested at Frankfort whilst paying a visit to that city. Two detectives took them into custody shortly after their arrival, and conveyed them at once to prison, refusing to allow them the means of communicating with their friends or the Consul. It was not until many hours had passed that they were released, the police admitting that they had committed a mistake.

22. At Berlin the International Telegraph Conference adopted the following resolution for a reduced tariff :—“ One simple terminal rate and one simple transit rate for all the States forming part of the European system. The terminal rate to be fixed at 10 c. per word, and the transit rate at 8 c. per word, except for the smaller States, for which the terminal rate will be 6½ c. per word, and the transit rate 4 c.; Russia and Turkey to be allowed to impose an additional rate, in consideration of the difficulty of maintaining long telegraph lines through extensive and partly uncultivated districts.”

— A mass meeting held in Hyde Park, under the patronage of many of the clergy of all denominations, to “express the shame and indignation of the people of London at the prevalence of criminal vice in their midst.” Resolutions to this effect were passed at twelve platforms.

— The Cunard steamer *Etruria* reached Sandyhook in 6 days 1 hour 9 minutes mean time (6 days 5 hours 31 minutes corrected time) from Queens-town, beating the *Oregon's* fastest run by 4½ hours. On the previous trip homeward the *Etruria* had beaten all previous records by 5 hours.

23. A collision took place on the Metropolitan District Railway, near Earl's Court Station, a Putney train running directly into an Addison Road train at the point where the two lines cross. Both engines were broken out of shape, the drivers and stokers and one passenger being seriously injured, the driver of the latter train succumbing after a few hours, and the stoker lingering some time longer. The cause of the accident was the unperceived breakage of the pin holding the two joints of the signal post, which therefore failed to act.

24. Mr. Parnell entertained at Dublin at a dinner given by his Parlia-

mentary colleagues, and in reply to the toast of his health reviewed the events of the previous five years, and declared that the future work of the National party would be to obtain the restoration of legislative independence to Ireland.

25. A terrific storm burst in full fury over many of the Southern and Eastern States of the Union. Intense heat had prevailed for some days, followed by a rapid fall of the mercury. In Charleston one-fourth of the houses were unroofed or otherwise wrecked, a dozen ships were blown ashore, and from all along the Atlantic coast disasters were reported. In Connecticut the damage to the tobacco crop alone was estimated at 1½ million dollars. Whilst the heat in the States was almost unbearable, a hard frost prevailed in Manitoba.

— The Czar, Czarina, and Cesarewitch, attended by a brilliant suite, arrived at Kremsier, in Austrian Poland, where they were met by the Emperor and Empress of Austria, and great fêtes were held in honour of the Imperial meeting.

— A terrible explosion took place in the laboratory of a firework manufactory at Civita Vecchia. Several persons were killed and many injured, and in the disastrous fire which ensued a large quantity of property was destroyed.

26. The Great Ebor Handicap (1½ mile) won by Lord Cadogan's Mate, 6 yrs., 8 st. 11 lbs. (Archer), defeating the favourite, Bonaparte, and seven others.

— Repeated and severe earthquake shocks felt at Kindberg, in the Styrian Alps, and almost simultaneously in the Canary Islands.

— The expulsion of Poles from Germany assumed large proportions, the law being applied equally to Russian and Austrian Poles. In one district of which the population was returned at 10,000, no fewer than 6,000 orders of expulsion were issued.

— A meeting held at Mile End to protest against the long hours of work imposed upon the drivers of omnibuses and tramcars in the metropolis.

28. Intelligence arrived from Aden that the English Government had annexed Ambado, a seaport in the Somalis country, on the coast of Tadjura Bay.

— A lion belonging to a menagerie travelling through Western France escaped from its cage, and after nearly a week's wandering was seen by three bathers at St. Breiric l'Océan. Alarmed by the appearance of the animal, and ignorant of whence it came, the bathers seized their guns and fired a volley of slugs, which at once proved mortal.

— A large timber yard in Kennington Road caught fire and spread rapidly to the adjoining houses, of which twelve were completely destroyed and many others seriously damaged before the flames could be subdued.

— A large piece of Lee Mount, a cliff overhanging the sea at Dawlish, gave way, burying a number of people, of whom three were crushed to death.

— The cholera, which had been increasing in virulence in the south of France, suddenly appeared in Italy, at Ponzone, a village in the mountains near Acqui.

— At the Memorial Theatre, Stratford-on-Avon, the anniversary of

Shakspeare's birth was celebrated by a performance of "As you Like it," in which Miss Anderson took the part of Rosalind.

31. A contest (the first of a series of three) took place at Lillie Bridge Grounds between Mr. W. G. George, the champion amateur, and William Cummings, the champion professional runner. The amateur led throughout, and won by thirty yards (one mile course). Time 4 min. 20 $\frac{1}{5}$ sec.

— Nearly the whole male population of Lewis being absent from home at the herring fishing on the east coast, the Uig tacksmen arranged to take re-possession of the disputed Uig Islands, which the crofters maintained to be theirs. A general gathering of tacksmen, ground officers, gillies, and shepherds from the surrounding district was held for this purpose. The crofters' wives and daughters, having been made aware of the invasion, held a council of war, and determined to resist the invaders at all hazards, both on sea and land. A large fleet of sailing boats was accordingly got ready, and when the tacksmen hove in sight the women were ready for action, each being armed with a stout stick and a lapful of stones. A fight commenced about a mile from land, which lasted for fully four hours. After a hot and well-contested battle the women came off victorious, driving the tacksmen off without having permitted them to land their sheep, whilst only five head of cattle were landed out of several score. The women then assembled on shore, and determined to keep sentry on the islands until the return of the men from the fishings. Several of the women were injured, though not seriously.

SEPTEMBER.

1. In pursuance of the orders of H.R.H. The Ranger, the stall-holders in St. James's Park who represented the ancient "Milk Fair," held for nearly two centuries in the Mall, were ordered to close their booths and remove their cows. Two only of the stall-keepers refused to comply, and after a strong protest in the newspapers, stating that some of the existing tenants had held stalls for more than a century, the order for their immediate removal was relaxed, and a compromise at length effected.

4. At Madrid a mob assembled in the streets on the news being known of the seizure of the island of Yap, and the attitude of Germany in the Caroline Islands. After much rioting the mob attacked the German Legation, pulled down the escutcheon, and burnt it. Rioting was reported from several other large cities and towns.

— It was announced that, the Mormons having decided to emigrate in large numbers from Utah, a large tract of land in the State of Chihuahua, in Mexico, had been acquired. "New Canaan," lying within fifty miles of the Arizona and New Mexican boundary line, was described as a magnificent grazing country, well watered, and susceptible of the highest cultivation.

7. Mr. William Stead, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Mr. Sampson Jacques, "General" Bramwell Booth, of the Salvation Army, Mrs. Coombes, and Mrs. Jarrett charged at Bow Street by the Solicitor to the Treasury with offences in connection with the alleged abduction of Eliza Armstrong, aged 13, from her parents.

— The eighteenth annual Trades Unions Congress met at Southport, under the presidency of Mr. I. S. Murchie. Councillor Threlfull was elected

chairman, and in his inaugural address traced the improved social and physical as well as moral life of the working classes during the previous fifty years.

7. An attempt to sail the International Yacht Race at New York proved abortive, there being little or no wind. At the expiration of the specified time the two yachts had sailed about fifteen miles of the course, the *Puritan* being about two miles to windward of the *Genesta*, and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ minutes ahead.

8. A new attempt to sail the International Yacht Race ended in a foul, in which the judge pronounced the *Puritan* to be in the wrong. Sir Richard Sutton, however, the owner of the *Genesta*, declined to claim the foul, and decided to sail the race out another day.

9. Sir Lyon Playfair, as President for the year, delivered the inaugural address at the meeting of the British Association at Aberdeen, taking for his subject the benefits to be derived from improved technical education and the need of more State management of science.

— Heavy floods, greatly aggravated by the bursting of the Lilita Kuri Embankment, near Moorshedabad, laid a great portion of the province of Bengal under water.

10. London visited by a storm of wind and rain of unusual severity. The rain commenced about 7 P.M. and went on increasing in volume for some hours. In some districts, especially in South London, the streets were completely flooded. The effects of the wind were more disastrous in the country districts round London, the hop-gardens of Kent and the fruit-gardens of Berks suffering very severely.

— At Romford St. Ervan, on the north coast of Cornwall, where up to 2 P.M. the weather had been perfectly calm, a whirlwind suddenly carried up three rows of corn sheaves to a considerable height, unroofed a shed, and uprooted several trees. The storm lasted only about two minutes, and was limited to a very small area.

11. The 1st Battalion of the Coldstream Guards, who had taken a foremost part in the Soudan campaign, after a temporary halt at Cyprus, reached London, where they were warmly received.

— H.M.S. *Swiftsure*, a large ironclad frigate, whilst steaming eleven knots, struck on a bank of sand off Cape Elizabeth Island, in the South Atlantic, but after having been four hours aground she floated off with the tide.

12. The second of the three contests between Mr. George, the amateur runner, and J. E. Cummings, the professional, took place at the Powderhall Grounds, Edinburgh. The distance on this occasion was four miles. George went away with a lead, which he maintained till nearly the end of the third mile, when he was passed by Cummings, and retired at $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The time as recorded was—1st mile, 4 min. $53\frac{2}{5}$ sec. ; 2nd mile, 9 min. $52\frac{2}{5}$ sec. ; 3rd mile, 14 min. 50 sec. ; $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles, 18 min. 46 sec., at which point Cummings was told he might cease running.

14. After two unsuccessful attempts, the first match between the American and English yachts *Puritan* and *Genesta*, ended in the victory of the former (over the New York Yacht Club course, thirty-eight miles) by 16 min. 46 sec., having sailed the distance in 6 hrs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ min.

15. Jumbo, the elephant whose sale by the Zoological Society of London to Mr. Barnum excited so much interest, met with a terrible death at St. Thomas, Ontario. Whilst being led down the steep incline of the railway track in company with another elephant, a goods train approached them from behind, and before the keeper could get the animals out of the way a collision occurred. The locomotive and leading waggons were thrown off the rails, but ran into Jumbo, inflicting such serious wounds that he died shortly afterwards.

16. At Doncaster the St. Leger Stakes won by the favourite, Lord Hasting's Melton (F. Archer) by six lengths. Ten started.

— The second International Yacht Match between the *Puritan* and the *Genesta*, twenty miles out and home, resulted in the defeat of the English yacht by 1 min. 18 sec. A good fresh breeze was blowing throughout the greater part of the race.

17. In the course of a severe thunderstorm an aërolite fell with a tremendous crash in a field near St. Leonards-on-Sea. In consequence of the heavy rain the ground had been much softened, and readily yielded a passage to the substance, of which no traces could be found on the following day.

18. Mr. Gladstone issued the Liberal manifesto, in the form of a pamphlet of twelve pages, addressed through "the National Press Agency" to the electors of Midlothian.

— A peaceful revolution effected at Philippopolis, when Gavril Pasha (M. Christovics), the Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia, was deposed, and Prince Alexander of Bulgaria proclaimed Sovereign of the United Provinces of Roumelia and Bulgaria.

— A procession, numbering upwards of 5,000 persons, chiefly belonging to working men's societies, paraded the streets of Amsterdam, and subsequently met together and passed resolutions against capitalists.

— A live gorilla, about three years of age and two and a half feet in height, landed at Liverpool in perfect health, brought from the south-west coast of Africa, but only survived a few days.

— A collision took place off the South Foreland between the steamship *Brenda* and the London General Steam Navigation Company's packet *Dolphin*, bound to Havre. The latter, carrying twenty-five passengers and twenty-five crew, was cut into just astern of midships, and sank almost at once, with four passengers and seven of the crew.

19. The Princess of Wales laid the foundation stone of the English Church at Copenhagen.

— The report confirmed that the cholera had obtained a footing in Sicily, and that the deaths at Palermo had risen to above 150 per day.

— The strike at Elswick brought to a conclusion by the intervention of Mr. John Morley, M.P., the men withdrawing their demands for the dismissal of certain superior officers, and the company giving way on the question of piecework.

20. A political meeting for the first time held in the building of the Paris Bourse. Revolutionists of all sides were invited to attend, the Anarchists and Possibilists answering in the largest numbers. A fight for the chairmanship was at once engaged: sticks and fists were freely used,

benches broken, and a few revolver shots fired. The Anarchists were ultimately routed.

21. At the Thames Police Court seven men were charged with resisting the police on the occasion of an open air Socialist meeting held on the previous day in Whitechapel, at which two or three thousand persons had attended, completely blocking up the thoroughfare. Fines were imposed on most of those brought up.

— The managers of the Vienna Opera House intimated that ladies attending the performances would not be permitted to take their seats with what was termed "high head-gear." This movement coincided with a new arrangement at the Théâtre Français at Paris, ladies being admitted, for the first time, under certain restrictions, to the stalls, whence hitherto they had been rigidly excluded.

22. A decree issued by the French Government ordering owners and breeders of carrier pigeons to make an annual return to the local mayor of the number of their pigeons and of the journeys to which they had been trained.

— A cyclone of great violence broke over the Orissa coast, and the storm wave which accompanied it made a clean sweep over False Point, carrying away the port officer, his wife and family, a dozen Custom House officers, and about 300 others.

23. After a concert given in her honour at Stockholm, Madame Christine Nilsson sang from the balcony of the Grand Hotel to a crowd of 30,000 persons. In the struggling which took place seventeen persons were crushed to death and many others received serious injuries.

— Mr. A. C. Plowden, the revising barrister for the Oxford district, gave as his decision that undergraduates occupying rooms in college could not, for various reasons, be regarded as free agents, or tenants within the definition of the Act of 1867, or as occupying their rooms for the whole twelve months. Notice of appeal was given.

25. Heavy falls of snow took place on the Scotch and Welsh mountains, and there was an average fall of 30° in the temperature all over England, the thermometer registering 26° in London and 25° at Oxford.

— A fire broke out in Harewood House, near Leeds, in the west wing over the picture gallery, and for some time the building and its contents were in great danger. The pictures and a valuable collection of china were removed in safety, and the fire extinguished with comparatively small damage.

26. The revising barrister at Cambridge gave his decision against the claims of undergraduates to vote for the borough on similar grounds to those held by his Oxford colleague.

— Mr. Stead and his fellow-accused committed for trial on charges connected with the abduction of Eliza Armstrong.

— An extraordinary case of bigamy, tried at the Old Bailey, resulted in the discharge of the jury, ten being for conviction and two for acquittal. The defendant, James Malcolm, alias McDonald, a meat salesman, was claimed by a Miss Dash as her husband, he having married her at Brighton, under the name of McDonald, after a few days' acquaintance, and then deserted

her on the plea that the ship of which he pretended to be the captain was about to sail. Three months subsequently Miss Dash met the accused at a ball and claimed him, but he denied being the man or that he had ever personated a ship's captain, and pleaded an *alibi*. Witnesses on both sides were equally positive and equally respectable. Malcolm was tried again on the same charge at the ensuing session, and after a week's trial found guilty and sentenced to seven years' penal servitude.

27. The Socialists held their meeting in Dod Street, Limehouse, which was attended by 30,000 persons. Speeches vindicating the right of free meeting and free speech were delivered, and the meeting separated without order having been in the least degree disturbed.

28. The third race for the championship between Cummings and George ran at the Lillie Bridge Grounds, the distance being ten miles. George led for the first mile, which was covered in 5 min. 21 $\frac{3}{5}$ sec., but half-way in the second mile he was passed by Cummings, who never lost his place. The fourth mile was finished in 20 min. 3 $\frac{1}{5}$ sec., when George was 20 seconds behind. Cummings' time for the remainder of the course was—fifth mile, 25 min. 10 sec.; sixth, 30 min. 18 $\frac{2}{5}$ sec.; seventh, 35 min. 29 sec.; eighth, 40 min. 45 $\frac{4}{5}$ sec.; ninth, 45 min. 59 sec.; tenth, 51 min. 6 $\frac{3}{5}$ sec., the best on record. George's was 52 min. 17 sec.

— The efforts of the authorities at Montreal to subdue the smallpox epidemic by means of compulsory vaccination resulted in serious rioting on the part of the French citizens. The Health Office and City Hall were attacked and much damaged. The cases of smallpox had risen to between 2,000 and 3,000 during the preceding week, and no less than 270 deaths from smallpox had been registered.

30. The Lord Chamberlain (Earl of Lathom) removed the restriction hitherto imposed upon the London theatres of closing their doors on Ash-Wednesday.

OCTOBER.

1. The new telegraph tariff, sixpence for twelve words, including the address, came into operation.

— A meeting of colonists held in London, under the presidency of Mr. Finch-Hatton, to further the separation of Northern Queensland and its formation into a self-governing colony.

2. Mr. J. Macdonald, the Revising Barrister for Middlesex, decided against the claims of the proprietors of the London Stock Exchange to be placed on the County Register, thereby disqualifying 619 members already registered, and 119 new claimants. Notice of appeal was given.

3. A telegram from Berlin announced that the Russian police had unearthed at Warsaw a most formidable Nihilist conspiracy against the person of the Czar. Forty persons were, it was said, arrested; the majority of whom were of good social standing, and two of them university professors of note.

4. The General Election throughout France held for the first time on the system known as *scrutin de liste*, and resulted, to the surprise of all parties, in a very decided defeat of the Ministerial or Opportunist party.

5. Henry Norman, aged 31, convicted of having murdered his wife by stabbing her, hanged in Newgate.

— Slight disturbances took place in Paris as the results of the election became gradually known, but the police firmly repressed all attempts at organised rioting.

— A letter published from Sir Henry Ponsonby, the Queen's private secretary, contradicting in the most unqualified terms the statement that her Majesty had invested a million sterling in the purchase of ground-rents in the city of London, adding that she had not such a sum to invest.

6. The twenty-fifth Church Congress assembled at Portsmouth, under the presidency of the Bishop of Winchester. The principal speakers and members, with the mayor and corporation of the town, went to St. Thomas's, where the inaugural sermon was preached by the Bishop of Carlisle.

7. A serious collision took place at Spithead between H.M.S. *Calypso*, arriving from Sheerness, and H.M.S. corvette *Rover*, which was lying at anchor. The night was very dark, and the incoming ship did not see the *Rover* until she was close upon her, and was unable to alter her course sufficiently to pass without fouling.

8. A disastrous fire broke out in the premises of Messrs. Barnes and Spencer, Charterhouse Buildings, Aldersgate Street, which rapidly spread to the adjoining warehouse. In less than an hour the flames had forced their way into Clerkenwell Road on one side and Goswell Road on the other, enveloping upwards of thirty houses, and causing damage to the amount of 200,000*l*.

— A funeral service held in Westminster Abbey over the body of the Earl of Shaftesbury, which was subsequently conveyed to the family vault at St. Giles's, Dorset. The pall-bearers represented the principal societies with which Lord Shaftesbury had been connected. The Abbey was crowded with representatives of the numerous religious and philanthropic associations for which he had laboured. The Dissenting bodies sent numerous delegates, and the middle and lower classes thronged the Abbey to pay a last tribute of respect to Lord Shaftesbury's memory.

— At the meeting of the London School Board the chairman (Mr. Edwin Buxton), in the course of his financial statement, said that the expenditure per child in average attendance had increased from 2*l*. 16*s*. 4*d*. in 1884 to 3*l*. 0*s*. 3*d*. in 1885, and was estimated at 3*l*. 1*s*. 1*d*. for 1886.

9. At a meeting of the Directors of the London and North-Western Railway it was decided, in consequence of the continued depression of trade, to put all the workmen employed in the engineering works at Crewe (about 6,000) on short time. The works would be closed every week from Friday night till after breakfast on Monday.

— A new baptistery opened in Chester Cathedral. Until recently it had been little more than a dark hole on the north-west angle of the cathedral, but Dean Howson having ordered the removal of some rough masonry, a magnificent Norman arch was brought to light, and a similar one opening from the north into the aisle.

10. Flood Rock, covering an extent of nine acres, under the entrance to New York harbour known as the Hell Gate, successfully removed by dynamite, of which 14 tons, spread under the rock in 14,000 charges, were all con-

nected with an electric battery, which was discharged by the daughter of General Newton. Tunnels measuring 21,670 ft., at a depth of 50 ft. below low water, had been driven in every direction under the rock, the honey-combing of which had occupied ten years' constant work.

10. A special meeting of the Cork Steam Packet Company held to consider the threat of the South Ireland Cattle Association to boycott the company if they continued to convey the cattle belonging to the Landlords and Property Defence Association. After an excited meeting the shareholders, by 11,909 votes to 707, decided to convey all cattle indiscriminately. At a Nationalist meeting held subsequently it was decided to boycott the company, and ultimately a special train was chartered by the association to convey its cattle to Waterford, whence it was shipped to England.

12. H.M. gunboat *Dwarf*, tender to the guard-ship *Defence*, having missed her moorings, drove on the rocks off Holyhead before she was able to let go her anchor.

— Count Hatfeldt, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at Berlin, nominated to succeed Count Münster, as German ambassador to the Court of St. James's.

13. The Cesarewitch Stakes at Newmarket won by M. Bouy's *Plaisanterie*, 3 years, 7 st. 8 lbs. (Hartley), defeating 20 competitors. This was the first occasion on which the race had ever been won by a filly bred in France and ridden by a French jockey.

— A sharp shock of earthquake felt at Granada, immediately following a wave of sudden cold which passed over the south of Spain.

14. The Middle Park Plate (for two-year-old colts) at Newmarket won by the favourite, Mr. Vyner's *Minting*, 9 st. 3 lbs. (F. Archer), defeating a field of nine starters.

15. A severe cyclone passed over Sicily and Southern Italy, accompanied at Palermo by sharp shocks of earthquake. Immediately following, a great decrease in the cholera epidemic was observed.

16. After lasting three months, the great strike of cotton-spinners at Oldham ended by a compromise. The men had struck against a threatened reduction of 10 per cent. of wages, and proposed in lieu a reduction of hours of work and output. After many refusals to come to terms the masters conceded a reduction of 5 per cent., on the understanding that at the expiration of three months a further reduction of 5 per cent. would be accepted if trade had not improved. The chain-makers of South Staffordshire, after a strike of five weeks, resumed work at an increase of about 20 per cent.

17. The first successful experiment in telpherage (or system of transporting goods automatically by electricity) took place on a short line on the estate of Lord Hampden, at Glynde, near Lewes. The system was suggested by the late Professor Fleeming Jenkin, and perfected by Professor Perry.

— In the race for the Caulfield Cup at Melbourne, Victoria, forty-one horses started; fifteen of them fell during the race; one jockey was killed, and seven others so severely injured that they had to be taken to the hospital.

— At Derby, Sir William Harcourt unveiled a statue by Mr. Boehm, R.A., erected by public subscription to the late Mr. M. T. Bass, who had represented that borough for thirty-five years in Parliament.

18. The bicentenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes commemorated by religious services in Canterbury Cathedral, and at various places of worship in London and elsewhere.

19. Herr Pohle, a mining engineer sent out from Germany to investigate the mineral wealth of the new colony of Angra Pequena, reported that nothing of value except lead was to be found there, and that the cost of its conveyance to the coast would be more than the ore would fetch in the market. The place, he added, was nothing but a desert of sand.

20. The Brunswick Diet met for the election of a Regent, when Count Goertz Wrisberg, Minister of State, in the name of the Council of Regency, proposed Prince Albrecht of Prussia, who was subsequently elected unanimously.

— The civil marriage of Prince Waldemar of Denmark and the Princess Marie d'Orléans, daughter of the Comte de Paris, took place, in conformity with French law, at the Mairie of the Eighth Arrondissement, in presence of the Prince of Wales, the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, and a distinguished company. The religious ceremony was celebrated on the following day at the Château d'Eu, near Tréport, where a great *réunion* of representatives of the reigning families of Russia, England, Denmark, and Belgium took place, and grand fêtes were organised.

21. The restored nave of St. Alban's Abbey opened by the bishop of the diocese and the Archbishop of York, with a service at which the mayor and corporation, the leading county families, and many others attended. The restoration, costing upwards of 70,000*l.*, raised by public subscriptions, had been carried out under the direction of Sir Edmund Beckett, the Chancellor and Vicar-General of the Archbishop of York.

— The Danish Prime Minister, M. Estrup, fired at by a young man named Rasmussen, who accosted the minister as he was entering his house, and suddenly drawing a revolver fired two shots, the first of which tore M. Estrup's coat, but the bullet glanced off from one of the buttons. M. Estrup at once seized his assailant and handed him over to the police.

22. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council rejected the appeal of Louis Riel, who had been tried at Manitoba, in July, before a magistrate and a jury of six persons, and sentenced to death. The sentence was subsequently confirmed by the Court of Queen's Bench for the province of Manitoba. The appeal was based on the ground that Riel was entitled to challenge thirty-five jurymen, and to be tried by a jury of twelve.

23. A well-authenticated case of a donkey which had lived 106 years in the family of Mr. Ross, of Cromarty, reported. The animal became the property of the family in 1779, but what its age was at that time was not known. It was hale and hearty up to its death, which was caused by a kick from a horse.

— Storms of wind and rain of unusual violence reported from the districts lying round Matlock, and along the rivers Dee and Severn, the banks of which overflowed in various places, doing enormous damage.

— A farewell dinner given to Sir Harry Verney at the Buckingham Town Hall, on the occasion of his withdrawal from Parliamentary life, after having represented the borough for nearly fifty years : his first election was, however, in 1832, when he was chosen as first representative of the reformed Parliament.

25. The quarries at Chancelade, near Périgueux, fell in, burying seven or eight of the workmen. Several persons passing at the time were killed, and a number of the inhabitants of Parigots, the adjoining village, were buried beneath the ruins of their houses.

26. At a meeting of the French Academy of Sciences M. Pasteur delivered a long address on the subject of canine rabies, and produced cases in which his system of inoculation had apparently cured persons suffering from hydrophobia.

27. The funeral of the Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Fraser) took place at Ufton Nervet (Berks), of which place he had one time been rector. There was a very large gathering of friends and admirers, but the funeral was perfectly simple and quiet.

— At Newmarket the Cambridgeshire Stakes won by M. Bouy's Plaisanterie (the winner of the Cesarewitch) 7 st. 12 lbs., defeating the favourite, St. Gatien, and a field of twenty-seven starters. Plaisanterie, admirably ridden by Hartley, came in an easy winner by two lengths.

28. Netherby Hall, the seat of Sir Fred. Graham, entered by burglars whilst the family were at dinner. They were disturbed in their proceedings, but carried off 300*l.* or 400*l.* worth of jewellery from Lady Graham's boudoir. Information was given to the Carlisle police, who, meeting four men coming from Netherby, attempted to take them into custody. The men drew revolvers and fired, and the two police constables were wounded. The men were tracked to Carlisle, where they set upon another constable who was following them, and, injuring him seriously, got away. On the following night they were seen in the neighbourhood of Plumpton, about twelve miles south of Carlisle, where another constable, attempting to arrest them, was shot dead. They then managed to get on to a goods train going south; they were observed by the guard, who, after many difficulties, succeeded in bringing them to Tebay without suspicion; and then, having got together a number of officials, two of the men were, after a desperate resistance, captured, and a third, who escaped for the time, was taken a few hours later at Carlisle.

29. The *Great Eastern* steamship, after many misadventures, sold by auction at Lloyd's for 26,200*l.* to a private merchant.

— As M. de Freycinet, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, was driving over the Pont de la Concorde into Paris a man fired a pistol at his carriage, but without wounding anyone. After attempting to conceal his identity for some days the would-be assassin proved to be a Corsican named Mariotti.

30. The Divisional Court of Appeal upheld the decision of the Revising Barristers at Oxford and Cambridge (Messrs. Plowden and Balloch) that undergraduates of the universities were not qualified as voters, on the ground that they did not hold their rooms for more than half the year.

— The Archduke John of Austria, accompanied by an aide-de-camp, started in his small boat from Linz, and reached Vienna (a distance of 140 miles) after twenty hours' rowing. According to instruments which the boats carried, the rowers had dipped their oars about 66,000 times.

31. Three thousand quarrymen employed at the Dinorwic Quarries, Carnarvonshire, locked out in consequence of having attended a mass meeting during the working hours, contrary to orders.

31. The Maidenhead station on the Great Western Railway took fire, from causes unknown, and in a short time the parcels and booking offices, waiting-rooms, &c., were completely destroyed.

NOVEMBER.

2. The municipal elections held throughout England, although not in all cases political, showed a somewhat slight accession of strength to the Conservatives, who gained seats at Liverpool, Manchester, Stockport, Exeter, and many other important places. On the other hand, at Bury and York the Liberals wrested five seats in each council from the Conservatives, and at Leeds, Huddersfield, Bristol, &c., scored minor gains. The London School Board election resulted in the return of only 19 members of the outgoing Board, many of whom, however, had not offered themselves for re-election. The "School Board policy" received its most significant check in Marylebone, where three out of four of its supporters were rejected; but elsewhere it was fairly supported, the "moderates" on both sides receiving the largest proportion of votes.

3. The statue of Major André, erected in New York by Mr. Cyrus Field, destroyed by a charge of dynamite, exploded by clockwork machinery.

— An address to the voters of the United Kingdom against the disestablishment of the Church, signed by a number of prominent Liberal Peers, issued by Lord Egerton of Tatton.

4. China Town, adjoining Tacoma, Washington Territory, and a well-known station on the Northern Pacific Railway, burnt by a mob, and the railway tanks, bridge trestles, and other property destroyed, and 20 Chinese workmen expelled.

— Prince Alexander of Bulgaria dismissed from his honorary colonelcy in the Russian army.

— In the province of Shansi (China) the discovery made of a large number of Roman coins belonging to the period from Tiberius to Aurelian.

5. The Divisional Court affirmed the right of officers and soldiers occupying rooms in barracks, during the statutable period, to vote at Parliamentary elections. At the same time the Court disallowed the claims of over 4,000 persons who claimed the freehold franchise for the county of Middlesex in respect of their proprietary rights in the Stock Exchange.

— The P. and O. Company's steamer *Indus* ran ashore on a coral reef at Moelitove, and subsequently became a total loss. The passengers and mails were landed safely at Trincomalee.

6. On the train from Naples to Benevento reaching the latter city it was found that the baggage waggon had been entered, the guard murdered, and gold to the value of 12,000 lire carried off.

— A sudden outbreak of cholera occurred at Brest, the Quartermaster of the Naval Hospital being one of the first victims, after an illness of only a few hours.

— The Monetary Convention of the 'Latin nations,' France, Italy, and Switzerland, with which Greece allied herself, signed in Paris, Belgium alone dissenting; but she subsequently gave her adhesion to its temporary prolongation.

6. A cyclone crossed the State of Alabama to the north of Selma. Exploring parties followed the track for 40 miles, picking up dead and wounded. Although the track was only 800 yards wide 13 persons were killed, 50 seriously injured, and everything more or less destroyed.

7. After twelve days' trial the 'Armstrong Abduction Case' was brought to a close. The defendants charged with having taken away a young girl, under the age of sixteen, without consent of her parents, were Rebecca Jarrett, W. T. Stead, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Bramwell Booth, "General" of the Salvation Army, and S. Jacques, alias Mussabini. The two last named were declared to be not guilty, but after three hours' deliberation the jury found Jarrett and Stead guilty, the latter, however, having been incited by the purest motives.

— A disastrous cyclone passed over the Philippine Islands, the provinces suffering the most severely being Camarines, Albay, and Principe. Upwards of 10,000 houses, besides churches and public buildings, were destroyed.

— The last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway driven in at Farwell, British Columbia, and a continuous line from Quebec to the Pacific completed.

— The Canadian Pacific Railway steamer *Algoma*, on its way from Ower Sound to Port Arthur on Lake Superior, went ashore in Thunder Bay, and became a complete wreck, 48 persons being drowned out of a total of 62 on board.

9. Mr. Alderman Staples installed as Lord Mayor of London with the usual ceremonies. The most novel features of the procession were historical representations of the crafts of various City companies, amongst which those of the Pewterers, the Gold and Silver Wyre Drawers, and the Haberdashers were the most noteworthy.

— Mr. Gladstone started from Hawarden for Midlothian, and after making a few short speeches on the way, reached Edinburgh at 4 P.M., where he was received by the Lord Provost and executive committee of the Liberal Association. Mr. Gladstone afterwards addressed a large meeting in the Albert Hall.

— The International Inventions Exhibition closed without any ceremony, having been visited during the season by 3,760,581 persons, making a daily average of 23,071. Financially, however, the exhibition resulted in a loss of nearly 5,000*l.*, the electric lighting and fountains alone having cost upwards of 40,000*l.*

10. After a second trial for assaulting Eliza Armstrong, Mr. W. T. Stead was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, Rebecca Jarrett to six months, and Jacques, *alias* Mussabini, to one month, all without hard labour; and Madame Mourez to six months with hard labour.

— Senator Stanford, of California, who had previously given 83,000 acres of land (valued at 5,000,000 dollars) to found a University in memory of his deceased son, announced a further gift of 15,000,000 dollars (3,000,000*l.* sterling) to endow the intellectual centre his liberality had created.

12. An alarming fire broke out in the warehouses of Messrs. Behrens and Co., Manchester, occupying one of the most prominent sites in the city. Property to the value of 40,000*l.* was destroyed before the flames were extinguished.

13. War formally declared against the King of Burmah, and the English troops ordered to advance upon Mandalay forthwith.

— A terrific fire raged for many hours at Galveston, an important mercantile town and seaport on the coast of Texas. Seven squares of buildings, containing the best residences, were completely destroyed, and altogether 60 blocks were burnt, involving a loss of upwards of 4,000,000 dollars.

— The Home Secretary issued instructions that Mr. Stead should be treated as a first-class misdemeanant, and removed to Holloway Gaol.

14. The Pope made his award in the Caroline Islands dispute, recognising Spanish sovereignty, but according trading privileges to Germany.

— A gang of "Moonlighters" attacked Castle Farm, near Castleisland, the residence of Mr. J. Curtin, and a sharp struggle ensued, in the course of which one of the Moonlighters was shot inside the house, and two were found dead outside. Mr. Curtin was also fatally wounded, and lingered for only a few hours.

— War declared by Servia against Bulgaria, and the troops of the former crossed the enemy's frontier.

— The English steamer *Wellington*, coming directly from America, entered the port of Ghent with 5,350 bales of cotton. This being the first time such a vessel had arrived, the Burgomaster and Town Council solemnly welcomed the captain and crew, and a medal was ordered to be struck in commemoration of the event.

16. Louis Riel, the leader of the insurrection in Manitoba, hanged at Regina. On the news of his execution reaching Montreal, Quebec, and Ottawa, there were noisy demonstrations and processions of the French Canadians, and rioting.

— Lieske, the Socialist, who had been convicted of the murder of Police-constable Rumpff, beheaded at Cassel by the Berlin executioner.

18. The Queen, immediately after her return from Balmoral, held a Council at Windsor, at which Parliament was dissolved, and the new writs made returnable on January 12.

19. The Browning Society gave their annual entertainment at St. George's Hall, London, when "Colombe's Birthday" was performed.

— The Admiralty and Board of Trade came to an arrangement whereby 2,000 firemen and stokers were to be at once admitted to the Royal Naval Reserve. By this arrangement, should it become necessary to employ the Mercantile Marine as war-ships or cruisers, the Admiralty would have a sufficient body of mechanics at their disposal.

20. The lunatic asylum at Sundusky, Ohio, having caught fire, five of the women inmates, in spite of the efforts of the superintendent, were burnt to death.

— The Danish Ministry of Marine announced the disappearance of "The Monk," an isolated cliff rising out of the sea, south of the island of Suderve, in the Baltic. A dangerous whirlpool used to sweep round its base, but this was seemingly filled up by the engulfed mass, leaving only a dangerous reef, covered even at low tide.

21. The Nationalist Manifesto to the Irish electors of England and Scotland, warning all their countrymen against voting for the Liberals, issued.

21. The Atlantic steamer *Iberian*, from Boston to Liverpool, with passengers and crew numbering fifty-four souls, went ashore in Duncannon Bay, south of the Fastnet Light. The steamer had been unable to take her reckoning on the previous day, and thick weather continuing, she ran on the rocks without warning. The crew left in four boats, three of which landed without delay; but the fourth, in charge of the third officer, with fourteen hands on board, was not heard of for some time. The *Iberian* broke up on the second day after running ashore. Almost at the same time the steamers *Roman* from New York, and *Guillermo* from Havana, came into collision in the Mersey, in consequence of the fog. The latter, a Spanish ship, had to be beached, her after compartment being full of water. The *Roman's* stern and bows were completely smashed in.

23. The General Election commenced, the first member actually returned being the Right Hon. C. P. Villiers, for Wolverhampton, where there was no opposition.

— John Williams, *alias* "Irish Jack," and John Hill, *alias* "Sailor Jack," convicted of the murder of Ann Dickson, of Weobley, executed within the Hereford prison.

— Mr. Gladstone, having restored at his own expense the "Mercat" Cross, one of the most ancient historical spots in Edinburgh, handed it over to the Lord Provost and Town Council as a memento of his connection with Midlothian.

24. Miss Helen Taylor, a Parliamentary candidate for North Camberwell, tendered three nomination papers to the returning officer, all of which he declined to accept. Miss Taylor thereupon handed in a formal protest, and announced her intention of taking legal proceedings.

25. A party of non-commissioned officers and men, belonging to regiments recently returned from the Soudan, attended at Windsor Castle, when the Queen decorated five of them with the medal for distinguished service, and presented twenty-five with the regulation service medal.

— H.M.S. *Beaver* stranded on Blakeney West Sands during a heavy fog.

— General Prendergast, having captured Pagan, on the Irrawaddy, on the 22nd, advanced rapidly up the river, and appeared before Myingan, where the Burmese were in force. After some cannonading by the gunboats the naval brigade landed, and occupied the town without resistance.

— On the Highland Railway, as a long train was nearing Mound station (near Golspie), one of the leading waggons left the rails and fell over an embankment into the sea, followed by fourteen others. The passengers were stunned and shaken, and some of them suffered from immersion in the water, which was luckily not more than three feet in depth.

— Mr. Francis Turner Palgrave elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford by 307 votes, against 247 given to Mr. Courthope.

— King Theebaw sent a flag of truce to meet Colonel Prendergast's flotilla, suing for peace on any terms.

27. The Bulgarian army under Prince Alexander being beaten back, the Servians crossed the frontier, and after a severe struggle captured Pirot.

— The Prince of Wales opened the Jaffray Hospital at Birmingham, erected at the expense of Mr. Thomas Jaffray and a few friends, at a cost of

70,000*l.*, exclusive of eight acres and a half of land presented by Mr. Jaffray.

27. A brilliant meteoric display, announced beforehand by astronomers, visible in most parts of Europe ; it reached its greatest intensity between 6 P.M. and 8 P.M., when upwards of 600 meteors, some of considerable size and of different colours, were observed.

28. The Prince of Wales opened the Birmingham Corporation Museum and Fine Art Gallery, of which the first stone had been laid in 1881 by Mr. Richard Chamberlain. The buildings, erected from designs by Mr. Yeovil Thomason, cost over 80,000*l.*, collected by public subscription, of which a large portion was obtained through the energy and by the aid of Messrs. Tangye.

— A return issued by the War Office, showing the casualties which had occurred during the Nile Expedition to officers and men :—

	Sickness	Deaths	Seriously wounded
Suakin Field Force	3,120	117	105
Naval Contingent	523	17	105
Indian „	130	93	130
New South Wales Contingent	112	2	—
Nile Expeditionary Force, including Royal Marines	4,748	298	—
		(including 11 deaths from drowning)	
Naval Brigade	197	22	—

30. Robert Goodale executed within Norwich Gaol for the murder of his wife. As the clock struck the bolt of the scaffold was withdrawn, and the culprit disappeared ; but, to the horror of those present, the rope immediately recoiled, the head having become completely separated from the body by the drop, which was only the usual one of six feet.

— After lasting two years and a half the strike in the Sunderland engineering trade came to an end ; the employers withdrawing their character-inquiry note, and the men their strike manifesto.

DECEMBER.

1. The following Parliamentary return, relative to voluntary schools, issued, showing their position at an interval of fourteen years :—

	1870	1884
Children on register	1,693,059	2,853,604
Average attendance	1,152,389	2,157,292
	£	£
Expenditure	1,527,023	3,812,149
Voluntary subscriptions	418,839	732,524
School fees	502,023	1,205,440
Government grant	562,661	1,768,140
Other sources	76,509	192,975

— Æschylus's tragedy of the Eumenides acted in Greek by members of the University, with music especially composed for the chorus, &c., by Mr. Stanford. The part of Athene was played by Miss Case, of Girton College.

2. A terrific storm broke over Colon (Isthmus of Panama), causing great damage to the shipping and docks ; the houses and buildings in the town were thrown down by the seas dashing against them. Out of twenty-nine

vessels in the harbour, fourteen had disappeared when the storm subsided ; the railway was submerged for a considerable distance.

3. At the first meeting of the newly elected School Board for London, Rev. J. Diggle elected chairman by 24 votes, against 23 given to Mr. Buxton, the previous chairman, five members remaining neutral.

— Election riots reported from various parts of the country, especially at Maidenhead, Penzance, Guildford, and Dundalk, and in Glamorganshire, Armagh, Suffolk, and East Dorset.

— A violent earthquake occurred in Algeria ; the Masna, Blidah, and Medeah districts suffering severely. Thirty-two lives were reported to have been lost, besides much injury to the houses and public buildings.

4. General Gené, commanding the Italian forces on the shores of the Red Sea, announced that, in consequence of the difficulties which had arisen, he had assumed the civil government of Massowah under his own direction.

5. The case of the *Queen v. Ashwell* came before the Court for the Consideration of Crown Cases Reserved for decision. The question turned upon whether Ashwell, who had asked a friend (Keogh) to lend him a shilling, and had received in mistake a sovereign, could be held liable for theft, for refusing to refund more than the shilling. The jury found a verdict which the judge entered as guilty, but deferred sentence pending decision on the point of law. The point was argued before five judges (March 20), who being divided in opinion ordered it to be argued before all the judges (Nov. 13), who reserved their judgment. The fourteen were now equally divided, and consequently the verdict of guilty stood.

7. The Queen terminated, in favour of Lady Bertha Delgarda Clifton, the succession to the barony of Grey de Ruthin, to which as second daughter of George, second Marquess of Hastings, by his marriage with Barbara Yelverton, in her own right Baroness Grey de Ruthin, she had been declared a coheiress by the Committee of Privileges in 1876.

8. By order of the Chief Commissioner of Police, all the dogs of the metropolis, within a radius of six miles from Charing Cross, were ordered to be either muzzled or led by a chain when in the streets and public places of the metropolis. This order was to continue in force sixty days, in consequence of the numerous cases of hydrophobia reported by the hospital and medical authorities. Within the first ten days the police captured upwards of 7,000 dogs, who were either ownerless or whose owners had failed to comply with the order.

10. A destructive fire broke out on the premises of Messrs. Crowden and Garrod, American merchants, at the corner of Southwark Street and Bridge Road. The flames rapidly obtained a firm hold of the building, and before they could be extinguished property to the value of 50,000*l.* had been destroyed.

— The election of 16 representatives for Scotland took place at Holyrood Palace, on which occasion the Marquess of Queensberry entered a formal protest against his exclusion on the grounds of his religious opinions.

11. In the case of *Lawrie v. South-Western Railway* two judges of the Queen's Bench Division decided that the company had a right to suspend the ordinary train traffic of their line on the days of the Ascot races, and to demand whatever fare they liked.

11. Cases of cholera reported from Conegliano and Venice, and on the adjoining mainland.

— The Smithfield Club Cattle Show held at Islington closed, after having been open during the week. Although the largest show ever held by the club, the best in excellence of stock, and the sales above the usual average, the attendance of the public showed a falling off of at least 20,000 persons.

12. Lord Alwyne Compton, Dean of Worcester, nominated to the bishopric of Ely.

— Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt's will proved in New York, from which it appeared that in the eight years intervening between his father's and his own death he had increased his property from 21,000,000*l.* to 37,000,000*l.* sterling. He left 60,000,000 dollars to each of his two sons and 10,000,000 to each of his daughters, besides leaving a handsome provision for his widow.

13. A terrible fire broke out in Looe Street, Plymouth, a very old and narrow thoroughfare, and spread so rapidly among the crowded wooden shops and tenements, that no less than 13 lives, chiefly young persons, were lost.

14. The men working at the Llanberis Slate Quarries, who had been locked out for some weeks for refusing to accept a new set of rules issued by the owner, Mr. G. Assheton Smith, assembled to the number of 2,000 to make a demonstration against the head agent, the Hon. W. W. Vivian, and the manager, Mr. Davis. With great difficulty these managed to escape from the crowd, and only after a prolonged parley were allowed to leave. A note from the men warned Mr. Vivian against ever setting foot on the quarries again.

— A fire, which was said to have originated in the sun-light of the Chemical Lecture Hall, broke out in the Yorkshire College of Art and Science, at Leeds, recently erected at the cost of 100,000*l.* Happily the efforts of the firemen saved all the buildings with the exception of two lecture-rooms and their offices.

15. A committee appointed to inquire into the extraordinary subsidence of the roadway between Ossulton Street, King's Cross, and the Midland Railway station reported that it was due to the failure of the north wall of the Metropolitan Railway, and the leakage of the New River Company's mains running beside it.

16. The Arabs on the Upper Nile showed suddenly increased activity, attacking the English garrisons at Kosheb and elsewhere. Reinforcements ordered from England, and General Stephenson started for Wady Halfa.

— A sudden subsidence of the Pont Neuf, in Paris, took place, which on examination was found to arise from the foundation of one of the arches on the left side having given way.

17. Details published of an organisation known by the name of the Anti-Coolie League, the aim of which was to terrify the community of San Francisco by means of a series of dynamite explosions, and involving the assassination of the leading citizens, and after their removal to massacre the Chinese inhabitants. The leader of the plot was one O'Donnell, who denounced his associates when he found them unwilling to recognise his authority and control.

17. The Bank of England raised its rate of discount somewhat unexpectedly from 3 to 4 per cent., the reserve standing at 12,298,117*l.*, or 40 per cent. of the liabilities.

18. John Magee, a photographer, and his wife were brought up at Bow Street Police Court on the charge of having attempted to extort money from the Prince of Wales by threatening his life. Magee in his letter declared himself to be a member of a secret society, that he had been told off to assassinate the Prince, and he therefore requested 750*l.* to enable him to escape from his associates.

19. With the declaration of the polling for the seat for Edinburgh and St. Andrews University, the general elections closed, giving the following results, as compared with preceding elections, the university seats being included in the boroughs :—

		English Counties	English Boroughs	Welsh Counties	Welsh Boroughs	Scotch Counties	Scotch Boroughs	Irish Counties	Irish Boroughs	Totals
1859	{ Liberals . .	45	202	5	9	16	22	28	20	347
	{ Conservatives .	99	121	10	5	14	1	36	21	307
1865	{ Liberals . .	48	198	6	12	18	23	32	23	360
	{ Conservatives .	99	126	9	2	12	—	32	18	298
1868	{ Liberals . .	45	198	9	13	24	28	37	28	382
	{ Conservatives .	127	93	6	2	8	—	27	13	276
1874	{ Liberals . .	27	144	6	13	17	23	10	6	246
	{ Conservatives .	145	143	9	2	15	5	21	12	352
	{ Home Rulers .	—	—	—	—	—	—	33	21	54
1880	{ Liberals . .	54	202	13	15	26	27	8	6	351
	{ Conservatives .	118	85	2	—	6	1	11	15	238
	{ Home Rulers .	—	—	—	—	—	—	45	18	63
1885	{ Liberals . .	133	110	18	9	32	29	—	—	331
	{ Conservatives .	100	118	1	2	7	3	11	7	249
	{ Independents .	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
	{ Home Rulers .	—	1	—	—	—	—	74	11	86

21. The Prince of Wales visited the Doulton Pottery Works, at Lambeth, in order to present to Mr. Henry Doulton the Albert Medal of the Society of Arts, “in recognition of the impulse given by him to the production of art pottery in England.”

— Leopold von Ranke, the German historian, received a grand ovation from his fellow-countrymen on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday. The Emperor and Empress wrote him letters of congratulation; the Crown Prince and Princess visited him; and from numerous crowned heads and distinguished men in literature, mostly his former pupils, he received proofs of regard and friendship.

— A fire broke out in the printing room attached to the refreshment department of the Crystal Palace, but was extinguished before any serious damage was done.

22. The result of the quinquennial valuation of the metropolis showed that the gross value assessed in 1880, 33,384,851*l.*, had risen in 1885 to 36,939,027*l.*, and the rateable value in the same period from 27,544,426*l.* to 30,370,552*l.* The quinquennial increase recorded was the largest since the passing of the Act; but two parishes, St. Pancras and St. George’s in the East, showed a falling off from the 1880 valuation. The largest increase was in Poplar Union—from 335,000*l.* in 1880 to 712,544*l.*

23. A terrible colliery accident happened at the Mardy Colliery, in the Rhondda Valley, involving the loss of 77 lives. The pit had been carefully surveyed on the previous day, and was regarded as one of the best ventilated in the kingdom, though the coal (steam) was known to be of a fiery nature. Upwards of 900 men were in the pit when the explosion occurred, and at first it was feared that a very much larger number of lives had been lost.

24. As two young ladies, the Misses Fitzroy, step-daughters of a Mr. St. Aubyn, steward of the manor of Devonport, were dressing for a ball, the elder accidentally set fire to her dress with a candle ; her younger sister rushed to her assistance, but her dress also took fire, and she was so dreadfully burned that she died before midnight ; the elder sister, also seriously injured, subsequently succumbed.

25. In adding a new chancel to the church of St. Paul's, Wandsworth Road, the discovery of the vaults attached to the old parish church of St. Mary's, Clapham (superseded in 1774), was made. In the first vault was found a statue, in white marble, of Sir Richard Atkins, lord of the manor of Clapham in the days of the Commonwealth ; and in an adjoining compartment various monuments of other members of his family, all in the most complete state of preservation.

— In a crowded hospital at Chicago a Christmas-tree caught fire, and the flames spreading to the spectators, a terrible panic ensued, 100 persons being seriously injured in their attempt to get out of the doors.

27. The volcano of Colima, on the Pacific coast of Mexico, broke into a violent eruption. Streams of lava completely covered the mountain sides, while flames darted from the crater, and greatly alarmed the neighbouring inhabitants.

— A case of lynching took place at Gainstown, Alabama, where a negro named Reed, accused of having outraged and murdered a girl, and subsequently fled, was brought back after some days' hunt, chained to a tree, and burned to death, in the presence of 500 persons. Reed had previously confessed his crime.

28. M. Grévy re-elected President of the French Republic by 457 votes out of 589 voters, the total number of the Congress (Senate and Deputies) being 856.

— The Congo State adopted as its national flag the personal arms of the King of the Belgians, differenced by a symbolical star, with the motto "Travail et Progrès."

29. At Taylor Pit, Wigan, two men killed and thirteen severely burnt by an explosion of gas and the consequent firing of the pit.

— A slight shock of earthquake, thirty-seven seconds, felt at Venice about 11 P.M. No damage was done.

31. The return of fires in the metropolis for the year showed a total of over 2,000, in the course of which 60 lives were lost and more than 100 endangered.

— The number of colliery explosions for the year was only sixteen ; but the loss of life amounted to 322, the largest total since 1880. From foreign coal-fields fifteen explosions were reported, involving the loss of 550 lives—450 in Europe and 100 in America.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1885.

LITERATURE.

It would be a difficult task to compare the literary achievements of one year with those of another, but certainly the present year is in no way lacking in interest from the standpoint of literary production. The popularity of biographies and memoirs, fostered perhaps by a growing desire on the part of the public to obtain glimpses into the private life of those it has known—and occasionally, it would appear, of those it has not known also—seems still to be visibly increasing. Poetry is represented not only by the great names of the Laureate and of Mr. Swinburne, but also by several new volumes of charming verse. Standard works, long needed, and whose appearance now causes us to wonder how we could have waited for them so long, take a foremost place in the literature of the last twelve months. The patient labours of the translators of the Old Testament have at last born fruit in the completion of the new version of the Bible. In every field there is the same activity, the same wide range of subjects dealt with, and the same varied interests aroused.

Year by year the study of history is developing more and more into a science. Historians seem to be content to waive the privilege of writing new histories for the more useful and laborious work of collecting materials for other men to mould. On the period of the Reformation we have more than one valuable new work, intended to serve as the basis of a future chronicle; but for a detailed account of any part of it, in the form of a completed history, we must look to Mr. Friedmann alone. In the monograph on **Anne Boleyn** (Macmillan) which he has produced, Mr. Friedmann tells the story of what is, after all, a very miserable life, passed in sad scenes and anxious times. Nowhere do we see so clearly the immense ascendancy of Henry, the strength and violence of his personal character, and the heartlessness with which he disposed of the lives of individuals and the interests of the nation, solely in accordance with his own ungovernable will. The character of the Queen is treated throughout with a calm impartiality which historical criticism too often lacks. “Anne was not good. She was incredibly vain, ambitious, unscrupulous, coarse, fierce, and relentless.” Mr. Friedmann will not even acquit her of the suspicion of being deeply concerned in Queen Katherine’s death, though he leaves the mystery which surrounds her own trial and sentence a mystery still. But Anne’s vices were largely the result of her early training both in France and England, and of the degrading influences about her. Her virtues—her undoubted intelligence and courage—were her own.

To English readers Mr. Friedmann's review of the state of England at the time is hardly flattering. The population of London, he tells us, was less than a fourth of that of Paris. The revenues of Henry equalled but an eighth part of those of Charles V. But surely Mr. Friedmann under-rates the military reputation of the English. The prevailing impression abroad, which it was the chief aim and glory of Wolsey's statecraft to falsify, was that the English were unrivalled as warriors in the field, although mere children at the council-board.

But the secrets of the history of the Reformation are inexhaustible. Mr. Forbes-Leith, a member of the Society of Jesus, publishes a **Narrative of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI.** (Paterson). The author's object—and his success in attaining it has been considerable—is to prove, from a careful examination of original papers, how strong a hold the ancient faith still had upon the affections of the Scottish people long after the Reformers were politically in the ascendant. Of course Mr. Forbes-Leith represents a cause; but he writes with great impartiality; and certainly these papers show clearly how much the triumph of the Reformed Religion was due to the vigorous conduct of the great nobles, headed by Murray and Morton, who saw that the overthrow of the Church must deal a blow to the royal authority, and who determined to carry it through in their own interests, despite the strong opposition of Mary, and even—in later days—the ill-concealed reluctance of her son.

Another contribution to Scottish history has been made in the collection of **The Lauderdale Papers** (Camden Society), which deal with the years between 1639 and 1673, and which paint in the darkest colours the iniquitous misgovernment which followed the Restoration. The treachery and infamy of Archbishop Sharp are portrayed in his own letters. The coarse violence of men like Rothes and Middleton, who were entrusted with almost irresponsible power in the country, is exhibited in these documents without any redeeming points. Some of the worst episodes in the history of the cruel oppression of the Covenanters are narrated in a tone of triumph by writers who were themselves responsible for, and often personally concerned in, the atrocities committed. It is perhaps sufficiently significant of the characters and conduct of the Royalist rulers of Scotland, as displayed in these pages, that, of them all, Lauderdale alone stands out as possessing any of the attributes of the statesman. Is it invidious to comment on the fact that a time when Scottish administration was jealously confined to born Scots alone is beyond doubt the most vindictive, as well as the most sombre, period in the history of Scottish government?

Both Oxford and Cambridge have contributed something to the materials of history. Mr. Boase has edited the first volume of the **Register of the University of Oxford** (Clarendon Press), which contains much of interest besides its catalogue of graduates from the earliest times, and which illustrates well the cosmopolitan character of mediæval Oxford, when graduates flocked to it from places as distant and as various as Padua and Bologna, as Bordeaux, Paris, and Cologne.

Mr. Mullinger's history of **The University of Cambridge** from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles I. (Cambridge University Press) naturally dwells upon the days when Cambridge, with Cheke and Ascham among her dons, had stepped into the place of Oxford as the chief home of learning and of thought. Mr. Mullinger traces clearly the evil effects of the constant interference with the University by Govern-

ment in Tudor days, and shows us how, from being the democratic centre of Puritan thought and of the new learning, the University gradually declined, under influences which were making her more aristocratic in character, and more oligarchical in her system of administration.

It is a pleasure to welcome, in the disguise of a school-book, Mr. York Powell's volume of the **History of England** (Rivingtons) which he is writing with Mr. Mackay. This volume, which takes us down to the death of Henry VII., combines much of the terse detail and accuracy which is wanting in Mr. Green, with the vivid appreciation of all that is not statistical in history, which is so mercilessly excluded from Dr. Bright's well-known work. Mr. Powell's brief sketches of character and motive are as valuable as his ample notice of the progress of art, manners, and economics; and he even finds room to pay considerable attention to the growth of the English language. The accompanying maps make the little volume singularly complete.

In his **Short History of the Netherlands** (Fisher Unwin) Mr. Alexander Young devotes himself chiefly to "the heroic period" of the history of the country, of which he gives a slight but interesting sketch. In his preface Mr. Young tells us that he has studied original authorities, and discovered therein several new episodes of Dutch history, which previous chroniclers have left unnoticed. Moreover, Mr. Young adds, his estimate of Don John of Austria, which differs "so widely from Mr. Motley's," has recently been confirmed by an article in the *Edinburgh Review*. The author gives a very brief narrative of the early history of the Netherlands, and passes rapidly over the great epoch of the De Witt administration, and the less interesting days of the Netherlands' decline. He commends his book to "mature" as well as to "young readers"; but his preference for the picturesque over the historical—notably in the account of the "Execution of Counts Egmont and Horn"—is throughout so evident that we venture to think Mr. Young's readers will be found chiefly among the immature students of history, who will be able to appreciate the very copious illustrations, which are perhaps the most prominent feature of a pleasant and readable sketch. In connection with this work may be mentioned a series of shorter histories of the countries of Europe (Rivingtons), of which those of Switzerland, by Miss T. Melville Lee; Norway, by Mrs. C. Sidgwick; Russia, by Mrs. M. E. Benson, have already appeared. They aim at being rather attractive to young children than wholly educational, and in this respect they supply a want long felt by those who have passed out of the usual scholastic course. These volumes are written simply as well as pleasantly, and can scarcely fail to arouse the interest of young readers.

Even at a time when English attention is concentrated on the question of Irish government, it is difficult for English people to understand how little they know of Ireland, and how much of her history they have yet to learn. Thus any serious contribution to our knowledge of Ireland is of special value. Mr. Bagwell's **Ireland under the Tudors** (Longmans) begins with a "succinct account" of the early history of the Anglo-Norman colony, whose failure he attributes to "the neglect and jealousy of the kings." The first volume is mainly occupied with the attempts of Henry VII. and his son to settle the government of the island. Poynings, Skeffington, and above all St. Leger—whose conciliatory administration of fifteen years is the brightest spot in the history of the times—were the three rulers who most nearly effected a permanent settlement; and Mr. Bagwell thinks that

Henry VIII. would perhaps have succeeded had it not been for the Reformation. But the effects of the Reformation were fatal. Religious animosity complicated the complex problem ; and the history of the first twenty years of Elizabeth—which fills the second volume—is the history of a failure, which no efforts of Sussex or of Sidney, thwarted as they were by the Queen's niggardliness and the unceasing opposition of the Fitzgeralds, were able to avert.

On the other hand, Mr. Burke's **Anecdotes of the Connaught Circuit** (Hodges & Figgis) is in no way professedly historical. But amid a variety of fun and anecdotes there is much of real value to the student of history. The early chapters are mainly introductory, and give us some idea of what life was like in Connaught in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and succeeding centuries. The author naturally dwells upon the iniquitous Popery laws of the beginning of the eighteenth century, and notes their effect on the Roman Catholic population ; but he speaks in high terms of the Viceroyalty of Lord Chesterfield, who stands out in strong contrast to the majority of his forerunners and successors. The anecdotes told of Charles Phillips—in his time the chief ornament of the Irish bar—and the specimens given of Irish forensic oratory, are full of interest, and more recently the case of *O'Finan versus Cavendish* is significant as illustrating the powerlessness of the Roman Catholic priesthood when they run counter to the political convictions of the people. But the romance of the book centres round the tales of Connaught life (and especially the story of "fighting Fitzgerald," the local hero and ruffian of the end of the last century), which illustrate, as few histories can illustrate, the condition of a district and a people that are still the most desolate and the wildest in Ireland.

Equally opportune and valuable is the second volume of Mr. Barry O'Brien's work on **Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland, 1831-1881** (Sampson Low). Mr. O'Brien deals at great length with the history of the Encumbered Estates Act and the Land Acts of 1870 and of 1881, and in less detail with the Irish Church Act, and the educational measures. Although he never disguises his conviction "that the government of Ireland according to English ideas has broken down," and that "the day is gone by when, though willing to maintain the integrity of the empire," Irishmen will relinquish their demand for a system of Home government, when Irish affairs shall be in the hands of men "representing the public opinion and possessing the confidence of the country," Mr. O'Brien cordially admits the honesty of the efforts made by English statesmanship to redress the balance of Irish wrong. But his aim is to enable his readers to judge of the measures he deals with, and of the problems they were designed to solve ; and no judgment, he argues, can be of value without a complete knowledge of English and Irish relations in the past. The result is a series of studies, based on singularly fair and impartial historical research, which undeniably tend to emphasise the verdict so often pronounced upon our policy towards Ireland, the verdict of half-understood concessions always made too late.

Mr. Harris's **History of the Radical Party in Parliament** (Kegan Paul) is a concise chronicle of the hundred years' struggle between the old oligarchical system and the new democratic movement in this country. It begins with the reign of George III., and continues down to the Reform Bill of Lord Derby. Mr. Harris employs the term Radical a little widely to include all those who in three or four successive generations have employed "their energies in two directions—in the endeavour to extend

political rights and duties, and in the effort to promote, as far as the law can fairly do so, the diffusion amongst the whole people of the real blessings of civilisation—material, intellectual, and moral.” The beginnings of modern Radicalism are traced to the famous political controversies of the early days of George III., to the Wilkes struggle, to the American War, and to the new political and social ideas, which (fostered perhaps in England unwittingly by Chatham and designedly by Charles James Fox, and the Liberals of his day) gave birth to a democratic spirit which swept over Europe, and which produced in Germany a Fichte and a Stein, in France the French Revolution, and in our own country the agitation for Reform and the semi-revolutionary societies which were crushed out for a time by the Napoleonic wars. Mr. Harris goes on to deal with the great Reform Act, with the Corn Law struggle, with the growth of the demand for popular education, and follows the history of the Reform movement down to the Household Suffrage Act of 1867.

But there is an antidote to Mr. Harris's Radicalism in Mr. Kebbel's **History of Toryism** (Allen). This work covers the century which elapsed between the advent of Pitt to power and the death of Lord Beaconsfield. It professes to be “an honest attempt to do justice to a great party, whose actions have hitherto been recorded either by its avowed enemies or by friends who were too much devoted to one aspect of Toryism to be able to appreciate the other.” The seven heroes of Mr. Kebbel's work are Pitt, Liverpool, Canning, Wellington, Peel, Derby, and Disraeli, and to the first and last he gives the highest places. Pitt is represented as the real founder of the modern Tory party, and Mr. Kebbel puts down to the credit of Toryism the early and more brilliant years of Pitt's government, when he bid fair to be the pioneer of Liberal measures. To Lord Beaconsfield, for whom the author professes unstinted admiration, is due the credit of reconciling on a strong basis the democratic with the aristocratic elements of English life. With the middle classes Disraeli had no sympathy. But he thoroughly appreciated the importance of the landed interest. “One cardinal principle of the Tory party,” says Mr. Kebbel, is that “not only does the landed interest produce a better governing class than any other interest in the country, but it is in itself the surest foundation and mainstay of our national greatness and prosperity.”

Sir Henry Maine too has entered the lists to wrestle with democracy. His four essays on **Popular Government** (Murray) seem designed as a warning to the British public of the dangers of the advancing democratic tide, while they show no sign of any hope on the author's part that that tide can possibly be stemmed. In the three papers entitled “The Prospects of Popular Government,” “The Nature of Democracy,” and “The Age of Progress,” Sir Henry Maine dwells with melancholy pleasure upon the abortive and unenduring popular movements of the century. France and Austria, Germany and Spain, are brought forward as instances of countries whose history has exemplified the instability of popular government. Two conflicting principles, Imperialism and Radicalism, are the dominant forces which ever since the French Revolution “have been acting on Western Europe.” The latter of these two forces is gradually urging us nearer to the precipice of democracy. At the same time, to support the former principle, vast military establishments are becoming more and more necessary day by day. And yet “no two organisations can be more opposed to one another than an army scientifically disciplined and equipped, and a nation democra-

tically governed." And so Sir Henry Maine leaves us on the horns of the dilemma.

But where the military sentiment does not interpose to overthrow democracy, Sir Henry Maine foresees another foe, no less fatal to the best interests of government. "Wire-pulling" is the danger of England and the United States. The ultimate effect of wire-pulling can only be "to make all parties very like one another . . . however leaders may quarrel and partisan hate partisan." In the constitution of the United States alone, to which the last paper is devoted, Sir Henry Maine consents to see a tardy gleam of hope, owing chiefly to the fact that its founders made it as conservative as it could possibly be. Thence he deduces the counsel that, although it is the greatest delusion to suppose that democracy, "when it has once put all things under its feet, is a progressive form of government," yet, as we have to accept the inevitable, it is our duty to fence the dreadful thing about with as many safeguards as we can devise.

Mr. Lucy has issued the first part of his **Diary of Two Parliaments** (Cassell), dealing with the Disraeli Parliament of 1874-1880. It is a light, gossiping chronicle, full of varied sketches, of rough portraits, of witty sayings, and of small personal details. The book treats of the events of a Parliament which came into office to put an end to over-reform, and which lasted long after it had put itself into a position of unconscious antagonism to the wishes of the nation. It is interesting to watch, as Mr. Lucy traces it, the growth of the disorganised opposition—especially after the withdrawal of Disraeli to the House of Lords, and the active reappearance of Mr. Gladstone on the scene—into a party which, in the great agitation excited by the Russo-Turkish War and the foreign policy of the Government, suddenly awoke to the consciousness that it had behind it a strength of national feeling of which it had little dreamed, and of which the elections of 1880 were the startling results.

A very different type of book is the **Dictionary of English History** (Cassell), which Messrs. Low and Pulling have edited. Within the small space permitted the articles are wonderfully complete. Among the more important is one entitled "Authorities on English History," by Mr. Bass Mullinger, which is of real value to the student of history. Some of the longer papers contain sketches of certain countries or of certain epochs, of which the article on Ireland, Mr. Black's article on India, and Mrs. Gardiner's article on Charles I. are perhaps most noteworthy. Moreover, it is no slight boon to have a work of reference where the development of offices and institutions—usually the playground of historical theorists—is treated by men whose names are a proof of the trustworthiness of the facts they tell. Among the contributors are Professor Thorold Rogers, Mr. Creighton, and Mr. A. L. Smith.

Side by side with the "Dictionary of English History," but overshadowing it wholly in importance, stands Mr. Leslie Stephen's **Dictionary of National Biography** (Smith & Elder), of which four volumes have already appeared. Mr. Stephen is to be heartily congratulated on the manner in which, so far, his scheme has been carried out. Not only are the more important characters dealt with by writers who have made their lives a special study, but the short articles upon less important people are written with the same accuracy and judgment. Among the longer papers Professor Ward's article on Queen Anne, the valuable biography of Bacon, both as philosopher and politician—and as no dabbler by any means in either craft

—written conjointly by Professor Fowler and Mr. S. R. Gardiner, the article on Anselm, and Mr. Freeman's vigorous sketch of Ælfred, are some of the most valuable. The editor contributes an admirable criticism of Miss Austen, and other equally concise and interesting papers on Berkeley and Addison. To Mr. W. Hunt have fallen many of the subjects connected with mediæval history. He tells the story of Bede, and follows through many mazes the history of the Beauforts and the Berkeleys. Professor Jebb is the critic and biographer of Bentley. Sir T. Martin writes a protracted history of the Prince Consort, and other articles, such as those on Dr. Arnold and Walter Bagehot, are surely unduly long. On the other hand, the account of Arabella Stuart, and Mr. James Gairdner's article on Anne Boleyn err unfortunately on the side of brevity.

The catholicity of these volumes is remarkable. From Archbishop Abbot to Addington, from Balfe to Baskerville, the Besses and the Barings, nothing escapes the vigilance of the compiler. But the dictionary is as full of anecdotes and miscellaneous information as it is of historical research, and it is well worthy of the attention of every class of readers.

Another biographical dictionary, on a humbler scale and limited to a far narrower sphere, has been edited by Mr. Humphry Ward. **Men of the Reign** (Routledge) professes to give a brief account of "Eminent Persons of British and Colonial Birth who have died during the reign of Queen Victoria." It is compiled from contributions to "Men of the Time," from obituary notices in the *Times*, the *Athenæum*, and other journals, from the ANNUAL REGISTER, from volumes of memoirs, and from other sources. Of course the value of the volume lies less in its succinct biographies of such illustrious men as Peel, Macaulay, and Wellington, as Wordsworth, Thackeray, and Carlyle, than in the brief notices it gives of remarkable men of a lesser order whose lives have not been, and never will be written, but who have left their mark, in their genius or their labours, on the time. Women as well as men are admitted into the long list of three thousand distinguished names. The principle of the compilers has been to include not only politicians and generals, authors and administrators, but anyone "who has done *something* really considerable"—"has painted, sung, spoken, invented, taught, or preached, with sufficient distinction to make himself felt among his contemporaries."

Mr. T. P. Hughes's **Dictionary of Islam** (Allen), although addressing itself to a comparatively limited class of readers, supplies a want long felt by those whose reading leads them towards Oriental history. The form adopted by Mr. Hughes for popularising the stores of information he has accumulated is eminently practical, and conveys succinctly the solution of unknown terms and allusions. The volume is, however, more than a mere dictionary of terms, for it supplies an historical and often a critical account of Moham-medan ceremonies, sects, and habits, and shows their connections with other Oriental customs and beliefs.

It is not easy to say where history ends and biography begins. In his two volumes on **Montcalm and Wolfe** (Macmillan) Mr. Parkman gives a vigorous picture of Wolfe's personality and early life, and an interesting sketch of his great rival. Before his appointment to the command of the forces in Canada, Montcalm was chiefly known as a brave officer and a noble country gentleman, living on his heavily encumbered estates in Provence. From the moment he accepted the post he was baffled and impeded by the jealousy and dislike of the Governor-General of the province, to which perhaps

the French may justly attribute the loss of Canada. But it is not principally as a biography of Wolfe and Montcalm that these two volumes will live. They are far more than that. They are a history, elaborated in many years of full and careful research, of the crisis of the great struggle between England and France for colonial supremacy and the empire of the new world.

The weaknesses and mishaps of French rule in North America—the unparalleled corruption, the religious bigotry and political influence of the priests, and the rash attempt of the Governor of Canada to enclose the English settlements with an impenetrable belt of French possessions—are clearly related and explained. The well-known incident of the expulsion of the Acadians is told in a new light. The memorable siege of Quebec calls forth all Mr. Parkman's powers. The bravery of the French, the ability of Montcalm, the high conduct and gallantry of Wolfe, the brilliant exploit performed by the commander of the British fleet in navigating the dangerous St. Lawrence, and the great battle on the Heights are described in a manner worthy of the rest of the book.

Colonel Hozier's short biography of **Turenne** (Chapman & Hall) is a careful attempt to deal with a long life, much of which was spent in active warfare. There is a good sketch of the science of war and of the nature of armies at the time when the great French commander entered on his career, and there is ample information as to Turenne's campaigns and strategy. But perhaps the book is slightly overweighted by its complexity of detail.

Mr. Hodgkin has produced the third and fourth volumes of his laborious work on **Italy and her Invaders** (Clarendon Press). They deal with the seventy-six years which separate the downfall of Augustulus from the departure of the Ostrogoths from Italy. The hero of the first of these two volumes is of course the great barbarian conqueror, whose genius suddenly created a strong Teutonic kingdom upon the ruins of Rome. Nothing illustrates more clearly than the reign of Theodoric the magical influence of Roman traditions and the imperishableness of Roman institutions. The success of Theodoric was due to the rapidity with which he was able to fuse what was imperial and Roman with what was barbarous and Teutonic. The glory of the Goths was to be the inheritors of the great name which they had blotted out. The other volume contains the history of the sudden collapse of the Gothic kingdom before the arms of Belisarius and Narses, and retells the strange story of that fitful revival of the great days of Rome which resulted in the re-conquest of Africa and Italy, and which has thrown a glamour round the reign of Justinian and Theodora.

It was only to be expected that a year in which our eyes have been turned so frequently towards Egypt should produce several books dealing with the late campaigns. General Brackenbury and Colonel Wilson have each contributed sketches of their own experiences. General Brackenbury held the second, and after General Earle's death the first place in the command of **The River Column** (Blackwood), whose history he now relates. The column advanced after many delays at starting, and with infinite labour caused by the "terrible rapids," in the direction of Abu Hamed. On Jan. 29 General Earle received intelligence from General Buller that the desert columns were awaiting Earle's arrival at Metammeh before they proceeded to the relief of Khartoum. On Feb. 5 news reached him of the fall of Khartoum, but the orders being still to press forward, the river column marched on, and on the 10th fought and won the brilliant action of

Kirbekan. Within twenty-six miles of Abu Hamed, however, they received orders from Lord Wolseley announcing a change of plan, and enjoining a retreat ; and thus, to his great disappointment, General Brackenbury had no choice but to obey, and to bring back his men, with great credit to himself, by the right bank of the river.

Colonel Wilson's book is of even greater interest. The story of the gallant march across the desert, **From Korti to Khartoum** (Blackwood), the account of the battle of Abu Klea, and the narrative of that ineffectual voyage down the Nile, undertaken in the face of many dangers, only to find that Khartoum had been handed over to the Mahdi almost under the eyes of the relieving force, contain the most thrilling incidents of a brilliant but luckless campaign. Sir Charles Wilson, who succeeded Stewart in the command of the expedition, tells the tale simply and frankly, and does not hesitate to criticise the mistakes which he believes were made. He was an eyewitness of the facts, and they are facts which no Englishman is likely for a long while to forget.

But by far the most important of these brief Egyptian histories, and in many ways the most memorable and the saddest book of the year, is **The Journal of Major-General Gordon at Khartoum** (Kegan Paul). Political controversy makes it difficult to judge dispassionately of the history of the downfall of Khartoum, but apart from party conflicts we can welcome a book which sets before us a clear picture of one of the most heroic struggles of modern times, drawn by the hand of the man who was the central figure of the events he tells. There is no parallel in English annals to the position of Gordon at Khartoum. He had "not a soul he could depend upon." For the last four months he had not a single Englishman beside him. The troops were half-hearted, ill-disciplined, and cowardly. The officers seemed to have no pride or interest in their duty, and could not be trusted for a moment when out of his sight. The people of the town were more than half-disposed to make terms with the enemy. On Sept. 10 Stewart's expedition, bearing with it the chronicle of the early months of the siege, left Khartoum never to return. On Dec. 14 the last volume of the journal was sent to the British force at Metammeh. The history of the last month of all we shall probably never know, but of the siege between these two dates we have here an ample chronicle.

The chief arms of Gordon were the gallant little steamers, mere Thames boats, which plied to and fro upon the river, bringing in wood and corn and cattle, and constantly attacking the Arabs on the banks. "No Royal Navy vessel," writes Gordon, "could have behaved better than the *Ismailia* to-day : she passed and re-passed the Arab guns upwards of twenty times, when any well-placed shell would have sunk her. Whether the crew knew it or not does not matter. I did, and felt comfortable accordingly." Gradually the blockade was drawn closer. Taught by experience, Gordon did not venture to risk engagements in the open. In November the Madhi's forces were concentrated around the city, and the fighting became harder and hotter. Here is an account of these days :—"One tumbles into a troubled sleep at 3 A.M. ; a drum beats—tup, tup, tup ! It comes into a dream, but after a few moments one becomes more awake, and it is revealed to the brain that one is in Khartoum. The next query is, Where is this tup-tupping going on ? A hope arises that it will die away. No, it goes on, and increases in intensity. The thought strikes one, Have they enough ammunition ? (The excuse of bad soldiers.) One exerts oneself. At last it is no use, up one

must get, and go on the roof of the palace ; then telegrams, orders, swearing, and cursing goes on till about 9 A.M."

Yet, in spite of the stress of anxiety and the ever-present need of the general's supervision, Gordon finds time to notice with unfailing humour even the small things about him. He laughs at the wonder of the natives, seeing themselves for the first time in the palace mirrors. He delights in the turkey-cock that guards the palace yard. He even dwells, half-humorously, half-despairingly, on the stolid apathy of those whom he had to defend. And all the while he is calculating how far he may rely on the incapacity of the Arabs, or how best he may cope with the treachery within his gates, or he is drawing maps for the guidance of the British force across the desert, or even from time to time unfalteringly forecasting his own fate. "It is on the cards that Khartoum is taken under the nose of the expeditionary force, which will be just too late."

All through this most vivid and saddest of chronicles we seem to stand by Gordon's side, to see him watching on the palace roof, to be living in the midst of the events which day by day he jots down so minutely. All through them there rings the same tone—the tone of a man fighting a hopeless fight, yet determined to fight it bravely ; never flagging in his own duty, giving all his strength to inspire others with as keen a sense of theirs, and always looking, steadfastly and unchangingly, through a many-coloured glass upon the type of manhood he had set before his eyes.

Mr. Lowe has written the story of another type of great man. His review of the career of **Prince Bismarck** (Cassell) is as complete as it is lucid. Bismarck's public life began in 1847, when he was elected to the Prussian United Diet. His rigid Conservatism at that time was described by a Liberal deputy as "the narrow-minded mediæval spirit in the very flesh." In the crisis of 1848 and the years that followed, his one-absorbing political idea seems to have been to resist at any cost "democratic propaganda," and this led him to treat with contempt any movement towards German unity. In 1851 Bismarck appeared at Frankfort as the Prussian representative in the Diet. Gradually from an admirer of Austria he became the hottest champion of Prussian rights, and his influence began to be exerted more and more strongly on the anti-Austrian side. About the same time he ceased to jeer at constitutional government.

In 1859 Bismarck became Prussian Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and thence he went to Paris in 1862, where Louis Napoleon scoffed at his ambitious schemes. In the same year he returned to Berlin as Prime Minister, and immediately entered into the struggle in which the Chamber were involved with the King. The question was the proposed increase in the army, and despite all opposition Bismarck and the King carried out their scheme. The after-history of the Chancellor, beginning with the Sleswick-Holstein dispute, and the triumphs of 1866 and of 1870-1 are better known. Mr. Lowe gives a vivid description of them, and deals fully with the Chancellor's international and domestic policy since the Franco-German War. The Clericals and the Socialists at least are enemies whom even Bismarck has been unable to crush. But in his own family life he has been singularly fortunate, and the description given of that is not the least interesting part of the book.

Lady Hobart has published in two volumes the **Essays and Miscellaneous Writings of Vere Henry, Lord Hobart** (Macmillan). We could wish that the sketch of her husband's life, with which she has prefaced them, were longer than it is. The heir to a title, which he did not live to inherit, Lord

Hobart was prevented by his limited means from entering Parliament. For three and twenty years he held a post in the Board of Trade, and was often entrusted with official missions. But he took a keen interest in politics, and constantly expressed his views on the questions of the day in pamphlets, articles, and published letters. Again and again we find him inveighing against the current views of political morality. He complains that England is governed by a "Delanocracy tempered by evening parties." From the first he condemns the policy of the Crimean War. Again, he foresees that English opinion, misled upon the American struggle, will sooner or later rally to the cause of the North. Moreover, the essays on social and economic subjects, notably those against capital punishment, in favour of Mr. Hare's scheme of representation, and on the mission of Cobden, show Lord Hobart to have been of the type of men who make genuine and earnest reformers.

But Lord Hobart was not only a reformer. He could enjoy the beauties of nature. He was a passionate lover of the sea. Scott he admired as the poet and painter of the mountains, comparing him to Homer. Some other of his literary criticisms are remarkable. Thackeray and Bulwer he estimates highly. Dickens he severely criticises. In Disraeli's novels he can see only the sophistry and the conjuring tricks. He has the temerity to confess that he finds Miss Austen dull.

The latter part of these volumes is occupied with "Letters and Minutes on Indian Subjects," which refer to the three years of Lord Hobart's governorship of Madras. The most important papers are those dealing with Indian taxation, especially with the income tax, of which Lord Hobart was a strong opponent, and with the progress of elementary education, of which he was a consistent advocate. But he did not live to carry out his schemes. After three years' tenure of office he was struck down by typhoid fever, in the midst of a useful and enlightened career.

Another valuable book treating of Indian history is Sir James Stephen's **Story of Nuncomar** (Macmillan). At last the reputation of a distinguished man has been cleared from the undeserved stigma which Macaulay left upon it, and Sir Elijah Impey stands out, not as the unjust judge who conspired with Warren Hastings to get rid of an inconvenient enemy, but as an able and upright administrator who only fulfilled his legal duty. Of the great Governor-General also Sir J. Stephen forms a very high estimate indeed.

Nuncomar was a Brahman, who once held office under the English in Bengal, and who was disappointed by Hastings, in the hopes he had entertained, of a high reward for certain services rendered to the Government. Accordingly, when Francis and his faction in the Council began their long attempt to thwart and hamper Hastings, Nuncomar came forward with charges of corruption against the Governor-general. Hastings retorted by prosecuting Nuncomar for libel, and at the same time a certain Mohan Prasad brought a suit for forgery against the Brahman. On the latter charge Nuncomar was committed for trial, and nearly won his cause, owing to the weakness of the prosecution. Sir J. Stephen gives in full Impey's summing up, and comments on it thus:—"No man ever had or could have a fairer trial than Nuncomar." "Impey, in particular, behaved with absolute fairness, and as much indulgence as was compatible with his duty."

Sir Henry Taylor's **Autobiography** (Longmans) is the record of a singularly successful official and literary career. Born in Durham in the year 1800, the son of a gentleman farmer, and encouraged in his literary ambition by Gifford and Southey, Henry Taylor came to settle in London in

1823. Here two pieces of good fortune befel him. He obtained suddenly a clerkship in the Colonial Office, and he began to enjoy the intimacy of Hyde Villiers, who introduced him to the remarkable group of young doctrinaires, of whom John Stuart Mill, John Romilly, and Charles Austin were the central figures. Amidst his official labours Sir Henry Taylor found time to write both prose and verse, and his "Philip van Artevelde" brought him, as he frankly tells us, a great increase of reputation. Personal anecdotes and details are abundant in these volumes, and perhaps, of more general interest than the rather superabundant official minutes and reports.

The **Selections from the Letters and Correspondence of Sir J. B. Burges** (Murray), which Mr. J. Hutton has made, throw new light upon the lives of some famous men. Sir James Burges, who was born in the middle of the last century, gradually acquired, by family influence and personal friendships, a seat in Parliament, the Under-Secretaryship for Foreign Affairs, and finally a baronetcy and a pension. There are some amusing anecdotes in the book, especially one giving an account of a discussion between Pitt and Gibbon, in which the veteran historian was worsted and lost his temper, and much gossip about Lord Nelson, the royal family, and other personages and topics. The chief incident in Sir James's political career was his unfortunate attempt to answer Sheridan's memorable speech against Warren Hastings. He undertook it at Pitt's instance, but his failure and Pitt's subsequent vacillation produced a quarrel between the two.

Mr. Leslie Stephen's **Life of Henry Fawcett** (Smith & Elder) gives a vivid sketch of Mr. Fawcett's life as boy and man, until his great misfortune overtook him at the age of twenty-five. Undaunted by his terrible accident, Fawcett determined to "conquer his fate." His residence at Cambridge and friendship with John Stuart Mill led him to devote himself to the study of economics, and obtained for him a professorship in 1863. Mr. Stephen gives a full account of Fawcett's political career; he dwells at length on Fawcett's economic teaching, on his work in behalf of the preservation of commons, and on his constant advocacy of the interests of the natives of India, and concludes with a chapter on Fawcett's work in his capacity as Postmaster-general.

But, from a literary point of view, the most important biography of the year is Mr. Cross's account of **George Eliot's Life** (Blackwood). It has been Mr. Cross's object to enable his wife to speak for herself in a continuous series of extracts and papers. The personal interest of the book centres in the first volume and the last, the intermediate one being merely a book of travels. As we trace in these pages the development of George Eliot's mind, we are struck again and again not only by its intellectual powers, but also by the presence of three essentially womanly attributes—strength of religious feeling, keen sensitiveness, and an emotional nature—which always made her feel the want of someone to lean upon, and which perhaps explains the momentous decision of her life.

The first volume brings before us the religious struggle in her early life, when her rigid Calvinism was broadening into a wider conception of faith. Unlike others who, in losing hold of the dogmas which have been their stand-by, lose all certainty of belief and of happiness, George Eliot, after this great change, began to feel a sense of happiness for the first time. "I can rejoice," she says, "in all the joys of humanity." There is little doubt that this change of views helped to sanction, in her own mind, her

relationship to Lewes, of which Mr. Cross says little. Certainly Lewes's influence upon her writings was, from a literary point of view, often unfortunate. He doubted at first whether she had sufficient dramatic power to write at all. Few authors, indeed, who have begun to produce so late have so signally succeeded. Gradually, as the years went on, and the results, perhaps, of her momentous step began to weigh upon her, the tendency to moralise increased. The changes in English thought produced by the influence of Tyndall, Huxley, and Darwin led her to meditate more and more on ethical and metaphysical subjects. "Disjoined from any perceived good," she writes, speaking of the reconciliation of scientific fact and religious faith, "the divine will is simply so much as we have ascertained of the facts of existence, which compel obedience at our peril."

As the force of these impulses grew in her, the tendency to preach came out more and more. Her "vocation," she felt, was to preach to her fellow-men, to rouse them to see beforehand how much the destiny of the world depends on the unconsidered consequences of their evil deeds. Thus George Eliot had a high conception of her duty. "My function is that of the æsthetic, not the doctrinal teacher—the rousing of the nobler emotions . . ." Perhaps in these volumes we miss the personal details, the humour and the anecdotes, which would have lent relief to the weight of meditations. Certainly it is a serious and sombre book, but on that account, it may be, it portrays all the more truly a life that was always under the shadow of a cloud.

Mr. Mark Pattison, although reserving for a later generation the choicest portions of his recollections, gives in his *Memoirs* (Macmillan) an interesting sketch of his life. We are told how Mark Pattison came up to Oriel a raw country boy, with uncouth ways enough and an intense desire for knowledge. There he fell, of course, under the influence which Newman then exercised over the most brilliant of Oxford colleges. Failing to secure an Oriel fellowship—a keen disappointment to the ambitious student—Pattison settled in small lodgings in St. Aldates', and devoted himself to the study of the Fathers. It is strange to think that it was only his unexpected election to a fellowship at Lincoln which saved him from following Newman into the Roman Church, and which thus enabled him in later days to become one of the most learned and wide-minded leaders of the liberal reaction in Oxford.

Mr. Saintsbury and Mr. Grant Allen have each contributed small biographies to the new series of English Worthies (Longmans). Mr. Grant Allen's sketch of the life of *Darwin* begins with a brief review of the condition of scientific thought in "the world into which, early in the present century, Charles Darwin found himself born." Passing rapidly over his hero's early days, not without a passing sneer at the Cambridge system whose honours Darwin despised, the author goes on to relate the narrative of the five years' cruise in the *Beagle*, which proved such an epoch in the great naturalist's career. After the return from those years of wandering, there followed over twenty years of quiet study, broken only by the publication of the story of the *Beagle's* voyage, and by certain subsidiary writings. But at last, in 1859, this period of incubation came to an end, and the scientific world was startled by the appearance of the "Origin of Species." Already the germ of that celebrated theory had been submitted to Hooker in 1844, and a few extracts from Darwin's manuscripts had been

published, side by side with Wallace's papers in 1858. But the appearance of the "Origin of Species" was no less a surprise, and in a short time it took the discriminating public by storm. Of the revolution which it produced, and of the opposition it evoked among the general public, Mr. Grant Allen gives a vivid account, and he goes on to speak with the same enthusiastic appreciation of the later works of the great biologist, of the "Descent of Man," and of the botanical papers that followed. The little book ends with an estimate of Darwin's labours, and of the growth and triumph of the theory with which his name is now bound up.

Mr. Saintsbury's account of **Marlborough** is of very different interest. It has been the author's endeavour to deal more fully than has hitherto been done with the less-known incidents of Marlborough's life, with his early days, with his political tergiversations, and especially with the treachery which produced the English failure at Brest. But, in spite of his endeavour, Mr. Saintsbury is inevitably carried away, and forced to dwell on the brilliant and famous period of the duke's life, by which he will always be best remembered. On the whole, Mr. Saintsbury inclines to the defence of his hero. He admits his treachery at Brest, his shameless desertion of James, and his more shameless duplicity towards William. But Mr. Saintsbury's argument throughout is that Marlborough was no worse than his contemporaries, that the standard of the time was very low, and that by that standard he must be judged. His avarice is not so black as it has been painted. His religion was beyond a doubt sincere. Altogether, although Mr. Saintsbury rather goes out of his way to attack Macaulay and the Whig school of writers, it must be admitted that his criticism is impartial, and probably correct. The book is sketchy, and hardly pretends to be of lasting value.

The **Life of Frank Buckland** (Smith & Elder) is a pleasant account, full of fun, humour, anecdote and reminiscence of an unconventional enthusiast. Mr. Buckland was less a scientific man in the strict sense than a bright lecturer and writer on scientific subjects. The most valuable part of his work is contained in the reports on our fisheries drawn up for the Home Office. But it is as the genial and popular exponent of his wide knowledge that he will be best remembered, and that he stands out in these pages. Another sketch of a brilliant writer is given by Mr. Sendall in the memoir included in the **Literary Remains of C. S. Calverley** (Bell). The interest of the volume centres less in the poems and short papers which it contains than in the sketches of Calverley's Harrow and Cambridge life, contributed by Dr. Butler, Professor Seeley, and Mr. Besant. The irregular brilliancy of his school and college days, the sad accident of 1866, which closed to him all hopes of professional success, his singular power of concentrated work, his mastery of verse, and his love of form and finish—these things are all told as feelingly and gracefully as Calverley would have told them himself.

The second instalment of **The Greville Memoirs** (Longmans) deals with the period from 1837 to 1852. The three volumes open with the early days of the new reign, and Greville speaks in very high terms of the conduct of the young Queen. His post as Clerk to the Privy Council enabled him to see much of the royal circle, and he tells many anecdotes of Lord Melbourne's intimacy at Court, and of the grave bedchamber difficulty for which that intimacy was largely responsible. The political events also of these years are well illustrated, notably, the Corn Law agitation and the

relations of England and France in 1848. More interesting still are the sketches given of Lord Melbourne, Peel, Wellington, Lord Cavendish Bentinck, and Macaulay, and the half-cynical comments on the doings of society and its personages—on the motley gatherings at Lady Blessington's, and the wide hospitality of Holland House.

Turning from the present to the past, we notice among the biographies of the year those of two men who, wholly differing in their religious views, were alike animated by a high sense of duty—**Charles Leslie**, the nonjuring divine of the time of Queen Anne, and **Father Thomas Burke**, the Irish Dominican. Both were Irishmen, who began life with apparently little enthusiasm for their creeds, of whom one was to suffer banishment, and the other to spend his life and health in spiritualising the hearts and daily lives of his countrymen. The life of the former by his descendant, the Rev. R. J. Leslie (Rivingtons), is wanting in that sympathetic admiration which runs through Mr. W. J. Fitzpatrick's life of the great Dominican (Kegan Paul); but in the days of good Queen Anne enthusiasm for the wider objects of religion was not in vogue. Men were more ready to suffer martyrdom for party or sect shibboleth than to give up ease, and health, and life for their fellow-creatures. It is their complete self-renunciation through many rough years of trial and disappointment which renders the narrative of Father Tom Burke's career so fascinating. His indomitable energy was only equalled by his imperturbable serenity in the midst of disappointments, and, apart from the interest which his personal career excites, we have in these volumes a very remarkable insight into the part played by the Irish priesthood in recent political history. An Irish patriot beyond suspicion, Father Burke was not afraid to provoke popular enmity by denouncing the crimes which the nationalist movement had indirectly provoked.

Sir Robert Christison's Autobiography (Blackwood), which forms the first part of the life upon which his sons are engaged, carries us back to the early years of this century, when in Edinburgh were brought together some of the foremost men of science and letters of the generation. At the high school, at the university, and at the infirmary, Robert Christison was thrown in close relations with men who were afterwards to make for themselves niches in the temple of Fame, and his reminiscences of his associates, always pleasant and good-natured, show them and him in a pleasing light. His medical studies at Paris brought him in contact with Larrey, Broussais, Thénard, and a host of others whose names are now household words; and we are able to guess from Christison's career how it was that the school of Scotch medicine, shaking off all insular prejudices, attained the eminence which it enjoyed during so many years.

Mr. Andrew Tuer's **Life of Bartolozzi** (Tuer & Field) is the sober rehabilitation of an artist whose work is perhaps at this moment being as much over-estimated as it has been for many years unduly neglected. A Florentine by birth, Bartolozzi learnt the elements of his art under a German engraver, Wagner, living in Venice; but he seems to have made but little progress to fame or independence. At the age of seven and thirty he came to London, and from that time made this country his home. His life here, his style, and the history of his work form the staple of Mr. Tuer's elegant volume, which will in future be regarded as the only authoritative account of Bartolozzi and his work. Mr. Welsh's **Bookseller of the Last Century** (Griffith, Farran, & Co.) is the history of the publishing firm of

Newbery, in St. Paul's Churchyard. A pleasantly written volume of family gossip, throwing many side lights on the literary history of the last century, its chief interest lies in the complete disproval it affords of the romantic story of Dr. Johnson's opportune arrival at Goldsmith's lodgings, and his carrying off the manuscript of the Vicar of Wakefield, after appeasing the author's landlady.

Dr. Abbott has written a detailed biography of **Francis Bacon** (Macmillan). Of course, since Spedding's monumental work, there is little room for research as to the facts of Bacon's life. But Dr. Abbott is an admirable commentator on them. He has endeavoured to harmonise, as far as may be, the inconsistencies and obliquities of Bacon's career with the many elements of greatness in his character. Bacon was brought up as a rigid Puritan, but of course he could not avoid the demoralising Court influences to which he was exposed. Some points in his life will always be a mystery—his conduct to the Earl of Essex, and the corruptibility which has cast, perhaps, an undue shadow on his fame. Dr. Abbott can appreciate his hero's faults as well as his virtues. The biography is the main feature of the book, but some of the concluding chapters are devoted to Bacon's writings.

A very different type of philosopher has met with an able critic in Professor Caird. **The Social Philosophy and Religion of Comte** (Maclehose) offers a valuable account of a form of creed of which perhaps the fetishes are better known than the philosophy. The standpoint from which Comte set out was natural enough. He started with an attack on the metaphysicians and agnostics of his day, and especially on the Sensationalist school, which, taking the individual mind as a definite object, contended that all knowledge was relative to individual consciousness. Against this Comte revolted. "The true human point of view," he held, is not individual, but social. Hence society, in its widest sense, must be the starting-point of social philosophy.

Professor Caird is more than an exponent. He goes on to argue that Comte's system is an unsatisfactory compromise. The new "relative religion is not a religion at all." Comte never worked out the development of the principles which he used to overthrow the Sensationalist school. One only regrets that Professor Caird has stopped where he has, and has not gone on to discuss at more length the import of the principles which Comte set forth.

But the most valuable criticism of speculative thought which has appeared this year is Dr. Martineau's **Types of Ethical Theory** (Clarendon Press). The author attempts to give a history of the development of ethical philosophy by selecting certain representative thinkers. Plato, Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza, and Comte are chosen to represent the unpsychological theories which are the developments of ancient thought, and which, like it, approach ethical problems from without, looking either to God or to Nature for the origin of the moral instinct. These theories and their discussion, with vivid sketches of Malebranche and Comte, occupy the first part of Dr. Martineau's book.

But in the second volume he goes on to treat of the psychological types of theory, which seek the explanation within the human mind. Cudworth and Clarke, Shaftesbury and Hutcheson—thinkers whose influence has now but little bearing upon modern thought—are taken to represent those who trace ethical maxims to considerations of pleasure, reason, or beauty, while

Kant is the strongest exponent of the other view, which Dr. Martineau terms "idio-psychological."

It is in dealing with idio-psychological ethics that Dr. Martineau presents his own position. He has aimed at making out for the intuitionist theory as strong a case as possible, and he states with definiteness and conciseness the fundamental maxim of his system of ethics. "Every action is right which, in presence of a lower principle, follows a higher; every action is wrong which, in presence of a higher principle, follows a lower." Hence it results that men must be able to assign a definite rank to all the motives of their actions, and Dr. Martineau accordingly goes at length into a classification of all the springs of action. In this volume we have perhaps the fullest analysis extant of the moral truths of the intuitional position, and of the mental processes whereby they are attained. The rest of the book is occupied with the development of this position, as against Utilitarianism, both in its original form and in the modifications of it introduced by the evolutionists. Dr. Martineau criticises at some length the ethical position of Mr. Herbert Spencer.

It is perhaps a little unfortunate that, among the many famous men whom she has given to the world, Harrow should have found none to chronicle her history before Mr. Percy Thornton published his account of **Harrow School and its Surroundings** (Allen). There is no lack in this volume of antiquarian conjecture as to the prehistoric origins of Harrow School; but the general public will be content to know that John Lyon obtained his charter of foundation from Queen Elizabeth in 1571. From that time forward the new school thrived steadily as the years went by, in spite of extraordinary fluctuations in her numbers, and in spite of some periods of calamitous rule. Once, it is true, towards the end of the last century, the memorable secession of Parr to Stanmore, to avoid the fear of Eton influences, threatened to deal a heavy blow at the prosperity of Harrow. Again, in 1844, when Dr. Vaughan entered on his career as headmaster, the numbers were as low as seventy. But now, to-day, when after all these vicissitudes, Dr. Butler has committed the school to the keeping of his successor, her numbers and her name perhaps stand higher than they ever stood before.

Of the great rulers of Harrow whose names have passed into traditions—of Thackeray, the second founder of the school, of Sumner, of Vaughan, and of Dr. H. M. Butler—Mr. Thornton gives sketches which might well be longer than they are. Of Harrow cricket, and its heroics and celebrities, and of some of the "Harrow families," he tells us more than enough. Perhaps, too, Mr. Thornton might have suffered the ghost of Byron to slumber in his grave. Mr. Thornton is not wanting in zeal, or enthusiasm, or information. But one cannot help feeling that something more than enthusiasm and zeal are needed to write the chronicle of a great school. Such a task would be a labour of love to many who would yet hesitate to undertake a labour for which they were qualified by love alone.

Greater London (Cassell) is a companion work to that on "Old and New London," which has already appeared. Mr. Walford takes us round about the capital, dipping here and there into what is still the country, and enlivening our journey with many little bits of history and of gossip, and many glimpses of bygone personages and bygone days. Starting from Chiswick, we visit the villages about the Thames, striking inland to Stanwell and Barnet, then east to Theobalds and Epping, and down to the river at

Barking Creek. Thence we set out again. We are taken to Woolwich, to Croydon and the Surrey villages, to Kingston, Richmond, Wimbledon, and Tooting. The illustrations of these and other places are one of the best features in the book.

Mr. Rye, too, takes us wandering to many places in his **History of Norfolk** (Stock). But Mr. Rye is by no means a guide alone. The great mass of facts and of miscellaneous information which he has gathered together only enable him to be the more lively and graphic. The first section, headed "Norfolk before the Romans," deals chiefly with antiquarian subjects. Mr. Rye goes on to the Norman Conquest, and dwells on the castle-building that followed it. One weak chapter on "The Monks and Friars" is the only serious blemish in the volume; but all the rest, whether historical—such as those parts which deal with the slaughter of the Jews, with Wat Tyler's and Kett's rebellions, with Norfolk under Elizabeth, and with later history; or social and descriptive, such as the chapters on "Old Peasant Life," and on the "Broads and Marshes"—are as bright and pleasant reading as one can desire.

Mr. H. M. Stanley is the most enterprising and intrepid of explorers, and his works are among the most interesting of books of travel. **The Congo and the Founding of its Free State** (Sampson Low) is Mr. Stanley's greatest work, and certainly its author deserves high praise for the steady perseverance with which he has carried through his difficult scheme. The advance of the expedition up the river was virtually a triumphal procession. The natives, who were treated with much judgment, showed no hostility. Mr. Stanley's own vigour and high capacity contrast rather markedly with the inefficiency of his European lieutenants. But in spite of all difficulties the author is very hopeful of the future of the Congo State, and of the commercial capabilities of the Congo basin. One obstacle to be overcome is the opposition of the slave-trading interest. Another is the climate. But happily Mr. Stanley considers that the dangers and fatality of the latter are very much over-rated. Another explorer in far-off and little-known countries is Mr. H. O. Forbes. His **Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago** (Sampson Low), although following in part the footsteps of Mr. Wallace, led the intrepid author to many islands vaguely known by name only, and in this way only to a few. Sumatra, the Cocos-Keeling Islands, and Timor Lant were the chief scenes of Mr. Forbes' explorations, and the story which he tells of his adventures and escapes shows that the race of discoverers for which our country was once celebrated is not yet extinct.

The year has produced three books dealing with the fortunes and the condition of the great empire whose interests lately so nearly clashed with ours. Mr. Hare's **Studies in Russia** (Smith & Elder) profess to be no more than "a gathering up of such information as its author has been able to obtain from the lips or writings of those better informed than himself." The illustrations are from Mr. Hare's own sketches "taken upon the spot, under the fear, almost the certainty, of arrest and sometimes of imprisonment." The ignorance and jealousy of the Russian police are more than sufficiently attested by the hardships the author had to undergo. Mr. Hare speaks depreciatingly of St. Petersburg, of Moscow, and indeed of all Russian scenery until his arrival at Kief. He comments as harshly on Russian manners and morals. But he fully appreciates the value of the monuments,

sanctuaries, and art treasures which he visited, and the accounts he gives of them are perhaps the most interesting parts of his book.

Mr. Noble's book on **The Russian Revolt** (Longmans) is full of information upon certain phases of the life and thought of a country of which we know too little. Mr. Noble begins by considering at great length the influence which circumstances of history, of climate, and of scenery have exercised upon the character of the people. To the period of Tartar domination, and to the deadening effects of a monotonous landscape, he attributes the low dead level of the Russian mind, and to the Tartars he traces many of the peculiarities of Russian custom. Perhaps Mr. Noble occasionally roams into fields of over-subtle speculation, but, however that may be, his chapters on "Old Russian Life," on "Byzantinism," and on "Domestic Slavery" are excellent both from a literary and an historical standpoint.

The aim of the book is of course to exhibit in a truer light than heretofore] the growth of Russian Nihilism. With some of the heroes of the movement the author is personally acquainted, and his personal knowledge adds brightness to his descriptions. His account of Chernishevsky, the leader of the movement, and the sketches he gives of the assassins of the late Czar, are as graphic as they are full of wonder to the reader. The three chapters entitled "The Dynamic Period," "Personal Characteristics," and "Modern Irritations" are the kernel of Mr. Noble's work, and as one reads them one cannot help feeling strongly the evils of a system of government which forces into violent and unjustifiable courses the enthusiasm and patriotism which cannot manifest themselves without offending against the law.

Another valuable portion of this book is the collection of documents which the author has translated, and which throws no little light on the picture he draws. One of them is a report made to the Minister of Justice by a Government official who was sent to Orenburg to investigate the prisons. After its publication its author was dismissed, and the journal which printed it suppressed. "During my four months' inquiry," writes this Government reporter, "it was revealed to me how our judges trample the laws under foot, how cynical and wanton is the behaviour of our police. . . . I liberated innocent persons who had been kept in prison by the executive for several years after they had been acquitted in open court. . . . Words fail me to describe the impressions made upon me by my first visit to the State prisons. Hundreds of human beings find a premature grave in these loathsome dens. They die lingering deaths therein, or emerge from them crippled for life."

On the other hand, in Dr. Lansdell's **Russian Central Asia** (S. Low) we have a sturdy defence of the Russian Government and an account of Russian prisons, which is in strong contrast to the one just quoted. But then Dr. Lansdell saw only such parts as the officials pleased. But this is only incidental. The value of these two ponderous volumes lies in the admirable account which they contain of Kuldja, Bokhara, and Khiva. Dr. Lansdell left London in June 1882. At St. Petersburg he obtained credentials from the Russian Government, and travelled on to Perm in July. Here he was arrested for distributing tracts, but he obtained his release and went on, with coffers of Bibles, to Orusk, Kuldja, Tashkend, Khokand, and Samarkand. Here he was very well treated by the Russian officers, and hence he journeyed on to Bokhara (where he visited the Emir), and to

Khiva; but Merv he was unable to reach. Altogether Dr. Lansdell was absent from England 179 days, and traversed 12,000 miles, often encountering hardships, and constantly sleeping in his clothes at night. The book is full of bright anecdotes and of fresh information, dealing with strange events and unknown lands.

A valuable new book supplies the want of English information on the subject of Madagascar. Mr. Shaw, who for fourteen years has been connected with the island as a missionary, gives us a fair and impartial account of the country in his volume upon **Madagascar and France** (Religious Tract Society). Beginning with a sketch of the geographical and physical features of the island, Mr. Shaw describes the state of Malagasy civilisation, and then examines into the origin of the people. The Mazimba, he decides, may have been "a collective name for several East African tribes, . . . and from this common stock the original inhabitants of Madagascar—the Vazimba—were an offshoot. But these aborigines died out before incursions from the East, and the present tribes resemble either the Western Polynesians or the eastern islanders of the Pacific.

In his account of the early French attempts at colonisation, Mr. Shaw relies largely on the "Mémoires" of Benyowski, whom, instead of an impostor, he regards as "the only man who ever gave promise of ability to organise and govern a French colony in Madagascar." He recalls the slave-trade kept up by the French in the eighteenth century, and gradually traces the history of the French possessions in African waters down to modern times. Naturally the parts of this work which are of more immediate interest are those which deal with recent French exploits in Madagascar. Mr. Shaw often acted as interpreter to the British Consulate and to the Hova Government, and his narrative of the events which led to his arrest, and of the attitude of the French authorities, is both clear and dispassionate. An account of the French occupation and a review of the political and religious condition of the Malagasy bring us toward the end of the volume; and Mr. Shaw closes his book with a description of the fauna and flora of the island, on which from personal knowledge and observation he is well able to speak. The outline map, the illustrations, and the appendix are as valuable as the rest of the work.

In March 1884 Mr. Johnston left London to undertake the command of an expedition which the Royal Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science had decided to send out to examine the fauna and flora of the Kilimanjaro district. Mr. Johnston and his party resolved to proceed from Zanzibar to the seaport of Mombasa, and thence to set out across the desert direct for the slopes of Kilimanjaro. The record of their journey is given in the interesting volume which Mr. Johnston has named **The Kilimanjaro Expedition** (Kegan Paul). After a journey of much hardship, Mr. Johnston's party at last reached the district of Mosi, where he was received in a friendly manner by the famous chief Mandara, of whose character he gives a vivid sketch. Here, on Kilimanjaro, at a short distance from Mandara's capital, he obtained leave to make a settlement, and here he and his followers lived for four months in comfort. Mr. Johnston was able to carry on his exploration and examination of the district, and, although at times in danger from the doubtful temper of Mandara, he and his party passed a very pleasant time. After four months, however, they left Mandara's dominions, and moved to Maranu, where for some weeks they formed another settlement, and thence at last, after two ascents of Kilimanjaro,

and many strange but on the whole not unpleasant experiences, Mr. Johnston led his party south by Lake Tipe and Gonja, and back to Pangani and the seacoast. The book is full of anecdote and illustrated well throughout, and at the end there is much valuable information on the geology, botany, anthropology, and languages of the country.

But in the Kilimanjaro district Mr. Johnston had recently a predecessor in the person of Mr. Thomson, who tells the story of his journey **Through Masai Land** (S. Low) from Kilimanjaro to the shores of Victoria Nyanza. He is the first European who has traversed a country hitherto crossed only by numerous and well-armed caravans. The chief physical feature of the country, besides the great mountains of Kenia and Kilimanjaro, is a broken sand plain, shut in by lofty precipices of black lava. The giraffe, the "wildebeest," the zebra, and the hyæna share with the lion this desolate region, and hippopotami abound in the fresh water of Lake Naivasha, which occupies the highest part of the depression. Round the lake stand several extinct volcanoes, and at the south end of the plain, where it falls to a shallow soda marsh, there rises the Doenyo Ngai, the active volcano of the district, and the holy mountain in whose mysterious rumblings the Masai hear the voice of God.

But the plateau which bounds this arid wilderness is very different. It "extends out in billowy, swelling reaches . . . characterised by everything that makes a pleasant landscape." Here dwell the tribes among whom the Masai are the most conspicuous, with their dozen clans and numerous minor tribes under their elected chiefs, all owing obedience to the head of the nation, who dwells in Kisongo. Mr. Thomson's account of the pastoral lives of the Masai, and of their customs and beliefs, is in many ways curious and interesting. But while the Masai remain a pastoral people, the Wakuafi, a neighbouring tribe, have turned agriculturists, and their homes have "become centres of trade, where men's lives and goods are safe." A yet further stage of development has been reached by the people of Kavirondo, who, unlike the others, are negroes, and dwell in well-defended villages, and number smiths and iron-smelters among them.

Another account of a little-known people is given by Mr. Colquhoun in his work entitled **Amongst the Shans** (Field & Tuer). The value of the book is increased by the historical sketch of the Shans, and by the chapter on the cradle of the race, contributed respectively by Mr. Hallett and Professor Terrien de Lacouperie. Mr. Colquhoun tells the tale of his journeys from Bangkok to Kiangtung, and from Pahpoon to Zimme, and describes vividly the features of the country and the customs of the people.

China was a thickly populated country before the Chinese entered it. The chief native State which resisted their advance was Tsu, which only broke up on the establishment of the Chinese Empire. Thence the tribes, driven southwards, settled on the south frontier of the new State under the name of Shans, and there they remain to this day, holding the highway between South-west China and Siam, and profiting largely by the commercial development of their country. The book is full of information as to the habits of the Shans and their neighbours. Among the latter are the Laet-Ntas, who combine a weak intelligence with a strangely high standard of honour and morality. To them the Shans are physically and commercially far superior. But the social condition of the Shans is low, and the influence of the priests and their degenerate Buddhism is the reverse of elevating upon the people.

A new volume of poems by the Laureate heads the poetry of the year. **Tiresias** (Macmillan), which gives its name to the book, represents the old blind seer telling to Menaceus the tale of his own misfortune, and urging him to sacrifice his life for his country :—

“ My son, the gods, despite of human prayer,
Are slower to forgive than human kings.”

So speaks Tiresias, and he entreats Menaceus to avert the anger of the gods by giving his life freely, so that in after days he may be one of those whose

“ . . . names,
Graven on memorial columns, are a song
Heard in the future . . . ”

And Menaceus, listening, steals away. The seer has not pleaded in vain. In two lines the poet tells the hero's character and the story of his sacrifice :—

“ This useless hand !
I felt one warm tear fall upon it. Gone !
He will achieve his greatness.”

“ **Balin and Balan** ” is a new idyll, intended to serve as introduction to **Merlin and Vivien**, and full of the melody and tenderness of the series which it completes. In the two poems entitled “ **The Wreck** ” and “ **The Flight**,” Lord Tennyson has given us two novelettes in verse, which, though full of power and rhythm, yet seem to us to lack richness. On the other hand, in the two speculative poems entitled “ **Despair** ” and “ **The Ancient Sage** ” we have some of the finest work in this volume. The argument of **Despair** runs as follows :—“ A man and his wife, having lost faith in a God, and hope of a life to come, and being utterly miserable in this, resolve to end themselves by drowning. The woman is drowned, but the man rescued by a minister of the sect he had abandoned.” The pessimist turns upon the chapel-preacher, his deliverer, and upbraids him in powerful lines:—

“ See, we were nursed in the drear nightfold of your fatalist creed,
And we turned to the growing dawn, we had hoped for a dawn indeed,
When the light of a Sun that was coming would scatter the ghosts of the
Past,
And the cramping creeds that had madden'd the peoples would vanish at
last,
And we broke away from the Christ, our human brother and friend,
For he spoke, or it seemed that he spoke, of a Hell without help, without
end.”

In contrast to this is the lofty dignity of tone which rings through “ **The Ancient Sage**.” The latter, a dialogue based on the aphorism of Laoutze — “ the name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name ” — is pervaded by something of the Oriental spirit, and is undoubtedly the most striking poem in the book. A sage wanders out far from the city. He is followed by a disciple, who gives him a scroll of poems to read. The sage takes them and reads them, and then answers them piece by piece, arguing in noble eloquence against the pessimism of his disciple. The lines beginning—

“ Thou canst not prove the Nameless, O my son ! ”—

are very beautiful ; and not less so are these, which follow a little later, and which the sage reads out from the poet's roll :—

“ But vain the tears for darkened years
 As laughter over wine,
 And vain the laughter as the tears,
 O brother, mine or thine.
 For all that laugh, and all that weep,
 And all that breathe are one
 Slight ripple on the boundless deep
 That moves, and all is gone.”

And the sage answers :—

“ But that one ripple on the boundless deep
 Feels that the deep is boundless, and itself
 For ever changing form, but evermore
 One with the boundless motion of the deep.”

The poem ends in the same strain—that of self-dominance and of resignation to Fate.

“ Let be thy wail and help thy fellow-men . . . ”
 “ And lay thine uphill shoulder to the wheel
 And climb the Mount of Blessing.”

The rest of the volume is made up of minor poems, but conspicuous amongst them is the touching Irish ballad called “To-morrow,” and the other dialect-poem, the humorous picture of “The Spinster's Sweet-arts.” The “Charge of the Heavy Brigade” is perhaps scarcely so successful, but there are some fine lines upon General Gordon and to the Duke of Argyll, and certainly of late years Lord Tennyson has written few poems more rolling and melodious than the memorial verses upon Virgil, the “wielder of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of man.”

At the Sign of the Lyre (Kegan Paul) is a charming volume, containing, as Mr. Austin Dobson tells us, together with “Old World Idylls,” all those pieces which “at present he desires to preserve.”

“ At the Sign of the Lyre,
 Good folk, we present you
 With the pick of our quire—
 And we hope to content you ! ”

So runs the preface, and throughout Mr. Dobson's verses have the simplicity, the freshness, and the clear, classical ring, which makes them second to few modern verses for daintiness and grace. Of course all the poems do not rise to the same level. “Dora *versus* Rose,” “The Tale of Polypheme,” “The Last Despatch,” and some others are scarcely in the poet's happiest vein. But on the other hand there is abundance to tempt us. The verses “To an Intrusive Butterfly” are perfect with their simple carefully-chosen language. The “Memorial Verses” to Fielding, the elegy on Gordon, the “Lines to a Stupid Picture” are all little masterpieces in their unambitious style, and one other, called “A Garden Song,” recalls the Latin garden-grots which Horace sung.

Mr. R. L. Stevenson's first venture in verse—**A Child's Garden of Verses** (Longmans)—is as full of delicate fancy, of feeling, and of freshness as his prose writings. The poems are full of the happy dreams and of the

fancy-weaving solitariness of childhood, full of the singular power which children have of surrounding the little things of life with a bright romance of their own making. The titles of the poems are expressive. "The Land of Story-books" and "The Land of Counterpane" are the fairy-lands of which Mr. Stevenson tells the wonders in simple, charming verse.

In the little volume which he has called **At the Gate of the Convent** (Macmillan) Mr. Alfred Austin comes forward to chant the praises of the spring. In the graceful poem called a "Defence of Spring" Mr. Austin paints a delicious spring-day, such as we too rarely see in England, when the woods and lanes are bright with blowing flowers and April suns. The "Farewell to Spring" is another delightful poem. The poet chides the season for departing, and Spring answers pleadingly that she must go soon, to keep her lovers' love, or else they would quickly find their "love made fickle by monotony of May."

The poem which gives its name to the volume is also largely occupied with thoughts of Spring. At the gate of the convent, where the poet has been lodging, the prior talks with them of his life, mingling warnings and counsels with his talk. And all the while the air is full of birds and blossoms, and the poet can only listen to the voices of the Spring. So also in the poem called "Dead!" there is a flaw which it is easier to feel than to criticise. But, on the other hand, some of the sonnets are very charming, while in the beautiful stanzas of the "Hymn to Death" Mr. Austin rises perhaps to his highest level, especially in the melodious lines in which, though not fearing to die, he yet cannot help regretting the joyous life that must be left behind, and grieving—

" That time and life will be, but I shall ne'er
Find little feet upon the stair,
Feel little arms about my throat,
Hear little gleeful voices float
Upon the wavelets of the summer air.
That I again shall never share
The peace that lies upon an English lawn,
Watch the last lingering planet shining fair
Upon the unwrinkled forehead of the dawn.
Never, never, never more,
When fate or fancy bids me roam
Lessen with loving thoughts the last long mile
That leads unto my home."

Mr. Wills's **Melchior** (Macmillan) is a psychological study, often powerful, and in rhythm often melodious, in the form of a narrative poem. Melchior, an aspiring musician, saves from drowning a beautiful girl. Blanca, as she is named, is nursed in the illness which follows by Roman Catholic sisters, and is only induced to leave the convent by the hope of saving Melchior from the melancholy gloom into which he has fallen. The latter, however, depressed by morbid hallucinations, and driven to despair by the utter hopelessness of his love for Blanca, and by a report of her death which reaches him, becomes a prey to insanity, and when Blanca is suddenly brought face to face with him again he seizes a pistol and shoots her in his frenzy. As she dies, Blanca confesses her love for him, and promises that her spirit shall return to comfort him, and thenceforth, in his madness, a deep happiness comes over Melchior. His magnificent music brings him fame and

honour, but he lives only in the hope of Blanca's return; and one day, while sitting at his clavichord, rapt in thoughts of his lost love, he falls down dead among his friends as the great clock strikes the hour of noon.

Nobody will deny that Lord Lytton has produced a remarkable work. **Glenaveril; or, the Metamorphoses** (Murray) is a narrative poem in six books of the *ottava rima*, full of brilliant dialogue, of political portraiture, of economical and ethical theories, and of scientific principles. It seems to comprehend in fluent verse the miscellaneous information of a lifetime. The aim of the poem is to illustrate the phenomenal activity of the great law of heredity, which Lord Lytton emphasises throughout, and notably in one or two stanzas :—

“ Succession is the law that regulates
Life's course, through every channel great or small.”

And again :—

“ Each is his own successor day by day ;
The day that's come is by the day that's past
Determined. Dream of freedom as we may,
This law remains inexorable. Caste
Was on its permanence based . . . ”

The plot is far from simple. Glenaveril and Emanuel, one by birth a German peasant, the other an English peer, are accidentally exchanged at birth. In after-life they become fast friends, perhaps because each bears an unaccountable likeness to the other's parents. Then a young American lady, by name Cordelia, comes across the Atlantic with a vast fortune—being the daughter of a German emigrant, whose life has been blighted by an unfortunate attachment to Glenaveril's mother. Heredity causes Cordelia and Glenaveril to fall in love with each other at first sight, although Cordelia has come with the avowed intention of falling in love with Emanuel. To hasten the course of this true love, Glenaveril personates Emanuel, thus unconsciously personating himself. Here the metamorphoses become alarmingly complicated, for, to make matters worse, Emanuel, in the disguise of his own real self, is killed in an incidental Alpine tour, and buried, by mistake, under his own name, as Lord Glenaveril—heredity again conquering circumstances! The other Glenaveril thus loses his title and fortune, but he consoles himself with Cordelia and the establishment of a new State on Conservative-Communitistic principles in the Far West. Happily Cordelia has wealth enough for all, or else the boundless generosity with which properties and titles are sacrificed—and which, on Lord Lytton's principle of heredity, presupposes astonishing disinterestedness in the ancestors of his characters—might lead one to anticipate bankruptcy for Glenaveril's singular enterprise.

The poem contains some clever portraits, notably, those of Edelrath, Glenaveril's tutor (who, learned man, had studied Comte and Zoroaster as well as Rameses the Great and Victor Hugo), of Johann Eckermann, and of Martha Müller, Emanuel's aunt; and the abundance of subjects illustrated—Democracy and the Alps, Land-Nationalisation and the House of Lords, Buddhism and the Black Forest—should provide ample interest for every class of readers.

In his tragedy of **Marino Faliero** (Chatto & Windus) Mr. Swinburne has tried, what Byron tried and failed to do, to build up a noble drama on the startling episode in Venetian history which has immortalised Faliero's

name. The Doge, an octogenarian hero, just returned from the wars, has married a young and beautiful wife. Conscious of his own vigour and youthfulness, he does not think of the incongruity of age, at which scandalous tongues in Venice delight to scoff. Suddenly he is awakened from his dream of happiness by a flagrant insult offered to him and his wife by Steno, a young nobleman, and he begins to understand what evil tongues are saying. Steno is tried by the Senate for his offence, and is sentenced to a punishment ridiculously light. The scene where the news of this sentence is brought by Bertuccio to the Doge is one of the finest in the play. Faliero at first refuses to believe the message, and then, overwhelmed by this new insult, determines on revenge. But here Mr. Swinburne imports new motives and a new interest into the bald chronicle of events. The terrible revenge which Faliero plots with the help of the plebeians—the assassination of the oligarchy of which he is the head—is depicted by the poet as arising as much out of love for his country as out of personal vindictiveness.

Again, Mr. Swinburne owes some of his most beautiful scenes to another element which he has introduced—the love of Bertuccio for the Duchess. The dialogue between these pure-minded lovers contains some of the noblest and most touching lines in the play :—

Duch. “Nay, for yet you never kissed my lips.
That day the truth sprang forth from thine, I swore
It should not bring my soul and thine to shame.
And thou, too, didst not thou, for every love,
Swear it?”

Bert. “And stands mine oath not whole?”

Duch. “Give God
Honour, who hath kept us in our honour fast.
Whatever come between our death and this,
For that I thank Him.”

But the plot fails. Lioni, a young patrician, whose character is drawn with masterly skill, discloses the conspiracy to one of the doomed Senators. The Doge and his accomplices are seized and executed. But Faliero's belief in the high motive which inspired him is never lost sight of. He is always the patriot rather than the conspirator. His prophecy of the distant days when Venice shall rise again to freedom and to greatness is full of magnificent lines. And his foreshadowing of the coming of Mazzini, “one more pure of passion, one more strong,” contains some of the noblest verses in a noble tragedy :—

“Men that hear
His name far off shall yearn at heart, and thank
God that they hear and live.”

Miss Jean Ingelow's new **Poems** (Longmans) are full of charming things, but one misses the lyrics and ballads which she knows so well how to write. “Rosamund,” to which the place of honour is assigned, is a long narrative poem, telling how an English father, in the stress of the Spanish wars, was forced to give his daughter in marriage to one of his hated foes. “The Sleep of Sigismund” is another poem of the same nature. A king sells to a witch his power to sleep, in return for worldly triumphs, and then, wearying of his bargain, breaks it, and has to suffer numberless disasters. Finally, however, he comes home happily and rules over his kingdom with honour again. The “Story of Doom” also includes many fine passages of verse.

But Miss Ingelow is, as ever, most charming in her descriptions of nature, as when she writes of the lime trees "heeling over" to the river-pools, or when, returning to her old love again, she tells the tale of the children dwelling by the "steel-blue sea" beneath the "pilot stars."

Mr. Symonds' new volume is full of originality. **Wine, Women, and Song** (Chatto & Windus) is no mere series of Anacreontic sonnets, but a graceful criticism of the Latin songs of the twelfth century. Mr. Symonds has gone to new fields of German erudition to find the materials for his book, and the results are some admirable essays on the development of popular Latin poetry in the early Middle Age, and on the ways and thoughts of the mediæval students, whose views on love and life it illustrates. But the most attractive parts of this little volume are the translations of the songs with which the essays are interspersed. Mr. Symonds is a master of smooth and charming verse, and in his translations he has faithfully produced (at times, it may be thought, a little too faithfully) the tone and expression of the poems. Only we cannot help feeling that the translations often have a grace and melody, which the Latin originals scarcely possess. Here is one of Mr. Symonds' renderings, and surely it justifies such a criticism :—

"Floreat omnes arbores ;
dulce canunt volucres ;
revirescunt frutices
congaudete, juvenes !

Mœror abit squalidus ;
amor adit calidus ;
superat velocius
qui non amat ocius."

"All the woods are now in flower,
Song-birds sing in field and bower,
Orchards their white blossoms shower ;
Lads, make merry in Love's hour.

Sordid grief hath flown away,
Fervid Love is here to-day ;
He will tame without delay
Those who love not while they may."

On the analogy of his vigorous work on Lord Byron, Mr. Jeaffreson has produced two volumes entitled **The Real Shelley** (Hurst & Blackett), which aim at laying bare the frailties of that very great poet. There is no lack of vigour or of candour in this book, and the argument throughout is clear and close. Mr. Jeaffreson writes with the view of exposing a conspiracy which he has discovered within the Shelley family to hold up the poet to public admiration as a high-souled, spiritual genius, full of beauty, self-sacrifice, and ideal virtues. With Shelley's poetry Mr. Jeaffreson has no concern. His theme is the poet's private life—his moral obliquity, his distorted theories, his anti-matrimonialism, his conceit, untruthfulness, and meanness. The author sees a tendency in some weak-minded people to make an ideal out of a life that was full of many follies and foibles, and his indignation leads him into headlong condemnation of the poet. But Mr. Jeaffreson's conclusions are drawn with such evident bias, he is so often misled by his own preconceived notions, and also by a misunderstanding of many of the passages in Hogg's ill-arranged book, that we feel his volumes to be an impeachment rather than a fair judgment, and unconsciously incline to the defence.

Mr. Gosse's object in his review of English poetry **From Shakespeare to Pope** (Cambridge University Press) has been to prove that the change from the romantic to the classical school of poetry was a step forwards, and that it was "an absolute necessity, if English poetry was to exist, that a period of executive severity and attention to form should succeed the hysterical riot of the Jacobeans." Mr. Gosse denies that the change to

classicism was the result of foreign influence. It is due, he says, to Waller, who is the hero of his volume, and whose glory it was "to capture and imprison English poetry . . . and to shut it up in a cage for a hundred and fifty years." Waller was the inventor of the distich which was to control (and cramp) English poets for generations, and he shares with Cowley the honour of having formed Dryden's style. But, whatever we may think of some of the minor poets whose virtues Mr. Gosse has disinterred, his book and his theory are both very well worth our attention.

Mr. Matthew Arnold's **Discourses in America** (Macmillan) is a reprint of the Rede lecture and of the essays on Numbers and on Emerson. Mr. Arnold is of course the champion of literature against science, and he makes a strong cause stronger by his advocacy. In "Numbers," Mr. Arnold preaches on the text that "the majority are bad." The analysis of French character and its three elements—the Gallic, the Latin, and the Germanic—is in his best style; and the opening passages of the lecture on Emerson are interspersed with quotations from Newman, Carlyle, and Goethe, with brief remarks on those three great writers, and especially on Carlyle, which reveal Mr. Matthew Arnold at his best.

In his **Specimens of English Prose Style** (Kegan Paul) Mr. Saintsbury lays down at starting that the methods of English prose are as different as possible from those of English verse. Although he refers to Malory, Latimer, and Ascham, he dates from the Elizabethans the real beginning of an English prose style. Mr. Saintsbury criticises the faults of Browne, of Milton, and of Clarendon, and so comes down to the days of Dryden and Temple, when men, "having less to say, became more careful in saying it." Then English prose, though losing in majesty and colour, began to gain in clearness and precision. Individualism was stamped out, and English prose reached its highest level in the hands of Addison and Swift. This opinion Mr. Saintsbury maintains; although he is forced to admit that, as early as Gibbon and Fielding, individualism broke out again, and although he cannot but admire, though he will not wholly pardon, the brilliancy of the leaders of the reaction, and the literary greatness of Burke and Thackeray, of Ruskin and Carlyle.

Mr. Austin Dobson's little book on **Steele** (Clarendon Press) includes selections from Steele's essays in the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*. These essays are undoubtedly the best of Steele's work. To Steele was due the origin of the *Tatler*. He, and not Addison, wrote the greater part of the papers in it. *The Club* also was his conception, and he was the author of nearly half the numbers of the *Spectator*. "Steele," says Mr. Dobson, "seems to have been the originating, and Addison the elaborating intellect." But the best part of the book is the author's introduction, which gives an accurate sketch of Steele's career. The future essayist was born in 1671, and at the Charter House began his life-long friendship with Addison. His military career is still veiled in uncertainty, which Mr. Dobson has not been able to dispel. Steele's early productions prove him to have been a tolerable dramatist, but little of a poet. His literary fame rests, of course, on the papers published after 1709 in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, of which Mr. Dobson has given us a charming selection.

Mr. Lane-Poole has published **Selections from the Letters and Journals of Jonathan Swift** (Kegan Paul), which he has connected by a narrative and arranged in five parts. They include two letters to Varina, some of the "Fragment of an Autobiography," and parts of the "Journal to

Stella." The third part, called "*Stella and Vanessa*," contains the poem of "*Cadenus and Vanessa*," and ends with two memorable letters to Sheridan. The rest of the book is made up of Swift's correspondence with Harley, Bolingbroke, Pope, and others.

Mr. John Ashton's *Old Times* (Nimmo) is a further illustration by pen and pencil of the history of the past, and forms part of an excellent series of reproductions which the author has from time to time edited with so much skill and good taste. In the present volume files of old newspapers and back volumes of the *ANNUAL REGISTER* furnish the text for many other sketches with which this volume abounds. Public and private life, the stage, the bench, and the Mall, in turns afford types of our ancestors and their ways of life, and Mr. Ashton shows how a dish can be twice served without losing its savour.

But if we turn to light reading of another kind we shall find not only amusement, but plenty of useful information as well, in the three published volumes of the Badminton Library. This series, which is edited by the Duke of Beaufort, assisted by Mr. Alfred Watson, is intended to take the place of a standard work, of a complete "modern encyclopædia, to which the inexperienced man, who seeks guidance in the practice of the various British sports and pastimes, can turn for information." It contains "the result of many years' experience written by men who are in every case adepts at the sport or pastime of which they write." The Duke of Beaufort himself and Mr. Mowbray Morris undertake the subject of *Hunting* (Longmans), and they have brought out a volume full of interest. The book opens with an account of the "history and literature" of hunting, and goes on to treat of the various departments of the sport. There are some good chapters entitled "The Stable," "The Kennel," "The Horse," and "The Shires," and the abundant illustrations, by Mr. Sturges and others, bring up the book to a high level of merit.

In the same way the wide subject of *Fishing* has been dealt with by another expert. Mr. Cholmondeley-Pennell devotes two volumes to the sport. The first of these volumes deals exclusively with salmon and trout, and contains contributions from other experts, such as Mr. Henry Francis and Mr. H. S. Hall, on the theory and practice of artificial fly-fishing. The second is occupied with chapters upon pike, perch, and other coarse fish, and ends with some additional articles, by Mr. Senior, Lord Exeter, and others, upon special branches of the art. Neither of the two volumes is wanting in scientific and technical information, but the author's aim has been to make his work "as practical as possible," and there is certainly in both volumes anecdote and incident sufficient to amply justify the author's hope, and "to redeem them from being hopelessly dull reading."

It is difficult to pass at once from the lightest to the most serious literature of the year. But there is one great department of literary production which has not been noticed yet. The theology of the year includes two volumes of *Easter Sermons*, by Canon Liddon (Rivingtons), delivered at St. Paul's, and "published in deference to the wishes of many persons to whom from time to time they have been useful." These volumes contain thirty-seven sermons, devoted to the consideration of subjects suggested by Easter-tide, the first ones especially dealing with the Resurrection. Perhaps the most powerful of the earlier ones are the fifth, the twelfth, and the eighteenth, which are entitled "Grounds of Faith in the Resurrection," "Easter Hopes," and "Jesus on the Evening of Easter Day." Not less

remarkable, however, are those in the second volume, which treat of "Faith's Conquest of the World," of "The Victory of Easter," and of "Endurance of Wrong." But it is difficult to point to any special sermons where the level of all is so high. Throughout there is the same earnestness, the same strong reasoning, the same lofty and impassioned eloquence, and that rare power of language and of argument which has given Dr. Liddon his unique position in the English Church.

By the side of Dr. Liddon's sermons we have a volume of theological lectures from Mr. Fremantle. **The World as the Subject of Redemption** (Rivingtons) is the title of the Bampton Lectures for 1883, which have at last been rather tardily published. Mr. Fremantle's object in these sermons has been "to restore the idea of the Christian Church as a moral and social power, present, universal, capable of transforming the whole life of mankind, and destined to accomplish this transformation." With these views the author opens his volume with a lecture upon "Universal Redemption: the World as a Whole," and goes on to trace almost historically the development of the Christian Church. The chapters on "The Hebrew Theocracy" and on "The English Church and Commonwealth"—the latter of which is really a treatise on the ecclesiastical history of the Reformation—are clear and interesting, and the volume ends with a practical and liberal-minded sermon on the "Steps towards the Ideal of a Christian World."

But the greatest work of the year, from a theological standpoint, is undoubtedly the new version of the **Holy Bible** (Cambridge University Press), which is at last complete. The majestic rhythm of the authorised version has been left undisturbed. The text has been little altered. Many of the archaic words have been retained, and, as a general rule, the old saws have not been modernised, nor the familiar phrases changed. Of course, from a scholarly point of view, there are defects. Some incomprehensible passages remain. Sometimes the change seem harsh and unnecessary; but, on the other hand, certain alterations all will admit to be improvements. The headings of the chapters have been dropped, and the text is divided into paragraphs. Thus Psalm X. is rejoined to Psalm IX. The several days of creation are separated by breaks of a line, and the same plan is adopted in the Song of Songs, illustrating its dramatic form. The Psalms are definitely divided into five books. Above all, the poetical passages—not only in the poetical books, but also where they occur in the prose text—have been printed in verse, although this principle has not been applied to the magnificent poetical rhetoric of the Prophets.

Ignatius and Polycarp occupy the second part of Dr. Lightfoot's work on **The Apostolic Fathers** (Macmillan). The three volumes contain the lives of the two Fathers, an account of the Curetonian and Smyrnaean Letters, an admirable description of the Church and Empire under Hadrian, a disquisition on Polycarp's martyrdom, the text (revised, with notes and translations) of the Seven Epistles of Ignatius, and various Ignatian and Polycarpian fragments. The Bishop exhausts the literature bearing on the two Fathers. His special object is to prove the authenticity of the Vossian Epistles, of Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, and of the Smyrnaean Letter. These are discussed at length in the first volume, which contains the pith of a scholarly and laborious work.

Messrs. Crowe & Cavalcaselle have completed the second volume of their life of **Raphael** (Murray). Having already discussed the early Madonnas, they now go on to speak of the "Madonna del Baldacchino," which marks

the dividing line between the Florentine and the Roman methods of the painter. From that time, when he left Florence for Rome, his work began to show signs of a grander style and a more severe feeling. The spell of the antique was upon him, and he produced the magnificent group of paintings in the Camera della Segnatura, of which this volume gives an exhaustive account. To Leonardo Da Vinci's noble picture of the Adoration of the Magi the authors attribute a profound influence over Raphael's work, and especially over the "Disputa," which they discuss at length. Thence they pass to the "School of Athens" and the other great frescoes of the Camera, examining their chronology as they pass on. The narrative of the finishing of the frescoes of the Vatican, of Raphael's relations with his contemporaries, of his debts to Leonardo, Perugino, Bramante, and others, is told with the same care and insight. Equally valuable is the section which deals with Raphael as a sculptor; and sketches, studies, and letters are examined and arranged so as to give such a portrait of the great painter as we have never had before.

In the splendid folio volume which Mr. Hamerton has issued, and entitled **Landscape** (Seeley), we have a work well worthy of the manner in which it has been prepared. "My dominant idea," says the author, "has been the influence of natural landscape upon man," and in expressing his idea Mr. Hamerton has called to his aid word-painters as well as artists in a narrower sense. Wordsworth, Homer, Tennyson, Shelley, Scott, Poe, Ruskin, Humboldt, and Victor Hugo are some of the writers whom Mr. Hamerton has chosen to illustrate his theme. Others, notably Chaucer, we are surprised to find omitted from the list. The chapters on the "Scenery of Great Britain," on "The Power of Nature over us," and especially on "Rivers in Art," abound in very pleasant and valuable criticism.

Mr. Gilbert's **Landscape in Art before Claude and Salvator** (Murray) is a charming book. Its theme is the development of landscape art from the days of the Greeks to the dawn of the genius of Rembrandt. Mr. Gilbert has examined the records and pictures of antiquity, the mosaics at Rome and Ravenna, and the mediæval manuscripts which indicate the struggle of art through the Dark Ages and up to the Renaissance. To the Flemish miniature-painters, and to the development of their art in the paintings on panels of the fourteenth century, the author traces many of the qualities of modern landscape, and his essay on early Flemish landscape, with its notices of the Van Eycks and of Memlinc, is admirable and exhaustive. With early Italian art also Mr. Gilbert is familiar. The genius of Masaccio, the imaginative power of Leonardo, the efforts of Angelico, Lippi, and Botticelli are estimated and discussed. Mr. Gilbert courageously vindicates the fame of Perugino. He treats fully of the work of Francia. To Elzheimer he attributes a powerful influence over Rubens, Rembrandt, and Claude. We only wish that he had found space to write as fully of the works and genius of Tintoret and Titian, of Raphael and of Rembrandt.

We cannot end this list without noticing two monumental works. The first of these is **The Official Baronage of England** (Longmans), in which Mr. Doyle gives within the compass of three large volumes a valuable record of the Peerage of England from 1066 to 1886. The subjects treated are the succession, the titles, the offices, the marriages, the heraldry, and the persons of the peers included. Where he has been able to do so, the author has given portraits of the peers themselves, but the distinctive subject of the work is the official side of it, which is a record of the offices

attainted by English nobles, whence often their power and influence was derived. At present Mr. Doyle's labours are incomplete, for these volumes take no account of the English baronage "who and whose descendants remained barons"; but so far as they go they are full of interest and of value, and their historical importance can scarcely be estimated too highly. The work doubtless owes its original idea to the late Sir Harris Nicolas, whose "Historical Peerage," as subsequently developed by Mr. Courthope, may be regarded as almost the groundwork of all subsequent attempts to show the intimate relations between national history and family genealogy.

The second of these two standard works is the new **Catalogue of Books in the Library of the British Museum, printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Books in English printed Abroad, to the year 1640** (Longmans). The prodigious title of these volumes sufficiently indicates their scope. They comprise some fourteen or fifteen thousand titles, and are arranged to show, in one alphabet, with cross references and good indexes, all the early English literature contained in the library down to the year 1883. Their appearance is of real importance to every reader and lover of books, for it forms the first distinct step taken in this country towards a great national bibliography.

ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

I. THE FINE ARTS.

The National Gallery.—The most important addition to the national collection during the year was that of the pictures from the Blenheim collection, for which a special grant was required from Parliament. A somewhat prolonged debate upon the proposal took place in the House of Commons (March 5), inaugurated by Mr. Cubitt, who argued that the prices proposed to be paid—70,000*l.* for a single picture, the *Ansidei Raffaele*, and 17,500*l.* for the equestrian portrait of Charles I. by Vandyck—were preposterous, and that if one-tenth of the sum asked for were spent on the improvement of the arrangements of our national collections more benefit would accrue to science and art than would result from the possession of the objects for which the vote was demanded. On the other hand, the vote was supported by Mr. S. Maskelyne, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Agnew, &c. and was agreed to by 131 to 30. Including the special vote for the purchase of the Blenheim pictures (83,520*l.*), the total sum provided by Parliament for the service of the year 1885-6 was 113,854*l.*, as compared with 28,465*l.* voted for the previous year. Although the funds at the disposal of the Director (Sir F. Burton) for ordinary purchases were very limited, some noteworthy additions were made to the collection during the year, but chiefly out of the special funds at the disposal of the trustees. Out of the Clarke bequest: a picture of the Venetian School, fifteenth century, an unknown subject, purchased at the sale of the Bohn collection (135*l.*); two small paintings in tempera, by Ugolino da Siena (26*l.* 5*s.*), from the Fuller-Maitland sale; and a design in grisaille, by Rubens, “The Birth of Venus” (672*l.*), from the Beckett-Denison sale. Out of the Lewis Fund: two designs for altar pieces, by Trepolo (162*l.* 15*s.*), and “Christ driving out the Money-changers,” by Venusti (966*l.*), all from the Beckett-Denison collection; and “Amor et Castitas,” a work of the Tuscan School, fifteenth century, purchased at Genoa (500*l.*). Out of the Walker bequest, a “Holy Family,” of the Florentine School, fifteenth century (170*l.*), and two groups of “Saints,” by Marcino d’Alba (400*l.*), all purchased at Milan.

The donations to the gallery during the year included two works by A. Scheffer, one being “St. Augustine and St. Monica,” bequeathed by Mr. Robert Hollond; fourteen pictures by deceased masters of the British School, bequeathed by Mrs. Elizabeth Vaughan; a portrait of David Garrick by Zoffany, bequeathed by Mr. Nathan David Garrick, of Lichfield House, Acton, Middlesex, eldest son of Nathan Egerton Garrick, the actor’s grandnephew, who had inherited it from Garrick’s widow; a portrait ascribed to François Clouet, presented by Mr. G. F. Watts, R.A.; the “Sinking of H.M.’s *The Royal George*,” by J. C. Schettey, presented by the Misses Trevenen; and a portrait of H. Byrne, Esq., by L. F. Abbott, presented by Miss C. C. Lippincott.

The provision made for accommodating the gallery was also increased from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.*, indicating the progress of the new buildings antici-

pated during the year. Two new galleries were carried nearly to completion before its close, and a new staircase constructed in the centre of the building, in accordance with the designs approved by the Office of Works. Further accommodation has meanwhile been obtained by including in the public portion of the gallery two rooms in the east wing, formerly occupied by the Keeper of the Royal Academy. In these a small collection of water-colours, including some monochrome paintings by Rubens and Vandyck, have been brought together and opened to the public.

The British Museum.—The Parliamentary grant for the year 1885-6 (122,370*l.*) showed an increase of about 6,500*l.* on the previous year, almost exclusively swallowed by “furniture and fittings,” required in consequence of the fresh arrangement of the collection of mediæval antiquities now exhibited in the rooms formerly used by the Zoological Department. This collection comprises armour, ivories, metal work, Limoges enamels, watches, &c. and exhibits a chronological history of ornamental art in the Middle Ages.

South Kensington Museum.—The Parliamentary vote for this section of the Science and Art Department amounted to 45,174*l.* for the year, as compared with 48,106*l.* in the previous year, when the cost of tiling the floor of the south-east court involved a considerable expenditure. The principal purchases during the year 1885 were those made at the Fountaine sale, which included a cistern, 1,143*l.* ; a grisaille cup, 653*l.* ; a Faenza dish, 158*l.* ; an Urbino oval dish, 1,383*l.* ; a pair of candlesticks, 1,263*l.* ; and a large oval Faenza dish, 827*l.* At the Beckett-Denison sale the acquisitions were a round dish of Gubbio lustre-ware, 829*l.* ; and a square chess table in damascened iron, formerly in the Soltykoff and Hamilton Palace collections, 1,491*l.* From other sources were purchased a Damascus lamp, 450*l.* ; a Chinese lacquered screen, painted and gilt, 1,000*l.*, and a smaller one, 325*l.* ; a large Italian stucco frame, 250*l.* ; a set of Persian bookbindings, 200*l.* ; four whole models of old English line-of-battle ships, 200*l.* ; and a set of telescopes used by Lord Nelson at the battle of Trafalgar, 105*l.* For the Edinburgh Museum the following articles were also purchased at the Fountaine sale:—Urbino ewer, 92*l.* ; circular Limoges dish, 795*l.* ; ditto ewer, 321*l.* ; and a Palissy dish, 87*l.*

The National Portrait Gallery.—An alarm of fire at the Indian Museum (June 12) brought home to the Government a sense of the dangers to which the national collection of portraits was exposed. For years the trustees and the public press had been in vain urging the necessity of providing suitable and safe accommodation for the yearly increasing gallery. A sudden and immature decision was arrived at to transfer the collection temporarily and as a loan collection to the Bethnal Green Museum, which had been languishing for some time. Before the transfer took place, however, a very important addition was made to the National Portrait Gallery in Karl Hickel's “House of Commons in 1793,” presented by the Emperor of Austria. The moment chosen is when William Pitt is addressing the House, and round him and opposite are life-size portraits of upwards of ninety of the principal members of the House at the time. No intimation was made during the year as to the steps the Government proposed to take to find permanent quarters for the National Portrait Gallery ; but it was hoped that some arrangement might be made under which the vacant space between the India Office and Storey's Gate might be utilised as a site for the new building.

The Royal Academy of Arts.—At the winter exhibition of works of

old masters the chief picture exhibited was Mabuse's "Adoration of the Magi," from Castle Howard, lent by the trustees of the Earl of Carlisle. Amongst the works of the English School were Hogarth's portrait of Quin the actor; the often engraved pictures "Night and Morning" and "Conversation at Wanstead House;" Sir Joshua Reynolds' "Penelope Borthly;" Gainsborough's "Lady Mulgrave;" and Constable's "Arundel Mill." The foreign works included Melzer's "Corset Bleu;" Gerard Dow's "Water Doctor;" Jan Steen's "Doctor and Sick Lady;" Paul Potter's "Snorting Ponies;" Terbuy's "Lady at her Toilet;" Rubens' "Anne of Austria;" Vandyck's "Charles I.;" Lucas de Heere's "Duke and Duchess of Norfolk;" and Sir Antonio More's "Duke of Alva."

The summer exhibition (the 117th) of the works of living artists comprised 2,134 works, an increase of 300 over the previous year, and rendered possible by the opening of a new room for water-colours and other consequent arrangements. The two works which attracted the largest share of attention were Mr. Herkomer's portrait of Miss Katharine Grant, a lady in a white dress; Mr. Stanhope Forbes' "Fish Sale on a Cornish Beach;" and Mr. Onslow Ford's marble work "In Memoriam," a dead figure in high relief. Among the other prominent works exhibited were—(1) Royal Academicians: Millais' "Ruling Passion," subsequently renamed "The Ornithologist," the portrait of Lady Peggy Primrose, and "The Orphans;" Sir F. Leighton's "Serenely Wandering in a Frame of Sober Thought," the single figure of a young girl, Lady Sibyl Primrose, and Mrs. H. Hichens; G. F. Watts' portrait of Miss Laura Gurney; Mr. W. F. Yearne's "Prisoners of War;" Mr. Frank Holl's portraits of Lord Dufferin, Dr. Weir Mitchell; Mr. J. C. Hook's "After Dinner rest awhile" and the "Close of Day;" Mr. Alma Tadema's portrait of his youngest daughter, and a "Reading from Homer;" Mr. V. Cole's "Iffley Mill;" and Mr. Orchardson's "Salon of Madame Récamier." (2) Associates: Mr. Marcus Stone's "Gambler's Wife;" Mr. Brett's "Saints' Bay" and "Norman Archipelago;" Mr. Fildes' "Venetians;" Mr. Herkomer's "Found;" Mr. Henry Ward's "Returned from the Rialto;" and Mr. Colin Hunter's "Salmon Fishery." (3) Outsiders: Miss Marianne Stokes' "Parting;" Mr. F. Morgan's "Ring a Ring of Roses;" Mr. Skipworth's "Madame Cambroire;" Mr. Lea Merritt's "Eve;" Mr. J. Farquharson's "Portrait of a Lady;" Mr. J. W. Waterhouse's "St. Eulalia;" Mr. H. Moore's "Newhaven Packet;" Mr. Atkinson Grimshaw's "Salthouse Dock;" Mr. A. W. Hunt's "Bright October;" Mr. John Collier's "Circe;" Mr. Blair Leighton's "Secret;" Mr. Seymour Lucas' "After Sedgemoor;" Mr. Douglas Giles' "Battle of Tamai;" Mr. Eugène de Blaas' "Vexation;" Mr. C. Burton Barber's "Once bit, twice shy;" Mr. S. E. Wallers' "Outward Bound;" Mr. Yates Carrington's "Hamlet and Polonius;" and Mr. S. Solomon's "Love's first Lesson."

The Grosvenor Gallery.—The winter exhibition (1884-5) was composed exclusively of the works of Gainsborough and Richard Doyle, and has already been referred to.

The summer exhibition included several important works, amongst which may be named Mr. Richmond's "Audience in a Greek Theatre;" Mr. G. F. Watts' "Love and Life;" Mr. C. W. Mitchell's "Hypatia;" Mr. J. W. North's "English Wood Nymph;" Mr. Van Haanen's "Death of Juliet;" and amongst the portraits those of Mr. Alma Tadema, Mr. W. B. Richmond, Mr. Herkomer, and Mr. Frank Holl.

In addition to these there were the usual spring and autumn exhibitions

at the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours, the Royal Institution of Painters in Oils and of Painters in Water Colours, of the Society of British Artists, of the Dudley Gallery, Fine Art Society, of Lady Artists, &c.; besides those of private picture-dealers, by whom the increasing taste for modern works by contemporary foreign artists was abundantly supplied, and their special talents made known to the English public. At the Fine Art Society's Gallery there was a succession of exhibitions of works by Mr. Ernest George, chiefly views in London, of French eighteenth century engravings, of drawings of Shakespeare's river by Alfred Parsons, of engravings by Mr. Woollett, of drawings of Indian scenery by H. A. Olivier, and of "Life in Bavaria's Alps" by Herkomer. But the most important of all was the exhibition of Mr. H. Hunt's latest work, "The Triumph of the Innocents," representing the flight of the Holy Family, and the legend attaching thereto.

Art Sales.—The principal art sales of the year were those of the pictures and miniatures of the late H. G. Bohn, Esq., realising 17,472*l.*; the modern pictures of George Schlotel, Esq., 15,269*l.*; the pictures of Herman de Zoete, Esq., 19,658*l.*; the pictures of F. J. Scrivener, Esq., and Sir J. Watts, 22,152*l.*; the plate pictures and engravings of Sir William Knighton, 9,589*l.*; the Beckett-Denison collection, 71,050*l.*; and the armour, porcelain, and pictures of Lord Stafford, 7,915*l.* Amongst the libraries dispensed the most noteworthy was that of Sir J. Thorold, of which a portion was sold for 28,001*l.*, including a Mazarine Bible and a Codex Psalmorum, which realised 3,900*l.* and 4,950*l.* respectively; that of the Earl of Jersey, 13,007*l.*; the last portion of that of Mr. James Crossley, 4,095*l.*; and the first portion of that of Rev. J. F. Russell, 8,682*l.*

II. THE DRAMA.

The retrospect of the year, though by no means barren as regards the quantity of work produced, can scarcely be considered as presenting a very hopeful condition of the drama in a national sense. Such success as was obtained by original plays was, in the majority of cases, largely due to spectacular effects. Of farcical comedy and burlesque there was a plentiful supply, but the former owed much to foreign models, while the latter was mainly dependent on travesties of contemporary representations of more serious plays, and could therefore at the best only hope for ephemeral success. Opera bouffe flourished at the cost, apparently, of the more genuine lyrical drama. On the other hand, it must be said that the revivals of classical and even recent work were marked in many instances by studious care and an intelligent aim at dramatic propriety. Probably no stage in the world could rival in this respect the Lyceum, under Mr. Irving's management; nor can there be any doubt that the success of his meritorious efforts has exercised a palpable effect on the London stage generally.

Taking original work first in order of review, we find that melodrama occupies a prominent place. Mr. G. R. Sims' five-act piece, "The Last Chance," which came out at the Adelphi at Easter, achieved only a very moderate success; but "Harbour Lights," a joint production of that author and Mr. Pettitt, which appeared at the same theatre in December, bid fair to rival in popular favour its precursor, "In the Ranks." It is a fresh and pleasing play, and Mr. Terriss, as the hero, gave a rendering of the part that recalled

memories of Mr. T. P. Cooke. "Hoodman Blind," a four-act melodrama by Messrs. H. A. Jones and Wilson Barrett (Princess's), justified by a run outlasting the year its enthusiastic reception on August 18. The chief parts were most efficiently filled by Miss Eastlake and Messrs. W. Barrett and Willard, and the scenery and stage arrangements were excellent. "Alone in London," a drama in four acts and a prologue by Robert Buchanan and Harriet Jay (Olympic, November 2), was also fairly successful. Lord Lytton's classical drama "Junius, or the Household Gods," was produced under Mr. Wilson Barrett at the Princess's on February 26, the part of Lucretia falling to Miss Eastlake, and Tarquin and Junius to Messrs. Willard and Wilson Barrett respectively. The piece was well acted and splendidly mounted; but, though containing many passages of considerable literary merit, it lacked the dramatic force necessary to ensure a very prolonged success. Mr. Westland Marston's four-act comedy, "Under Fire" (Vaudeville, April 1), was, like the last mentioned, conspicuous for literary rather than dramatic qualities. "The Silver Shield," a three-act comedy by Mr. Sydney Grundy, was well received at a Strand *matinée* in May, and was afterwards transferred to the Comedy, where it obtained some success. "Human Nature" was the title of a successful drama by Messrs. Pettitt and Harris, produced at Drury Lane, September 12, with Misses I. Bateman and E. Ormsby, Messrs. Neville and Leathes. It exhibited some striking *tableaux*; the action was well sustained throughout, and it kept the house until displaced by the Christmas pantomime. The lighter kind of new work fared on the whole better. An amusing skit on boarding-house life, entitled "Loose Tiles," by Mr. J. P. Hurst, achieved a fair success at the Vaudeville, where it appeared on January 28, well supported by Misses Cissy Grahame, Sophie Larkin, and Kate Phillips, and Messrs. Thorne, Grove, and Neville, the last-named being subsequently replaced by Mr. Cartwright. "Tact," by Messrs. S. Bellamy and F. Romer, at the Avenue, where Miss Violet Melnotte assumed the management on March 14, was hardly good enough for an efficient cast comprising Misses Larkin and Melnotte, and Messrs. Odell Everard and C. Grove.

Mr. Pinero, whose name has hitherto been associated chiefly with emotional drama, appeared as the author of one of the most successful farces of recent times not borrowed from abroad. "The Magistrate," March 21, at the Court, in the hands of Mrs. John Wood, Miss M. Terry, and Messrs. Cecil and Clayton, was quite equal to the average *Palais Royal* farce, and had a well-deserved run. Messrs. Carton and Raleigh's three-act piece, "The Great Pink Pearl," was also very successful at the Prince's in July. The cast comprised Misses Compton and Clara Jecks, and Messrs. Garden, Groves, and Marius. "Cousin Johnny," Messrs. Nisbet and Rae's farce (Strand, July 11) provided a duly comic part for Mr. J. S. Clarke; and a new farce, "Going It," by Mr. Maddison Morton, the aged author of "Box and Cox," served Mr. Toole in equally good stead at his theatre on December 7. Two posthumous farces by Mr. J. H. Byron appeared; viz. "Open House," played with considerable humour at the Vaudeville, on April 16, by Miss Kate Phillips and Messrs. Thorne and W. Farren; and "The Shuttlecock," a skeleton filled in by Mr. Ashby Sterry, produced at Toole's Theatre, May 16.

Of the noticeable burlesques of the year, Mr. Burnand contributed "Mazeppa," which secured a favourable reception at the Gaiety, March 12, with Misses Farren and Phyllis Broughton, and Mr. Terry in the chief parts, and "The O'Dora," a bright parody of Sardou's play (Toole's, July 13).

Messrs. Stephens and Yardley in collaboration produced at the Gaiety, Aug. 8, a bright travestie of "Olivia," entitled "The Vicar of Wide-a-Wakefield," Mr. Arthur Roberts giving a very humorous caricature of Mr. Irving's Dr. Primrose; and at the end of the year, at the same theatre, "Jack Sheppard," which gave every promise of a good run. "The Japs," by Messrs. Paulton and Mostyn Tedde (Novelty, Sept. 19), was somewhat tedious, and failed to win much favour.

A satisfactory revival of "As You Like It," took place at the St. James's in January, running till Easter. Mr. Hare, who here made his *début* in Shakespearian comedy, gave an original and very clever rendering of "Touchstone;" Mr. and Mrs. Kendal were the Orlando and Rosalind; Mr. Herman Vezin was Jacques, and Miss Lea a very promising Audrey. The mounting and costumes, by Mr. Lewis Wingfield, were artistic, and some new music by Mr. A. Cellier, which was introduced, was well executed by Mr. Stedman's choir. The Lyceum revivals included the "Lady of Lyons," with Miss Mary Anderson and Mr. Terriss, supported by Miss C. Leclercq, Mrs. A. Stirling, and Mr. Standing, at Easter; and a little later on "Ingo-mar," with the American actress as Parthenia, the part selected by her for her first appearance in England, the cast on this occasion being modified by the substitution of Mr. Terriss for Mr. Barnes in the title rôle. The reappearance of Mr. Irving and Miss Ellen Terry in "Hamlet," on May 2, was the occasion of an enthusiastic demonstration; and "Olivia," the dramatic version of "The Vicar of Wakefield," first seen seven years ago at the Court, with Mr. Herman Vezin and Miss Terry, was no less successful in September under Mr. Irving, who now played Dr. Primrose. A revival of the "School for Scandal," at the Prince's, on February 10, brought forward a new Lady Teazle in Mrs. Langtry, who achieved considerable success, notwithstanding that the piece was in some respects poorly put on the stage. The cast comprised Messrs. Farren, Everill, and Beerbohm Tree. A part still better suited to this actress's means was that of Lady Ormonde in "Peril," the version by Messrs. Stephenson and Clement Scott of "Nos Intimes," revived at Easter at this theatre. Her impersonation of this character, supported efficiently by Mrs. Stirling, Messrs. B. Tree, Everill, Carne, and Coghlan, materially enhanced Mrs. Langtry's reputation. Boucicault's "Arrah-na-Pogue," and "Colleen Bawn" were resuscitated at the Adelphi, the former in July and the latter in October, Miss Mary Rorke acting very satisfactorily in both. Two of the most pronounced successes of former years, "The Silver King" and the "Lights o' London," were revived at the Princess's, the first-named also achieving the somewhat rare honour for an English play of being transferred to the French stage (Ambigu, in Paris, November). "A Quiet Rubber," "The Queen's Shilling," and "The Money Spinner," also former favourites, reappeared at the St. James's; and Charles Reade's famous drama, "Never too Late to Mend," with Miss Isabel Bateman and Mr. Warner, at Drury Lane, July 25. "Bleak House," in which Miss Jenny Lee resumed the part of "Jo" (Feb. 28); "The Heir-at-Law," with Mr. J. S. Clarke in the double rôles of Dr. Pangloss and Zekiel Homespun; and "Our American Cousin," in which Mr. Lytton Sothorn gave a close imitation of his father's famous impersonation of "Lord Dundreary" (October), were interesting revivals at the Strand. The farewell season of Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft at the Haymarket included the performance of "Masks and Faces," in which Miss Calhoun as Mabel Vane

created a favourable impression (Feb.), and at the end of April a revival of the late Mr. Robertson's well-known comedy, "Ours."

French and German work, especially the former, was freely handled by the adapters. Mr. G. W. Godfrey's two-act comedy "The Opal Ring," which appeared at the Court on Jan. 28, was a meritorious rendering of Octave Feuillet's "Péril en Demeure," some years since adapted to the English stage, by Mr. Tom Taylor, under the name "The House or the Home." The present version was well acted by Messrs. Clayton, H. B. Conway, and Cecil, and by Misses Marion Terry and Lydia Foote, and achieved very fair success. Mr. Albery's version of Emile Augier's "Les Fourchambault," played at the same theatre in February, under the name of "The Denhams," was not strictly a novelty, having been performed some time back at the Haymarket as "The Crisis." The acting of Miss Lydia Foote, Mrs. John Wood, and Mr. Clayton was excellent. The phenomenal success of "The Private Secretary," the English adaptation of Von Möser's "Der Bibliothekar," which ran throughout the year, was followed this year by a version of the same author's "Ultimo," entitled "On Change," produced at Toole's Theatre during the temporary management of Miss Eweretta Lawrence and Mr. W. Duck. An efficient cast, comprising Miss Lawrence, Miss Filippi, Messrs. Farren and F. Morris, helped to secure for the piece a very considerable share of popular favour. Mr. Justin H. McCarthy, M.P., the author of the highly successful play "The Candidate," this year joined Mr. W. Yardley in converting into a three-act farcical comedy Messrs. Hennequin, Mortier, and A. de St. Albin's French *vaudeville* "Le Train de Plaisir." "The Excursion Train," as the piece was called, came out at the Opera Comique on April 6, and, without attaining the same amount of success as the "Candidate," was still very far from a failure. "Agnes," Mr. Robert Buchanan's idyllic play, in two acts, which appeared at the Comedy Theatre, March 21, was not a very happy rendering of Molière's "École des Femmes;" and Mr. Clement Scott's "Bad Boys," at the same theatre, April 29, in which Mr. A. Roberts, M. Marius, and Miss V. Cameron acted very amusingly, was a version of MM. Gondinet and Civrac's play "Clara Soleil," produced at the Paris Vaudeville Theatre in February. "Mayfair," a five-act play, adapted by Mr. A. W. Pinero from Sardou's "Maison Neuve," was a failure at the St. James's on Oct. 31, in spite of the remarkable acting of Mrs. Kendal, well supported by Messrs. Hare, Brookfield, and Kendal. The necessity so often felt by an English adapter of modifying his French theme to suit the conventional ideas of stage propriety which obtain here seems in this instance to have operated seriously against Mr. Pinero. Among other reproductions of French plays were "Culture," by Sebastian and Frank Evans, founded on Edouard Pailleron's "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie" (Gaiety, May 5); "Gringoire," by Mr. W. G. Wills, from the so-called play by Théodore de Banville (Prince's, June 22); "Wife," comedy, Vaudeville, by James Mortimer (Strand, Nov. 10); and two versions of Alexandre Dumas *fil's* "Princess George," viz.: "Séverine" (Gaiety, May 6), and "Princess George," at the Prince's, Jan. 20, were also of French origin; while "Money Bags," by Messrs. Pemberton and Shannon (Novelty, Nov. 5), and "The Road to Fame," by Messrs. White and Grünfeld (Vaudeville, May 7), were from German sources. The work of the novelist was freely used as material for the stage; but, if we except Mr. Hugh Conway's "Dark Days," which was converted into a fairly satisfactory five-act play, by Mr. Comyns Carr,

and produced at the Haymarket on Sept. 26, it was not turned to particularly good account. Mr. Wills' version of "Faust," which attracted large audiences at the Lyceum towards the close of December, was by far the most important event of the year to be included in the category of adaptations. As a stage interpretation of Goethe's work, it gave rise to a considerable amount of criticism, its merits and defects being discussed at length in the public press. Whatever may have been the result of the controversy in the eyes of the learned few, there can be no doubt that the general theatre-going public accepted it as a gorgeous exposition of the main features of the well-known story, and that it regarded Mr. Irving's rendering of Mephistopheles, and Miss Ellen Terry's Margaret as powerful and touching impersonations. Mrs. Stirling, who played Martha, was perhaps a little too old for the part, but she played it artistically ; and Mr. Alexander's Valentine was generally commended. The exacting part of Faust fell in the first instance to Mr. Conway, who was a little overweighted thereby ; but a modification was subsequently made in this respect. The scenery and mounting were of an excellence hitherto unattained on the English stage.

Sir A. Sullivan and Mr. Gilbert fully maintained at the Savoy Theatre the leading position they have for some years occupied as exponents of comic opera. On the withdrawal of "The Sorcerer," the revival of which kept the boards during the early part of the year, a new "Japanese" operetta, entitled "The Mikado," was introduced on March 14. The performance was excellent throughout, the chief parts being filled by Misses Braham, Jessie Bond, Sibyl Grey, and Brandram, and by Messrs. Grossmith, Rutland Barrington, Durward Lely, and Bovill. The Japanese dresses were particularly rich and artistic, the music was tuneful and very cleverly scored for the orchestra, and the piece maintained its career throughout the year with undiminished popularity. Mr. W. Fullerton's comic opera in three acts, "The Lady of the Locket," libretto by Mr. H. Hamilton, which came out at the Empire on March 11, was also a favourable specimen of its kind. The scenery representing Venice was elaborate and gorgeous. "Erminie," a two-act comic opera, by E. Jakobowski, libretto by Messrs. Bellamy and Paulton, originally produced at Birmingham in October, was transferred to the Comedy Theatre on Nov. 9. The music, without any claim to originality, was tuneful, and, being pleasantly sung, soon gained and retained public favour. "The Fay o' Fire," by Edward Jones, libretto by H. Herman, which appeared at the Opera Comique on Nov. 14, also contained some very agreeable music, rendered in a more than ordinarily refined style by Miss Marie Tempest and Miss de Laporte, though it did not succeed in acquiring so strong a hold as the last-named piece. M. Mayer's season of French plays at the Royalty Theatre was resumed on Jan. 8, when Mdlle. Jane Hading and M. Damala had a flattering reception in Ohnet's "Maître de Forges," the original of the "Ironmaster" and "Lady Clare." The season at this theatre closed on March 14, but a short series of combined operatic and dramatic performances was given at the Gaiety during the summer, when Madame Jane Hading appeared in Jules Clarétie's "Le Prince Zilah" (June 8), and Madame Sarah Bernhardt (July 11), supported by a cast nearly identical with that at the Porte St. Martin, introduced to the London public Sardou's drama "Théodora." The enterprise was continued at the Royalty in October, Edouard Pailleron's "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie," and Sardou's "Les Vieux Garçons" being among the plays given before Christmas. Madame Modjeska, in the course of a short visit to the Lyceum,

appeared in a translation by Mr. Herman of "Adrienne Lecouvreur," supported by Lady Monckton, Mr. Neville, and Mr. Farren, jun. A ballet given in May at Her Majesty's Theatre by a Milanese company, entitled "Excelsior," afforded the younger generation of theatre-goers the now rare opportunity of witnessing a genuine Italian ballet, as distinguished from the incidental *mise-en-scène* of the Italian Opera. It was supported by Signora Rossi and Signor Cecchetti as chief executants, and was very successful. Among other interesting theatrical events may be noticed a performance of "The Blot on the 'Scutcheon," by an amateur company at St. George's Hall, in May, under the patronage of the Browning Society, and a series of pastoral plays at Coombe House. The retirement of Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft from the theatrical profession was celebrated on July 20 by an entertainment at the Haymarket Theatre, consisting of scenes from "London Assurance" and "Money," supported by some of the best London actors, when a brilliant assemblage did honour to the departing artists.

III. MUSIC.

As regards dramatic music we have been passing through a period of marked change. Italian opera, which for so many years practically defied competition, has this year reached a very low ebb. Whether the depression is merely temporary, or whether it heralds extinction, remains to be seen ; but it is understood that an attempt to revive the art next year is in contemplation. The causes of decadence have been variously suggested, and are probably various. The high terms demanded by the principal vocalists have likely enough combined with a growing tendency on the part of the public to look beyond the capability of the exponent to the quality or freshness of the composer's work in diminishing the popularity of the Italian stage. Be this as it may, a short and late season, beginning on June 20 and ending July 25, was all that remained to recall former glories. The works selected were drawn almost exclusively from the well-worn *répertoire* of the Italian Opera. As star performances, the engagement of Madame Patti and Madame Scalchi assured their success ; Signori Giannini, Engel, and Garulli played the tenor parts, and the bass work fell to Signori De Anna and Del Puente. In "Carmen," which was rendered specially interesting by the assumption by Madame Patti of the leading *rôle*, Signor Garulli showed himself a very capable Don José.

A scheme for a season of German Opera, under the auspices of Herr Francke, having fallen through, owing to insufficient promises of support, the main burthen of catering for the operatic public fell again to Mr. Carl Rosa. The season, which opened on April 6, was undoubtedly a great success. The artists engaged were good, comprising Madame Marie Roze, Mdlle. Valleria, Miss G. Burns, Miss Clara Perry, soprani ; Miss Marian Burton, contralto ; Messrs. Maas, Barton McGuckin, Ben Davies, and C. Lyall, tenors ; and Messrs. Barrington Foote, Leslie Crotty, and Snazelle. Messrs. Randegger and Goossens divided the conductorship, and the stage management, which was invariably satisfactory, was entrusted to the experienced hands of Mr. A. Harris. The *répertoire* was drawn from various sources, and included more operas rendered into English than English Operas properly so called. "Faust," "Carmen," and "Lucia" lost none of their attractiveness by translation, and "Mignon" received a pretty interpretation at the hands of Miss Clara Perry.

Modern English work, however, did not fail of gratifying success. Mr. Goring Thomas, whose "Esmeralda" keeps the stage well, supplemented his first achievement by "Nadeshda," which proved one of the leading attractions of the season. The success of this work, supported in the chief parts by Mdle. Valleria, Miss J. Yorke, Messrs. Barton McGuckin, Burgon, and Leslie Crotty, was even greater than that of the composer's first effort, and materially raised the hopes of those who look to a future for English dramatic music. An English version of Massenet's "Manon Lescaut," by Mr. J. Bennett, was produced on May 7 with most satisfactory results. Madame Marie Roze as Manon and the late Mr. Maas as Des Grieux gave fine renderings of their respective parts, the latter especially revealing a dramatic power which he had hitherto somewhat hidden under a bushel. The rest of the cast, comprising Messrs. Ludwig, Lyall, and W. Clifford, were also highly efficient. Under this head there only remains to chronicle a short series of French Opera Comique, interpolated between the series of French plays at the Gaiety Theatre. The chief feature was the appearance of Mdle. Van Zandt in M. Delibe's "Lakmé," a part which this talented artist had created in Paris. The orchestra was under the direction of Signor Bevignani, and the artists were drawn chiefly from the Paris Opera Comique and the Théâtre de la Monnaie at Brussels.

If, in the domain of dramatic music the *laudator temporis acti* had the best of the argument, the same cannot be said of the concert-room, where increased activity prevailed. Taking orchestral concerts first, the place of honour must be assigned, on the whole, to Mr. Mann's Crystal Palace Orchestra, though the series which ran through the earlier part of the year, from Feb. 14 to April 18, was somewhat less eventful than usual. The programme on Feb. 28 consisted in the main of Bach's music, Herren Joachim and Heckmann playing the concerto for two violins and stringed orchestra, and the choir giving a selection from "Ein feste Burg." Berlioz' symphony, "Harold in Italy," the solo viola part by Mr. Krause, and a "Festival Procession" from Goldmark's opera, "The Queen of Sheba," a novelty, were the chief features of the concert on April 4; and the season wound up brilliantly on April 18 with the first performance in England of Berlioz' "Te Deum." The choir, which this year has shown a marked improvement, executed the intricate choral numbers with great precision and spirit, and Mr. Harper Kearton did full justice to the solo work. The autumn series, which commenced on Oct. 17 and lasted till Dec. 19, was more interesting, comprising several novelties or *quasi*-novelties. Among such may be noted Mr. F. Corder's "Concert Overture" in E minor, originally written as a prelude to a *ballet d'action*, illustrating the "Tempest" (Oct. 24); Dvorák's symphony in D minor, first time at these concerts (Oct. 31); Praeger's symphonic poem, "Leben und Liebe, Kampf und Sieg" (Nov. 7); Handel's overture to Ariadne and Saint Saëns' ballet airs from "Etienne Marcel" (Nov. 21); and Tchaikowsky's Capriccio Italien for orchestra (Op. 45)—a striking example of orchestral development—the first performance of which in England took place Dec. 5. The last-named date being the anniversary of Mozart's death, the first part of the programme was reserved for his work, including the Jupiter symphony, songs by Mr. Santley, the adagio from the Clarinet Concerto (clarinet Mr. Clinton), and the "Coronation" Concerto (piano part by Madame Frickenhaus). A concerto by Handel for harp (Mr. Lockwood), two flutes, two violins, viola, 'cello and bass, was an interesting item at the concert on Nov. 28. Mdle.

Antoinette Trebelli, daughter of the famous contralto, made her first appearance on Nov. 14, exhibiting excellent style, and a voice which, though at present slight, is of pure quality; and on Dec. 12 M. Stanislaus Bercewicz, a violinist with remarkable technical ability, but less agreeable tone, made his *début* before an English audience. The series closed on Dec. 19 with an excellent performance of Mr. Cowen's cantata, "The Sleeping Beauty," composed for the Birmingham Festival. The season of the Philharmonic Society comprised six concerts, the first of which took place on Feb. 26 under Sir A. Sullivan. The programmes were, as a rule, varied and interesting, several new works being produced. Among them may be noted a prize overture by M. Gustave Ernest, the result of a competition in which eighty-eight composers took part for a prize of 20*l.*, offered by the society (second concert); an orchestral serenade, written for the society and conducted by the composer, Mr. Thomas Wingham (third concert); and Moskowski's new symphonic poem, "Jeanne d'Arc," given for the first time at the concluding concert on May 20, also under the *bâton* of the composer. The most important novelty of the season was, however, the new symphony in D minor, written for the society by Herr Dvorák, who himself conducted a very fine performance at the fourth concert, and met with an enthusiastic reception.

The series of Richter concerts, which began on April 27, was rendered attractive more by the versatile gifts of the conductor and the wide range of the selections than by the number of absolute novelties imported. Berlioz' symphony, "Funèbre et Triomphale," given on June 8, was a *quasi*-novelty of more than ordinary interest, having been only once before heard in England; but Mr. Eugène D'Albert's new overture, "Hyperion," and Robert Fuchs' new symphony in C major were neither quite worthy of the company in which they appeared. The Viennese conductor this year extended his sphere of activity to the provinces with the same success that has always followed him in London. In proof of the increasing hold on the general public obtained by high-class orchestral music, it should be mentioned that, in addition to the series of three Richter concerts commencing Oct. 24, Messrs. Brinsmead felt justified in instituting "Symphony Concerts" during the dull season. Their series of four concerts, under the alternate conductorship of Mr. George Mount and Mr. Wilhelm Ganz, opened on Nov. 7 at St. James's Hall, with the support of good soloists and an orchestra composed of seventy of the best London players. The programmes included music both of the classical and modern schools, the prices were moderate, and the success of the enterprise altogether gratifying. At the last concert of the series a new prize piano concerto by Mr. Oliver King was given, and Berlioz' "Symphonie Fantastique" received an excellent rendering.

Turning to choral music, we find the great societies kept pace with the orchestral in point of enterprise as well as efficiency. The Royal Albert Hall Society's concerts, under Mr. Barnby, were remarkable even in these days of gigantic choral development, and if the orchestra had been on a level with the choir nothing further would have been left to strive for. As it was, the performance of Gounod's "Mors et Vita," which was given for the first time in London early in November, was somewhat marred by the weakness of the strings, which were at times quite overborne by the immense volume of the voices. Mr. Mackenzie's "Rose of Sharon" was also among the works given by this society within the year. The chorus of the Sacred Harmonic Society was also very efficient, as was shown in January, when

Berlioz' "*Enfance du Christ*" was given under Mr. Charles Hallé, by whom it was first introduced to the English public in 1881. Handel's little known "*Belshazzar*" (Feb. 27) and Saint Saëns' 19th Psalm, not hitherto heard in this country (Nov. 20), the English adaptation by the Rev. J. Troutbeck, were also included in the concerts of this old society, the vitality of which is quite phenomenal.

The Bach Choir, under Mr. Otto Goldschmidt, began operations on Feb. 19 with the introduction for the first time in England of Kiel's oratorio, "*The Star of Bethlehem*." March 21, being the bi-centenary of Bach's birth, was celebrated by a festival concert at the Albert Hall, when the Mass in B minor was given, the choir being reinforced for the occasion by voices drawn from Messrs. Leslie's and Barnby's Choirs. Mr. Geaussent's Choir showed some falling off, owing, perhaps, less to any deficiency in the chorus itself than to inadequate orchestral support; in any case the performance of "*Jason*," in May, was far from satisfactory, in spite of first-class soloists. Leslie's Choir gave two concerts in June, when Mr. Leslie returned to his old post as director. The qualities of light and shade which contributed so largely to the unique position formerly enjoyed by this body were as conspicuous as ever, but a weeding of the voices would be advantageous.

The Borough of Hackney Choral Association, under Mr. Prout, and the South London Choral Association, under Mr. Venables, continued their prosperous careers; the first-named deserving special credit for the prominence given in its programmes to English music. The London Musical Society, under Mr. Barnby, showed itself particularly adventurous in the matter of new music, the concert at the end of March consisting exclusively of works new to London.

The London Select Choir, which began its career in November, was a new enterprise, having for one of its aims cheapness. It was understood to be sprung from the ashes of Willing's Choir.

Finally, Messrs. Novello's new series of Oratorio Concerts, which was started at St. James's Hall on Nov. 10, under Mr. Mackenzie, with the best solo talent procurable, and an efficient orchestra, led by Mr. Carrodus, fully justified the ambition of the promoters by the crowded audiences it attracted.

The Popular Concerts at St. James's Hall continued to provide the public with high-class chamber music executed by the best performers. Saving that English music did not receive all the encouragement that some critics held it deserved, the programmes were judiciously arranged to gratify all tastes. The audiences, particularly on Saturdays, were even more numerous than of yore. In the early part of the year, when some well-known artistes, among them Madame Schumann, Mdlle. Janotha, Mdlle. Krebs, and M. V. de Pachmann, were conspicuous by their absence, pianoforte music was entrusted to Madame Essipoff, Miss Zimmermann, Mdlle. Kleeberg, and Herr Max Pauer, who returned after the completion of his musical studies on the Continent. Herr Joachim appeared on Feb. 16, and at several subsequent concerts, playing with Miss Zimmermann, a new violin sonata by Niels Gade (Op. 6 in A) on March 2. On the same occasion the great Italian double-bass, Signor Bottesini, made his appearance, and was associated with Miss Zimmermann, and Messrs. Joachim, Strauss, and Piatti in a memorable rendering of Schubert's piano quintette (Op. 114). The twenty-seventh season came to an end on March 30. The twenty-eighth season, which opened on Nov. 9, was remarkable for many additions to the

repertory. The quartette consisted of Madame Normann Neruda, Messrs. Ries, Hollander, and Franz Neruda. The piano parts were supplied by M. de Pachmann and Miss Fanny Davies, a young executant of great ability. Chamber concerts were also given at Prince's Hall by Mr. Hallé, and by Madame Frickenhaus and Herr Ludwig in May; while those given in February and March, and renewed in November by the Heckmann quartette, succeeded by a faultless *ensemble* in winning the admiration of the most severely critical audiences. Among miscellaneous musical events may be mentioned : a Liszt concert under Mr. W. Bache on Feb. 5, the chief item of which was the choral symphony in illustration of Dante's "*Divina Commedia*." A Schubert *matinée* on Feb. 27 by Miss Zimmermann, Herr Joachim, and Herr von Zurmuhlen; pianoforte recitals by Mdlle. Douste (Feb.), Mdlle. Kleeberg, and M. de Pachmann; and a series of four orchestral concerts given at St. James's Hall (first, April 18) by Señor Sarasate with a success which led to a promise of renewal next year. At the Inventions Exhibition illustrations of various styles and periods of musical development were given, and the famous Strauss Band furnished examples of modern Viennese art.

In order to commemorate the bi-centenary of Handel's birth, the directors of the Crystal Palace anticipated their triennial Festival, which would have otherwise taken place in 1886. The public rehearsal took place on Friday, June 19, under Mr. Manns, when it was evident that there was no falling off in the quality or efficiency of either orchestra or chorus. On Monday, June 22, the Festival opened, as usual, with the "*Messiah*," the solo parts being splendidly filled by Mesdames Albani and Patey, and Messrs. Maas, Santley, and Foli. On Wednesday, the 24th, a fine selection, including some of the master's less known work, was rendered, as regards solo work, by Mesdames Albani, Valleria, Clara Suter, and Trebelli, Messrs. E. Lloyd, Maas, Barrington Foote, and Santley. The selection was partly sacred and partly secular, and brought to light an interesting novelty in the shape of a concerto for double orchestra, never printed, and so far as is known, never before heard in public. This musical curiosity was discovered in an incomplete state in the Buckingham Palace Library by Mr. W. S. Rockstro, who was fortunately able to complete it from the Handel manuscripts in the British Museum. The Festival concluded on Friday, June 26, with a fine performance of "*Israel in Egypt*."

The Birmingham Festival, which opened on Aug. 21, was this year a most brilliant affair. Herr Richter, who was appointed conductor in the room of the late Sir M. Costa, imparted something like a novelty into the performance of the "*Messiah*" by the use of Franz' accompaniments in place of those now generally used. The chorus, consisting of 369 voices, under Mr. Stockley, was superb, and grappled with most difficult music in a masterly style. Of the novelties presented, Gounod's "*Mors et Vita*" and Dvorák's dramatic cantata, "*The Spectre's Bride*," were the most important. The last-named was conducted by the composer in person, and gained for him a great ovation. It is a work of great originality and power, and, notwithstanding its difficulty, was exceedingly well rendered. The soloists were Madame Albani, and Messrs. Maas and Santley. Gounod's sacred work received a masterly interpretation at the hands of the German conductor, the solo parts being filled by Mesdames Albani and Patey, Mr. Edward Lloyd, and Mr. Santley. The honours of the Festival were not, however, confined to the works of foreigners. Mr. Cowen's cantata, "*The Sleeping Beauty*,"

libretto by Franz Hüffer, was enthusiastically received ; Mrs. Hutchinson, Madame Trebelli, Messrs. Lloyd and F. King filling the solo parts, and the composer the conductor's chair. "Yule Tide," the work of a local composer, Mr. T. Anderton, which contained some pleasant choral writing, was given under the *bâton* of Mr. Stockley ; and Mr. A. C. Mackenzie contributed a new *scena*, "Love lost on Earth," finely sung by Mr. E. Lloyd, and a new violin concerto, which received a memorable rendering at the hands of Señor Sarasate. A new symphony by Mr. E. Prout, and Mr. Villiers Stanford's oratorio, "The Three Holy Children," a scholarly but somewhat unequal work, conducted by Herr Richter, complete the list of novelties produced at this memorable Festival.

The 162nd Festival of the three choirs held at Hereford the second week in September was well managed and successful. The programme included Bach's cantata, "A Stronghold Sure," Dvorák's "Stabat Mater," and two novelties, viz. a cantata by Dr. Smith, of Dublin, entitled "St. Kevin," and the "Song of Balder," for soprano solo (Miss A. Williams) and chorus, written by Mr. C. Harford Lloyd, the composer of "Hero and Leander." Both performances were satisfactory, and were conducted by the respective composers. Bristol held its fifth triennial Festival in October—Handel's "Belshazzar," Berlioz' "Faust," Brahms' "Triumph Song," and Dvorák's symphony in D being the leading features.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR 1885.

THE year 1885 has not had a large number of brilliant scientific discoveries to place to its credit. Each year that passes is the witness of progress in all branches of science, but the results of this progress are frequently of so technical a character as to convey little meaning to anyone not an expert in the subject under consideration.

As a consequence, it is difficult to make such a record of the science of the year as shall be a trustworthy account of the advance of knowledge, and yet possess features of general interest sufficient to justify the attention of those who are not actually engaged in scientific work. During the past twelve-month there have been, however, two important events of a kind which will serve to render the year 1885 noteworthy in the history of science, viz. the discovery of a new star in the great nebula of the constellation Andromeda, and the practice of inoculation for the prevention of hydrophobia by M. Pasteur. These two important facts, one merely advancing the sum total of human knowledge, while the other may have the most far-reaching results as regards the health and happiness of mankind, will, however, be described, with other observations and results, in their proper place.

BIOLOGY.

Development of the Monotremata.—Mention was made last year of the discovery by Mr. Caldwell of the egg-laying function of the Ornithorhynchus, and the subsequent discovery of the same function in the case of the Echidna. These two animals, which constitute the whole group of the Monotremata, are thus differentiated from the rest of the great Mammalian class. Though the young of these interesting Australian quadrupeds is hatched from the egg almost like a chicken would be, yet it would appear that the hatching itself is scarcely independent of the mother, since Dr. W. Haacke has found that in the case of the Echidna the egg after being laid is placed in a pouch of the mother's breast, the young Echidna being hatched and retained therein till able to take care of itself. These statements of Dr. Haacke must for the present be received with caution, and the life-history of the Monotremata cannot be said to be yet known with any degree of fulness, though the labours of Caldwell and others have thrown much additional light on the subject. It is perhaps worthy of notice that so early as the year 1829 M. Geoffroi S. Hilaire had given an illustration of an egg of the Ornithorhynchus. Though the great zoologist thus showed that the occurrence of such a function among the Mammalia was not considered by him as impossible, yet, unfortunately for his fame, it happened that the egg illustrated was not that of either Ornithorhynchus or Echidna, but of an Australian bird. Recent exploration in New Guinea has extended the region within which this group of animals was previously known to exist. Tasmania and the Australian continent were the only known localities where the Echidna was found; but a new species has lately been found in New Guinea, differing in several important respects from the Tasmanian and Australian forms. It must, however, be remembered that New Guinea, like Australia,

is part of the ancient continent which once extended over a large portion of the Southern Ocean.

Eye Organs in the Mollusca.—Professor H. N. Moseley has made an interesting discovery of the existence of certain organs having apparently some of the functions of eyes in the shells of the Chitonidæ, a marine order of the great Gasteropod class. Thus the shell of *Schizochiton incisus* contains a number of minute highly refracting rounded bodies arranged in a symmetrical manner round the shell. The number and method of arrangement differs in different genera of the order, as many as 3,000 of these organs being found in one of the genera. When examined under the microscope these eye-organs are seen to possess structures recognisable as iris, lens, pigment-ring, and nerves. It is, however, probable that these structures serve to some extent as organs of touch, rather than as true organs of sight.

The Challenger Expedition.—The results of the Challenger Expedition are still unexhausted. The recently published reports on the Cirripedes and the Polyzoa show large additions to the number of species previously known. Thus, out of seventy-eight species of Cirripedes obtained by the explorers in the *Challenger*, fifty-nine are new. In 1854 when Darwin's monograph on the Cirripedes was published, only 147 species were known, and from that date to the close of 1884 only eighteen additional forms had been fully described. The results now published have largely increased these numbers. Thus, of the genus *Scalpellum*, forty new species have been catalogued—a very large addition, as only eleven species of this genus were previously known. Five new species have been added to the genus *Balanus*, and six to the genus *Verruca*. Another important correction has been made to Darwin's observations on the depth at which the Cirripedes are found. Thus Darwin states that he knew of none which lived at a greater depth than ninety fathoms, whereas of the new species some were found at much greater depths. Thus the Verrucidæ were dredged up from depths varying from 500 to 1,900 fathoms, and are thus decidedly deep-sea forms. The description and classification of these Cirripedes have been done by Dr. P. P. C. Höck, to whom the work was allotted by the late Sir Wyville Thomson. The results obtained with regard to the Polyzoa are equally good. Thus, out of 286 species of which examples were secured, as many as 180 are new according to Mr. G. Busk, who has undertaken their description. The range in depth of some of these Polyzoa is unusually great. Thus one species, *Cribrilina monocera*, was dredged from a depth of only thirty-five fathoms off the coast of Australia, and from a depth of 3,125 fathoms in the North Pacific. When the difference of pressure and amount of light which this variation of depth naturally causes is taken into consideration, the exceptional nature of this wide range will be readily apparent. It may also be stated, as a general rule, that the area over which a shallow-water species is found is a wide one, while that occupied by a deep-water species is more restricted.

Effect of Cold on Lower Forms of Life.—The persistence of life in rotifers and other infusoria has attracted attention. Professor Leidy states that he has obtained living rotifers and even water-worms from melted ice, the ice having been previously kept some considerable time at a temperature below the freezing point, and Dr. J. Hogg states that rotifers which have been dried, then heated to 200° Fahr. (nearly the temperature of boiling water), then frozen, were found to be alive when thawed in water. On the other hand, another observer asserts that many rotifers perish in a short

time if they come in contact with the air on the surface of the water in which they live, and that they certainly could not endure a process of drying and heating. The importance of the action of cold on infusorial and bacterial life is very great, as the question of the preservation of food by means of cold depends to some extent upon the result. Unless cold will kill and not merely arrest development in these lower organisms, food which has been frozen may, when thawed, be in a state more prone to putrefaction than before the freezing took place. Organic fluids exposed to temperatures of 12° below zero Fahr. (forty-four degrees of frost) were found on thawing to still contain living organisms. The organisms appear to take nearly a solid state under the influence of cold. Possibly the water it contains may be withdrawn and crystallised under the influence of the low temperature, and again absorbed on thawing. It is well known that frogs have been found in blocks of ice and revived. In some recent experiments frogs were frozen at 20° Fahr. for half-an-hour. In two cases, on slowly thawing, the animal completely recovered. If frozen for longer than half-an-hour no recovery took place, though some irritability in nerves and muscles still remained. Some warm-blooded animals also appear capable of sustaining intense cold for a short time. Thus a rabbit exposed to a temperature of -100° Fahr. recovered, though it is not likely that in this case the internal body-temperature fell many degrees. Dr. J. Hogg finds that though cold did not affect the rotifers experimented on by him, yet certain poisons speedily killed them. Thus free sewage, owing probably to the sulphuretted hydrogen it contains, was fatal, though many organic and mineral poisons were of no effect.

The Evolution Theory.—One of the points in the theory of evolution which has always attracted attention is the question of the fertility or non-fertility of the hybrids produced by crossing two different species. While supporters of the theory have not considered that the fertility of hybrids is a necessary condition of its truth, its opponents have always laid great stress on the non-fertility of hybrids as being the distinctive line separating one species from another. It is of course admitted that hybrids are generally infertile, but Mr. J. A. Allen has collected a number of cases in which this infertility is not observed. Fertility in the hybrid is sometimes held to prove that the specific differences between the parents are ill-founded, and that where a fertile hybrid is noticed the parents are merely varieties of the same species. But even this argument will not always serve. Thus the cross between the bison and the cow is not infertile, though the parents in this case belong not merely to different species, but to different genera, thus showing a more deeply marked difference than members of the same genus but different species would possess. In Siberia interbreeding has been noticed between the hoodie crow (*Corvus cornix*) and the carrion crow (*Corvus corone*), the hybrid offspring mating and producing young. Professor Semper states that the hybrids of the male capercailzie (*Tetrao urogallus*), and the greyhen (*Tetrao tetrix*) are so numerous and prolific in certain regions that they are superseding the parent birds, while Professor Meehan considers that in plant-hybrids fertility is the rule rather than the exception. These instances go far to show that the statement as to the absolute infertility of crosses between different species must be seriously modified. The bearing on the relationship of the Reptilia and Mammalia of the facts brought to light by the renewed study of the Ornithorhynchus and Echidna should not be overlooked; but while these discoveries link together two of the great divisions of the vertebrates, a recent observation made by Mr. Bateson

serves to more closely connect the Vertebrata with the Mollusca. Mr. Bateson finds that during the development of the young of *Balanoglossus Kowalewskii* a rod of hypoblast is developed, which is solid in front and pinched off from the mass in the dorsal middle line of the pharynx. From this there is developed a structure resembling the notochord in the *Amphioxus*, the most lowly developed of the great Vertebrate family.

Animal Colouring Matters.—Dr. C. A. McMunn has discovered a colouring matter in the supra-renal capsules, to which he has given the name of *hæmochromogen*. The supra-renal capsules are two small bodies found above the kidneys, the function of which is still undecided. In the cortex or outer layer of these capsules is found another colouring matter known as *histochromogen*, the first-named pigment being confined to the medulla or inner body of the capsules. It is probable that the hæmochromogen is an excretory product, and that the functions of the supra-renal capsules may be to convert the used-up hæmoglobin of the blood into hæmochromogen. In what is known as “Addison’s disease” the skin undergoes a peculiar bronzing, and this is accompanied by disease of the supra-renals. When these capsules cease to act, the blood-pigments may possibly produce this discoloration. Hæmochromogen has been detected in the supra-renal capsule of other vertebrates besides man. Dr. McMunn has also described two other pigments, one named *myohæmatin* found in the muscles of the heart, and *histohæmatin* which is a “respiratory” pigment, i.e. one which will absorb oxygen. Another instance of the occurrence of chlorophyll in the animal kingdom, to the knowledge of which Dr. McMunn has so largely contributed, has been discovered in the Protozoon discovered by Mr. T. Bolton, the microscopist, in a pond near Birmingham, and named by Professor Ray Lankester *Archerina Boltoni*, after its discoverer. In this organism the chlorophyll mass forms a centre for its life-processes, and division of this chlorophyll nucleus always precedes, and is followed by, division of the protoplasm of which the whole individual is composed.

Development of Ferns.—Mr. E. T. Druery and Professor Bower have made some observations in the mode of reproduction of certain ferns which present important differences in this respect to other members of their class. In *Athyrium filix femina* (variety *clarissima*) the sporangia do not follow their normal course of fern growth into prothallia bearing both the antheridia and archegonia from which the future ferns are developed, but assume, first of all, a vegetative character, and then develop prothallia more or less well defined. These prothallia then ultimately bear the antheridia and archegonia. From these adventitious prothallia the production of seedling ferns has been noticed to take place in a normal manner. Professor Bower not only confirms Mr. Druery’s observations, but finds that in *Polystichum angulare* the apex of the pinnules grows out into an irregular prothallium, upon which the characteristic archegonia and antheridia are developed. In this case the prothallium is not even locally associated with the sporangia, but appears as a direct outgrowth of the normal spore-bearing plant, while the oophore becomes a mere vegetative process of the sporophore—a suppression of the alternation of the two generations. Mr. Druery’s discovery is a direct converse of the “apogamy,” discovered in 1874 by Farlow, in which the sporophore is a vegetative growth of the oophore. It would appear, therefore, as if all the possible varieties of fern reproduction have now been discovered.

A New Blood-ferment.—Mr. L. C. Woolridge has succeeded in

isolating a ferment to which he ascribes the power of determining the production of fibrin in blood. Fibrin itself does not exist in blood, but when drawn from the body fibrin is speedily formed, producing the coagulation of the blood. Mr. Woolridge gives the following method for the preparation of this ferment. The blood plasma of dogs which have been fed for some time previously to the experiment on a diet consisting of peptones is taken, freed from the blood-corpuscles, and then cooled down to the freezing point. A flocculent precipitate is then formed which gives rise to the fibrin-ferment. When examined microscopically the precipitate is seen to consist of minute pale transparent bodies, smaller than red blood-corpuscles, and having a great tendency to run together into granular masses.

Minor Biological Discoveries.—Mr. J. R. Davis has noticed that limpets find their way back to the scars which they have left, even when they have travelled from them a distance of two or three feet. He argues therefore that the limpet possesses some power of distinguishing locality, or at least of recognising a path over which it has once travelled.

Mr. H. Deintz has published the results of his observations on the motion of insects over smooth surfaces. It is generally supposed that flies and other animals walk on ceilings or similar places by the help of sucking discs which are present in their feet, but Mr. Deintz finds that the holding on is more commonly done by an exudation of mucus from the foot: thus the leech can walk on a wire network where its sucking discs would hardly enable it to retain its hold, and the tree-frog can hold on even in an air-pump vacuum. In the flies the feet are covered with hairs which are tipped with drops of liquid. The house-fly only uses these when on a vertical or more highly inclined surface, at other times the foot-lobes hang loosely down. Other insects secrete the necessary mucus from the mouth, while snails do so from the foot. Dr. Rombout considers that the adhesiveness is due to capillarity, and not to the mucous nature of the liquid.

Among minor discoveries of the year may be mentioned that of a gigantic earthworm in South Africa, to which the name *Lumbricus microchaeta* has been given. It is of a greenish colour, and is stated by the *Cape Times* to be sometimes as much as six feet long! Mr. S. W. Williston has described the larva of a dipterous insect found on the shores of the alkaline lakes of Nevada. This larva is eaten by the Indians, who get fat on them. They are said to be oily and not unpleasant to the taste, resembling a "patent meat biscuit." Mr. Simms, of Oxford, has noticed that young fish are caught by the bladder-like leaves of the *Utricularia vulgaris*. The fish are generally caught by the head and deeply swallowed, owing probably to the action of two pairs of projections, which are directed obliquely forwards and downwards to the end of the bladder. The *Utricularia* apparently digests or obtains nutriment from the fish so imprisoned.

The Cause of Cholera.—The controversy on the cholera bacillus has been vigorously carried on during the past year, and the final decision of the question appears to be still far from solution. Dr. Koch reasserts his statements as to the nature of the cholera bacillus. He states that it is never found in blood, liver, or spleen, as some English observers have declared, while the variety of "comma" bacillus found in the saliva of healthy persons is, according to him, totally distinct from the true cholera bacillus. This latter organism he now claims as a spirillum, owing to its growth during development into long spirals. Rabbits and guinea-pigs die, according to Dr. Koch, in $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 days after inoculation with $\frac{1}{100}$ drop of a pure cultivation

of the cholera "comma," while the best temperature for its growth he finds to be from 30° to 40° Centigrade. Professor von Ermengen agrees with Koch that the cholera form is specifically different from those described as identical by Finkler and Prior, and by Lewis, and Buchner considers that the organisms described by these observers are so different from those of Koch that confusion between them should be impossible. Nicati and Rietsch have also found that the cholera "comma" in a pure cultivation has a faint ethereal odour, and this faint odour has been noticed in the early stages of the disease in the intestinal matter of cholera patients. In connection with the question of the cholera bacillus and its action it should be mentioned that R. Emmerlich has obtained "cocci," or germs, from hospital wards containing patients suffering from pneumonia, and these germs, after cultivation, have produced death from pneumonia in rabbits and mice inoculated with them. Another experimenter claims to have obtained typhoid fever organisms, which, when inoculated in rabbits, cats, dogs, or guinea-pigs, produce in them typhoid fever symptoms. In this case, however, the virus could not be attenuated so as to be rendered harmless; the results were fatal except in the case of the pig, which appeared able to resist the disease entirely. Metzdorf has noticed a distinctive bacillus in the blood of animals which have died of cattle plague, and also in the lymphatic glands and lining of the intestines of such animals, and has made experiments with a view of cultivating and weakening the fatal character of this organism. These results of course tend to strengthen the position Koch has taken up, while, on the other hand, Klein, Lankester, and others still deny that Koch's inferences are warranted by the observations he has recorded. Thus Klein finds that the "comma" grows well in alkaline or neutral solutions, and that it is not killed, as Koch asserts, by weak acids; Klein, moreover, states that these bacilli are never found in the blood, and that there is direct evidence to show that water containing the evacuations of cholera patients, and, therefore, containing this bacillus, did not cause cholera among persons who used such water for drinking purposes. He also urges that other putrefactive bacilli show marked differences when grown in different media, and that differences between the "comma" bacillus of Koch and those described by Lewis or himself are due merely to the media in which they were grown.

The Cure of Hydrophobia.—M. Pasteur has continued his experimenting on the virus of hydrophobia, and has put into practice a system of inoculation which he expects to find an effective protection against this terrible and hitherto incurable malady. He has found that by inoculating an animal first with a very weak form of the virus and then with successively stronger forms the animal was rendered proof against hydrophobia even from the direct bite of a rabid dog. He has already experimented on persons who have been bitten by dogs which were mad or reputed to be mad, but it is at present too soon to form a conclusive opinion as to the efficacy of his treatment, though there is every reason, from the high character of M. Pasteur's previous work, to be sanguine of success.

CHEMISTRY.

Action of Water on Metals.—It has long been well known that soft water would dissolve lead, and zinc-lined cisterns and pipes have been recommended as a substitute for that metal. Professor Heaton finds, however, that some spring waters will dissolve zinc. In one case, the water, after

passing through half a mile of galvanised iron pipe, contained as much as 6.41 grains of zinc carbonate in a gallon. Dr. Venables has also met with a case in which water contained 4.29 grains of carbonate of zinc per gallon after passing through only 200 yards of galvanised pipe. It behoves owners of galvanised iron pipes and cisterns to look well to the quality of their water-supply, as a water rich in carbonic acid will gradually attack the zinc. In the case of copper, M. Carnot proposes to use as ship-sheathing an alloy of copper and manganese, containing a few parts in a thousand of the latter metal, in order to prevent the gradual oxidation and corrosion of the copper by the sea-water. This corrosion is, according to M. Carnot, due to the small quantity of suboxide contained by the metal. This suboxide becomes converted into oxide by the combined action of the sea-water and air. The oxide thus produced forms soluble salts which are washed out by the water. By using the manganese, which is readily oxidisable, the copper would be protected, while the suboxide would in preparing the alloy be converted into metal.

New Metals.—A new metal has been announced by Professor Welsky, to which he has given the name of *idunium*. He states that he has discovered it during the examination of some specimens of lead vanadate. No particulars as to its atomic weight or chemical relationships have yet been published. Dr. C. A. Welsbach has published some results of his work on the metal didymium and its compounds. He claims that he has separated this metal into two bodies, to which he gives the distinctive names of praseodymium and neodymium. The two bodies are distinguished from each other by the different solubilities of their nitrates, and also by the different spectra which the compounds of each metal give when examined by the spectroscope. As the spectrum of didymium has already been carefully mapped, it is interesting to note that the joint spectra of praseodymium and neodymium as given by Welsbach produce exactly the lines of the didymium spectrum; and, moreover, next to iron and hydrogen, didymium is one of the most characteristic elements in the sun.

The Cause of Chemical Action.—The ideas of chemists on chemical action and chemical combination are undergoing rapid change owing to recent discoveries. Last year mention was made of the observations of Mr. H. B. Dixon and Professor E. P. Dunnington on the necessity for the presence of water before the union of a mixture of carbonic oxide and oxygen, or of sulphuretted hydrogen and silver, could take place. These observations have been carried further by Mr. Baker, who finds, in contradiction to what has been the prevailing belief among chemists, that pure carbon and pure phosphorus are incombustible in pure oxygen, though both readily burn if a trace of water or other impurity be present. It would thus appear that the simple chemical union of two elements to form a compound is by no means common, even if it ever really occurs, and the actual expression of chemical change thus becomes of a more complicated kind. Professor Armstrong has suggested that the true source of chemical action lies in the electrical condition and capabilities of the reacting bodies. It has been noticed that nascent hydrogen obtained from different sources has varying chemical activities, and on Professor Armstrong's theory this varying chemical activity would be due to the different amounts of electro-motive force with which the molecules of hydrogen from different sources were charged.

Manufacture of Oxygen.—MM. Brin Frères have carried out a method

of manufacturing oxygen from the air, which appears likely to form an economical method for obtaining large supplies of this element. They heat dry oxide of barium, perfectly free from water, in a current of dry air at a temperature of 500°C . At this temperature the oxide of barium absorbs oxygen and passes into the condition of dioxide of barium. The temperature is then raised to 800°C ., the air-supply being cut off, when the absorbed oxygen is given off, owing to the increased heat, and the dioxide returns to the condition of oxide, ready to again go through the same processes. MM. Brin have invented an ingenious arrangement by which the retort containing the oxide of barium regulates the air-supply and the amount of heat it receives. This is done by the expansion of the retort acting on levers which close or open the air-supply port. The principle of this process is not new, but it has always been previously found that after a time the oxide of barium becomes more or less crystalline, and refuses further to absorb oxygen. MM. Brin state that in their process this difficulty is overcome by the mode of preparing the oxide, by avoiding the presence of water, and by a careful regulation of the heat. The advantages in scientific and industrial processes of a ready and cheap supply of pure oxygen would be very great. It is to be hoped that the continued working of the process will be a success.

A Test for Protoplasm.—Dr. Oscar Loew states that the difference between living and dead protoplasm can be detected by their different behaviour with an alkaline silver solution. According to Dr. Loew, living protoplasm differs chemically from dead protoplasm by the fact that the former contains certain aldehyd groups which are altered in the latter; these aldehyd groups act on the alkaline silver solution and reduce the silver compounds to the metallic state. Thus the vegetable organism *Spirogyra* while alive reduces this solution, and increases in specific gravity thereby, owing to the absorption of the precipitated silver; whereas a dead *Spirogyra* is without effect on the solution. This observation confirms the conclusions of Pflüger that a chemical change occurs when living protoplasm becomes dead.

A New Alloy.—Mr. F. W. Martins, of Sheffield, has introduced a new alloy which he calls platinoid. It consists of german silver alloyed with one or two per cent. of the metal tungsten. The new alloy is intended for electrical purposes. Like german silver, its resistance to an electric current is practically unaltered by ordinary variations of temperature, while the amount of this resistance is $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as great in platinoid as in german silver. It will thus be of use in the construction of resistance coils where high resistances in a small bulk are required.

PHYSICS AND MECHANICS.

New Forms of Telephone.—Professor George Forbes, in giving evidence on a telephone patent case, described a series of experiments he had made, which have a great theoretic interest, as throwing additional light on the principles which underlie the construction of the telephone. He stated that his experiments were arranged with the object of enabling him to decide how far a resonant box or plate was essential to the action of a microphone transmitter, and he found, after many trials, in which a large number of different substances were experimented on, that even a mass of putty, which is practically devoid of elasticity, can act as a resonator and allow of the transmission of speech. From this Professor Forbes was led to

conclude that in ordinary cases of transmission of speech by a microphone the voice acts directly on the carbon pencils of the microphone, and not through the medium of any resonator. Professor Silvanus P. Thompson has invented a new form of telephone, which differs in several important points from that covered by the Gower Bell patents. As a company has been formed to sell outright these telephones at a price considerably below that of the Gower Bell Company, the question of infringement of patent will probably be fully discussed. The new telephone of Professor Thompson has been given by its inventor the name of the Nest telephone. The transmitter consists of a tube terminating at one end in an ordinary bell-shaped mouth-piece, and at the other in a small ring, the so-called nest of soft material, such as wool or hair. In this nest are two pieces of hard carbon, which act as a microphone, being connected with the wires of a battery. These carbons are the "nest eggs." The vibrations caused by speaking into the mouthpiece cause the resistance offered by the carbons to the electric current to vary, and so to transmit a varying current of electricity to the receiving station. The receiver consists of a firmly stretched membrane, in the centre of which a small piece of ferrotype plate is fixed, this being a form of receiver disclaimed by Bell, though it has yielded good results in Professor Thompson's hands. Specimens of these telephones were fixed in the Inventions Exhibition, and appeared to the writer to be satisfactory in their working. Professor Dolbear has been investigating the action of the early telephones made by Reis, and he concludes that the explanation Reis gave of their action—viz. that the transmission of the sound was effected by interruption of an electric current—is not correct, but that Reis' telephone acts like that of Bell by the so-called undulatory currents, and that, if the Reis telephone is arranged so that no undulatory current can pass, no transmission of distinguishable sounds takes place.

Penetration of Light through Water.—MM. Fol and Sarasin have been making experiments in continuation of those of M. Forel as to the depth to which sunlight can penetrate water. They find that in the Lake of Geneva a sensitised photographic plate received no impression at a depth of 300 metres, while at 170 metres the impression was no stronger than that produced on exposure of the plate on a clear moonless night. In sea-water off Cape Ferrat no impression was produced at a depth of 420 metres, and only faint traces of impression at 380 metres. So far as these experiments go, it would appear that sea-water is more transparent to sunlight than the same depth of lake water.

Electric Currents and their Applications.—M. Cailletet has discovered an important connection between the resistance offered by a wire to the passage of an electric current, and the temperature at which such a wire is maintained. It has been long known that the passage of an electric current along a wire produces or tends to produce heat, and that a heated wire offers a greater resistance to the passage of a current than a cooled wire; but M. Cailletet finds that at extremely low temperatures, *e.g.* 220°C ., such as produce the liquefaction of oxygen, wires of copper or of platinum appear to offer no resistance at all to the passage of a current of electricity, and consequently that no current could produce heat in a wire at that temperature. In connection with the subject of electric current it may be mentioned that an ingenious "ammeter," or instrument for measuring the strength of a current, has been invented by M. P. Meardi. This ammeter consists of a U-shaped tube, one leg of which is of greater diameter

than the other. Round the thicker leg of the tube is wound the wire conducting the current, the legs of the tube are filled with mercury, and on the mercury in the thicker leg floats an iron bar. The passage of a current sucks this bar into the mercury in a greater or less degree according to the strength of the current, and thereby produces a rise or fall of the mercury in the thinner leg of the U-tube, which is read off on a graduated scale.

The application of electricity to the production of motive power has made steady progress during the past year. Not only has the electric railway of M. Volk, at Brighton, continued in satisfactory work, but another, and in some respects a more interesting one, has been opened at Blackpool. The Blackpool Electric Tramway, of which Mr. Holroyd Smith is the engineer, has been laid down along an ordinary road, and will therefore be exposed to the usual wear and tear of tramways from the passage over it of other traffics. As an example of the ease with which cars driven by electricity can be governed, it may be mentioned that on one occasion a parcel van accidentally blocked the line just as the tramcar was coming along at its usual rate of speed; the car was stopped in half its own length, and a collision thus averted. On the New York Elevated Railroad various electric motors have been tried, with the result that the persons interested in the motors have agreed to unite in the endeavour to produce a motor which shall, if possible, combine the good qualities of all those which were tried. At the Antwerp Exhibition also experiments were made on a tramway track with three of the best known motors, but no striking success appears to have been obtained.

New Mechanical Inventions.—An ingenious modification of the mechanical telephone has been patented by Messrs Knudson and Ellsworth, and is now being supplied to the public. In the mechanical telephone the sound-vibrations travel along the connecting wire, whereas in the Bell and other telephones the sound-waves merely excite an electric current in the connecting wire, and this current reproduces sound-waves in the receiving instrument. The mechanical telephone has, therefore, nothing to do with electricity. It consists of a wooden case, about 5 inches square, fixed to the wall. In front of it is a larger plate, 9 inches in diameter, with a 3-inch hole in the centre. In this hole is inserted a perforated disc made of nickel $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, and to this disc is attached the connecting wire. A similar instrument serves as a receiver, and no additional apparatus is required. To call attention it suffices to tap the nickel disc, when the sound is heard in the receiving instrument. It is claimed for this form by the inventors that speech is distinctly audible at a distance of 2 miles, and for short distances it may be useful as an advance on the speaking-tube. Another ingenious mechanical contrivance, which was on view at the Inventions Exhibition, is Cameron's sliding coupling for shafts inclined to each other at an angle. This coupling consists of a number of rods bent to the angle required by the inclination of the shafts to each other. The face of each shaft is pierced with an equal number of concentric holes, and the legs of the rods are inserted into these holes. The revolution of one shaft is then transmitted by these rods to the other shaft. This form of coupling allows more play than the usual bevel-wheel coupling, but at any angle except a right angle results in a great loss of power. Its interest depends, therefore, upon its ingenuity rather than its practical utility.

The Etève Engine.—An ingenious modification of the now well-known gas engine has been patented in this country, and is being worked by a

company formed for the purpose. This engine—named after its inventor, a Frenchman—works without water, steam, or gas. The motive power is obtained by the explosion of a mixture of air and petroleum vapour. To start the engine air is forced through a vessel containing a supply of light petroleum oil. This furnishes a mixture which is ignited like the mixture of air and gas in the gas engine. When once started the engine continues the necessary operation of pumping air through the liquid in the container, and is therefore self-feeding.

A New Lubricant.—Mr. B. Baker is employing a new lubricant for use under the gigantic girders of the Forth Bridge. This lubricant consists of crude petroleum and iron dust which has been found to materially decrease the friction between rubbing surfaces.

A Dynamite Gun.—Lieutenant Zalinski, of the United States Navy, has invented a gun which is adapted for firing a dynamite or gun-cotton bomb instead of the usual projectiles. This gun consists of a long barrel supported on a framework arranged to prevent any distortion owing to the length of the barrel, which is as much as 30 feet. The projectile is discharged by compressed air admitted by a valve which allows an increasing pressure of air to act from the moment the projectile commences to move in the tube to the moment it leaves the mouth of the gun. In experiments he has made with missiles weighing as much as 30 lbs. a range of more than a mile has been obtained.

A New Explosive.—In connection with the improvement of New York Harbour a new explosive was used to remove obstructions from the channel known as Hell Gate. This explosive is the invention of Mr. A. C. Rand, and consists of a mixture of chlorate of potash and nitro-benzol. It is stated to be much safer in preparation and storage than dynamite, while in use its action appears to be somewhat less local than that material. No less than 240,000 lbs. of this new compound was exploded at once on Oct. 10, and no less than nine acres of rock were shattered by its force. The rock in question, known as Flood Rock, had previously been honeycombed in every direction, and charges of “rackarock,” as the explosive is called, were placed at stated intervals in holes bored for its reception. The cartridges were fired simultaneously by an electric current from the adjoining shore. The removal of this mass of rock will give a minimum depth of 26 feet in that part of the channel, and when followed by the removal of some smaller reefs will render this entrance to New York Harbour a comparatively easy one. Upwards of 5,000,000 dollars have already been spent on these improvements, which have been many years in progress.

Tunnelling under Rivers.—Two important tunnels have been completed during the past year. One of these, the tunnel under the Mersey, has been opened for traffic, the other under the Severn still remains unopened, owing to the necessity of completing the railway approaches on the eastern side. The Mersey Tunnel passes through a comparatively dry sandstone rock, and in its execution no important engineering difficulty owing to influx of water had to be overcome; but in the Severn Tunnel so great has been the amount of water to be kept back that fears have frequently been felt as to the possibility of completing the tunnel. The Mersey Tunnel is some $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile long, and connects the Birkenhead and the Wirral district with Liverpool; while the Severn Tunnel is $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, and will serve to connect South Wales with Bristol and the south and west of England. The

first train passed through the Severn Tunnel in September, and the first train through the Mersey Tunnel in November.

The Canadian Pacific Railway.—This important transcontinental line has been completed through from the St. Lawrence to the Pacific during the year. The carrying out of this gigantic enterprise was the price of the adhesion of British Columbia to the federation of provinces of British North America into the Dominion of Canada. Engineering skill of a high order has been required to carry a line through the wild rocky country at the north of Lake Superior and through the mountain ranges of the Rockies and the Selkirks. The Canadian Pacific is the only line across the continent controlled by a single company. Its completion furnishes a new and the shortest route to China and Japan from this country, while opening up immense tracts of fertile territory.

GEOLOGY.

A deep boring at Woolwich has revealed some additional facts as to the strata under the London basin. This boring was put down for the purpose of obtaining a supply of water, but after piercing through the chalk without obtaining the desired amount, the bore tube brought up cores of rock containing fossils which were identified as belonging to the great Oolite, while the series of upper Oolite and Wealden beds were absent. As these beds attain a thickness of some 1,400 feet in Sussex, it is clear that these strata thin away from south to north, so that only a wedge-shaped mass lies between the newer strata above and the Older Secondary and Palæozoic strata below. In another case the position of the beds underlying the London basin has been further elucidated by the deep-well boring at Richmond. In this boring the great Oolite strata was cut through. A rich band of fossiliferous clay of this age, only six inches, was discovered, in which a large number of echinoderms and brachiopods were embedded. These served to fix the age of the deposit. Under these great Oolite strata were detected rocks which, though devoid of fossils, were recognisable by their mineral character as belonging to the Triassic strata. This formation had not previously been detected under London with any degree of certainty. In another part of the kingdom the existence of Triassic beds which was previously a matter of dispute has been placed beyond doubt. At Spynie, near Banff, are certain red sandstone beds which contain remains of a reptile known as *Telerpeton*. These beds were referred by palæontologists to the Triassic era on account of the presence in them of this fossil, while on lithological considerations the geologists of the survey had classed them as of Old Red Sandstone age. Careful examination of these rocks has, however, shown that they rest unconformably on beds of Old Red strata, and that their Triassic character is established by this fact and by their peculiar mineral structure, as well as by the fossils found in them. No less than four orders of Reptilian remains have now been found in these sandstones, whereas Reptilian remains are unknown in the Old Red.

Mention was made in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1884 of the researches of Messrs. Peach and Horne on the crystalline schists of the Durness and Eriboll districts. Recent works by these and other geologists published during this past year have still further corroborated the results then given, while metamorphism on a similar gigantic scale has been noticed and described as occurring in the Alps by Professor Bonney, and in Pennsylvania by Professor H. Carvell Lewis. Professor Lewis mentions cases where, as at

Eriboll, the older strata have been contorted, folded, and forced over newer ones, while the fossils which these strata have contained are altered or obliterated, and sedimentary deposits are changed into masses of crystalline rocks.

ASTRONOMY.

The Sun.—Professor H. McLeod has invented a new form of sunshine recorder, the principle of which is, that the record of sunshine is produced by the light instead of the heat of the sun, as in the more usual forms. The apparatus consists of a camera placed with its axis parallel to the polar axis of the earth, the lens of the camera pointing northwards. Opposite the lens is a silvered sphere, from which the sun's rays pass through the lens to the sensitised paper in the camera. This paper is rendered sensitive by ferro-prussiate of potash. The position of the lens and sphere is so arranged that the image of the sun is reflected in a line, which rotates slowly about another line, lying through the centre of the lens, the two lines coinciding in a point on the silvered sphere. The image of the sun is carried round in this circular arc by the earth's motion. The diameter of the circle thus traced in June is, in Professor McLeod's present form of instrument, about 120 millimetres diameter. The time scale is easily made by dividing this circle into arcs of 15° by radial lines, each arc representing one hour. As a test of its delicacy, covering the lens for one minute produces a light line in the dark band, produced by continuous sunshine. The total quantity of heat and light radiated by the sun has been made the subject of a paper communicated to the *American Journal of Science* by Professor Langley. The author comes to the conclusion that the amount of light and heat absorbed by the atmosphere has been very much underrated, and, consequently, that the total solar radiation has also been put at too low an estimate. Previous investigators have taken the amount of atmospheric absorption at the sea-level as being about 20 per cent. of the total radiation, whereas Professor Langley, from theoretical considerations, and from experiments conducted at great heights, as well as at the sea-level, concludes that the amount of absorption is at least twice as much. As the solar energy consists of an infinite number of radiations, the effect of different atmospheric conditions will largely influence the total radiation observed at the earth's surface. To estimate the heat radiated from the sun, Professor Langley uses an instrument which he calls a bolometer. This consists of a metallic wire or tape through which an electric current is passing. Any heating effect on this wire or tape causes an alteration in its power of conducting electricity, and this alteration in resistance is at once shown by a delicate galvanometer. By means of this instrument, and by working at heights of 15,000 feet, Professor Langley has extended the limits of the solar spectrum to wave length 28,000 of Angstrom's scale. The wire or tape of the bolometer is made of platinum, and is about $\frac{1}{25000}$ of an inch thick and $\frac{1}{120}$ of an inch wide. The preparation of such a strip of metal was in itself a difficult operation, but this difficulty Professor Langley has managed to successfully overcome.

The Planets.—Professor Hall and others have shown that the apsides of the orbit of Hyperion, the seventh satellite of Saturn, have a retrograde motion as regards its revolution round the planet. The nearest satellite to Hyperion is Titan, and Professor Newcomb finds that, owing to the fact that the orbits of these two satellites nearly approach commensurability, Titan exercises a drag on Hyperion sufficient to produce this retrogression

of the apsides. The diameter of Uranus has been measured by several observers. Professor Seeliger, of Munich, from a series of observations made in four different directions across the planet's disc, concludes that the diameter measures $3.963''$, and that no sensible ellipticity in the planet can be observed. Professor Millosvich, of Rome, agrees with these observations, and places the diameter at an approximately similar quantity. On the other hand, Professor Schiaparelli, at Milan, has taken certain measurements which show a decided ellipticity in the disc, but the observations are not yet sufficiently numerous to enable the question to be settled. M. Duponchel has assumed as an explanation of the secular variation of the compass the existence of an ultra-Neptunian planet. In a paper published in the *Comptes Rendus* he concludes that such a planet would have a revolution period of 467 years, and be at present situated somewhere in the constellation Capricornus, in latitude 304° . By the hypothesis of such a planet he also accounts for some elements in the motion of Neptune. Neptune is at present the outermost of the solar system of planets, and takes nearly 165 years to revolve round the sun. The number of the asteroids has been raised to 250, the one to which this number is allotted having been discovered on Sept. 3 by Professor Palisa. The discovery of the new bodies has been chiefly by Dr. Peters, at Hamilton, New York; and by Professor Palisa, at Vienna; though two, Nos. 241 and 247, are due to Dr. R. Luther, at Düsseldorf, and Nos. 240 and 246 by M. Borrelly, at Marseilles; No. 245 was discovered by Mr. Pogson, at Madras; and No. 238 by Dr. Knorre, of Berlin, when searching for No. 233.

Stellar Astronomy.—The Argentine Republic has published Dr. Gould's great work on the stars of the southern hemisphere, known as the "Cordoba Zone Catalogue," and on which that astronomer has been working for upwards of thirteen years. It contains a very complete and accurate survey of the southern heavens down to stars of the $9\frac{1}{2}$ magnitude, including some of the more important stars of the 10th magnitude. Some idea of the amount of work represented by this catalogue may be gathered from the number of stars of which the position is given. There are 73,160 different stars catalogued within the limits of 80° and 23° south declination, the stars being arranged in the order of their right ascension. Another star catalogue, published during the past year, is that by Professor Grant, and known as the "Glasgow Star Catalogue." This contains the results of that astronomer's observations on some 6,000 stars selected from the first volume of Bessel's catalogue. Professor Grant's catalogue supplies more accurate positions for a large proportion of these stars, and will thereby enable the proper motion of many of them to be accurately determined. Professor Grant has himself investigated the proper motion of ninety-seven such stars which are found both in Lalande's and Bessel's lists. The "Glasgow Star Catalogue" is the first separate work issued from the Glasgow Observatory, and it has been printed by the Government at the national expense on the recommendation of the Royal Society. Dr. Ball has published his observations on stellar parallax made at Dunsink. These observations are of interest, not only on account of the stars catalogued as having a measurable amount of parallax, but also on account of the number of stars for which Dr. Grant's method did not enable him to recognise any. He carefully observed 410 stars; of these, 368 showed no recognisable parallax, while the remaining 42 showed a parallax which in all cases was of very small value. Baron Dombrowski has published his great work on double stars. It contains micrometric ob-

servations made during the years 1862 to 1878. A list of thirty-two red stars not found in any star catalogue has been published by the Rev. T. E. Espin, President of the Liverpool Astronomical Society; and Mr. Barnard, of Nashville, has announced the discovery of a new red star, which he states is so intensely red that when seen in a telescope with 5-inch object glass and a magnifying power of 30 diameters it appears like a drop of blood. A list of variable stars, twenty-five in number, has been published by M. Borrelly. These stars were observed by him in searching for minor planets. The variability of stars has also been studied by Herr E. von Gothard. He has observed the spectrum of the star β Lyræ on thirty nights, and he gives as the result of his observations that on nine occasions the line D_3 in the spectrum was more or less bright, and on one occasion (July 13) was "almost dazzling." On several other nights the presence of this line was only just suspected, and on nine nights no trace of it could be seen. The C line was also seen reversed on many occasions and frequently very brilliant, while on other nights it was faint or even a dark line. The F line also varied. The period of variability was the same for all the lines, and appeared to be about three days. Dr. Elkin, of Yale Observatory, has during the past two years been engaged in measuring the group of the Pleiades, taking as his basis the catalogue of Bessel, but adding thereto the places of many stars which Bessel does not mention. The position, angle, and distance of the stars in Bessel's list are given, as measured with the Yale heliometer from the star Alcyone. The value of this work of Dr. Elkin cannot be fully estimated till the position of certain reference stars has been accurately determined at other observatories where this is now being done. It may be added that, in addition to this work, Dr. Elkin has determined the position of a number of craters in the moon, and also a series of measures of the diameter of Venus, of the outer ring of Saturn, and of its satellite Titan.

Variation in the Nebula in Andromeda.—Dr. Hartwig has announced that he has discovered a stellar nucleus in the Great Nebula of Andromeda, which has previously been looked upon as a gaseous mass irresolvable into stars. This nebula does not seem to have been known, or at any rate was not made an object of study by the ancients, being first mentioned by the Arabian astronomers in the tenth century. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries an opinion gained ground that this nebula was subject to changes of brightness, but nothing had been discovered which could uphold this opinion. The spectroscope, however, has shown that it differs from other nebulae in giving a continuous spectrum, i.e. one containing all the colours of a rainbow instead of the ordinary spectrum of a true nebula, which consists of a few coloured bands separated by dark spaces. This nebula is easily seen by the naked eye on a clear moonless night as a faint misty object. Dr. Hartwig's discovery has caused it to receive special attention. Drawings of this nebula made by Professor Bond, at Harvard, in 1847, and again by M. Trouvelot in 1877, show certain important differences which tend to explain Dr. Hartwig's discovery. M. Folie, of the Royal Observatory of Brussels, reported that on Sept. 2 the nebula showed a stellar nucleus of the 6th—7th magnitude, whereas in the previous month no nucleus whatever was perceptible. The announcement in England of this singularly interesting discovery was made by Dr. Copeland, of Dunecht—the observatory belonging to Lord Lindsay. Dr. Copeland has predicted the meteor shower which was seen on Nov. 27 over a great part of the country. At that time the earth was passing through the track of Biela's comet, as it

did in 1872, when the prediction of this meteor-shower was first made. These meteors are in some manner attendant on the comet, not merely as being part of the comet's tail, since some of them precede, and do not merely follow the comet. The display on the evening of Nov. 27 lasted for some hours with great brilliancy, but neither the number, duration, nor magnificence was equal to the earlier display in 1872.

Determination of Latitude and Longitude.—It has been decided to commence a series of observations to be made with the best vertical transit instruments on selected stars in order to discover if any change of latitude occurs in the course of years. Observatories are to co-operate in pairs for this work, these pairs being chosen so that the difference of latitude between the numbers of each pair may be as small as possible. By this arrangement the selected stars can be observed at nearly the same zenith distance. The latitudes which have been determined up to the present time leave the question of variation undecided. Thus at Pulkowa, in 1843, the latitude was $59^{\circ} 46' 18.73''$, and in 1872 it had sunk to $59^{\circ} 46' 18.50''$, with a probable maximum error of $\pm .14''$, while, on the other hand, the latitude at Greenwich appears from recent determinations to be the same now as it was in 1836. The pairs of observatories at present selected for these latitude determinations are Cape of Good Hope and Sydney, Santiago and Windsor (New South Wales), Rome and Chicago, Naples and New York, Lisbon and Washington. Commander Davis, of the U.S. Navy, has during the past year completed his determination of longitude on the west coast of America. This great chain of measurements connects Washington with various points in South America, thence to Lisbon through St. Vincent and Madeira, and back to Washington *via* Greenwich. As an example of the accuracy which has been obtained in these longitude determinations, it may be mentioned that the values obtained for the longitude of Cordoba University calculated by each of the two routes given above only differ by $0.18''$ of arc.

GEOGRAPHY.

Central Asia.—Mention was made last year of the journey of the Indian explorer, A — K —, fuller particulars of which have since been laid before the Royal Geographical Society. So far as can be ascertained at present, the new geographical information acquired by the Pandit is of great accuracy when the limited opportunities he possessed for taking correct observations are taken into account, and are of high value as settling the long-debated question as to the origin of the river systems of Upper India. The sobriquet, A — K —, of this traveller is due to the rule of the Indian Government not to publish the real name of their explorers, in order better to ensure their safety. During the four and a half years of his journey he traversed a distance of some 2,800 miles, chiefly over ground not previously known, and throughout the journey the magnetic bearings, which enabled him to determine the direction in which he was proceeding, were observed. He determined approximately the height of most of the mountain passes and river valleys, and has settled the question as to the watershed of the river systems flowing in an east and west direction on a mountain range near the pass of Tila-la, which is some 16,000 feet high. At heights varying from 12,000 to 15,000 feet there were large flourishing towns, with, in favourable cases, fields of barley or woods around them. Among other obstacles which A — K — met with, one of the more serious was the prevalence of small-pox in the Li-tang district. For protection against this disease the Chinese doctors

make use of a snuff which contains the dried pustules of other small-pox patients. This produces when inhaled a milder and more curable form of the disease, and thus serves as a species of inoculation against the severer epidemic. At another place, Chomoráwa, at the head of the Kichu valley, he found the wandering shepherd tribes of that region engaged in burying the carcasses of animals which had died through eating grass rendered poisonous by the presence of a wingless beetle. This beetle has a black head and yellow body, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long. Animals grazing on pastures infested with this insect are attacked by a fever of a contagious nature. The herdsmen and those who eat the flesh of such beasts are also liable to the disease. Another explorer in Central Asia is Dr. Neis, who has given an account of a journey of eighteen months' duration in the Indo-Chinese region. Mr. Neis had great difficulty in making his way into the interior, owing to the disturbances caused by bands of Chinese marauders, known as the Hos, who had overrun the part of the country through which he was desirous of travelling.

Africa.—During the past year progress has been made by the Free State of the Congo in its attempt to open up to civilisation and commerce the noblest river of Equatorial Africa. An attempt to reach the Upper Congo from Lake Tanganyika was made by M. Giraud. This, though not successful, has added to our knowledge of Lake Bangweolo, and has corrected the position of the river Luapula, which M. Giraud has discovered leaves the lake on its south-west corner, and not, as given by Livingstone, at the north-west. M. Giraud returned safely to Inhambane, and from thence to France. The Portuguese Central African Expedition, under Major Serpa Pinto, started from the coast at the end of 1884, having been delayed owing to the disturbed state of the country. Further south Captain Chaddock has ascended the river Limpopo to the Transvaal territory. He describes this river as presenting a favourable route to the interior, being deep, though narrow, and free from cataracts or other obstructions. Messrs. T. L. and W. D. Jones have been engaged in exploration in Somaliland. Their route was from Berbera through the Ogaden country to Webbe Shebeyli, and thence to Lebelahii. The German efforts at colonial expansion have also added to our knowledge of Africa. Extensive annexations have been made at various points, and reports from explorers and commanders have dwelt favourably on the resources and importance of Central Africa. Late in the autumn of 1884 the German Colonisation Society sent out a party, under the command of Dr. Peters, to make treaties and bring under German influence much of the territory previously supposed to be under the protection of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Dr. Peters has concluded such treaties with ten quasi-independent sultans representing the districts of Usegehu, Nguru, Usagara, and Ukami. The area practically annexed by Germany under these treaties is about 2,500 square miles in extent, and of great commercial importance, as the main trade route from the Zanzibar coast and Lake Tanganyika passes through it. On the northern side of the African continent the French have again raised the question of the inland African sea in the Sahara desert. Commander Roudaire's sanguine observations at Tunis were confirmed by M. Tissot, and M. de Lesseps has also been convinced of the engineering possibility of the work. M. Roudaire is now making preparations for a harbour and other necessary works at the Gulf of Gabes, in Tunis, where the future sea is to have its outlet to the Mediterranean.

America.—Even the United States still furnishes room for geographical

research, as is shown by the discovery of the true source of the Mississippi. Captain Willard Glazier, of the United States Navy, states that the Mississippi rises in a lake somewhat south of Lake Itasca, in latitude $47^{\circ} 13' 23''$, at an altitude of 1,578 feet above the sea. The source is thus put at a spot about 1° south of Turtle Mountain, and the distance from the lake to the sea will be 3,184 miles. In the Dominion of Canada further attempts have been made to open the Hudson Bay route as a trade route for the north-western produce to reach Liverpool. Such a route if it could be successfully worked would shorten the distance between Liverpool and Winnipeg by nearly 1,000 miles ; but the ice in the Hudson Bay Straits will always render navigation dangerous, and even prevent it altogether. The object of the Dominion Government in sending the expedition was to determine, if possible, at what time of year and in what directions the sea was most open ; but the vessels sent were caught in the ice, and after remaining there for some time were compelled to return. As, however, it is proposed to construct a railway from Winnipeg to a point on Hudson's Bay, it may be assumed that the practicability of this route for purposes of commerce is still considered good. In Greenland the Danish Government Expedition for the year 1885 was under the command of Lieutenant Jensen, who had already taken part in four previous expeditions of the same kind. He started on March 24 to survey the coast line from $65^{\circ} 30'$ to 64° N. latitude. On the completion of this work the Danish Government will have the credit of having carried out a complete survey of the Greenland coast from $72^{\circ} 30'$ to $61^{\circ} 30'$ N. latitude, as well as that of the greater part of the south coast. This makes the tenth expedition sent out by the Government since 1875. The 1883 expedition returned during the year to Denmark in safety, after an absence of two and a half years. It was commanded by Lieutenant Holm.

In South America the ascent of the hitherto unscaled Mount Roraima, lying between British Guiana and Brazil, has to be recorded. Mr. Everard im Thurm reached the summit, about 5,000 feet, on Dec. 8, 1884, and remained there for three weeks. The cone which forms the central mass of rock is about 2,500 feet in height, and from it streams of water flow down in precipitous falls, and feed the Amazon, the Orinoco, and the Essiquebo.

Australasia.—In continuation of the mountaineering work done by Mr. Green in the South Island of New Zealand, of which a short notice was given last year, Mr. Kerry Nichols has been exploring the North Island. In the so-called "King" country Mr. Nichols has ascended the peaks of Ruapehu, 9,100 feet high, and of Tongariro, 7,000 feet high. The latter mountain he reports to be extremely interesting. The summit is formed of a large crater, almost completely circular, and nearly a mile in circumference, with the usual volcanic phenomena of hot springs, mud volcanoes, and sulphur deposits. Mr. Nichols did not notice any traces of recent eruptions, though Tongariro cannot be considered an extinct volcano.

On the Australian mainland Dr. R. von Lendenfeld has ascended the highest of the Australian Alps, to which he has given the name of Mount Clarke. He states that the upper limit of trees was reached at about 5,900 feet, and he gives the total height of the mountain as being 7,256 feet.

Explorations are also in progress in our new acquisition of New Guinea, which it is hoped will have the effect of making this important island more accessible.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1885.¹

JANUARY.

Bishop of London.—The Right Honourable and Right Reverend John Jackson, D.D., Bishop of London from 1869 to 1885, and previously Bishop of Lincoln from 1853 to 1869, was born Feb. 22, 1811, so that at the time of his death he was within a few weeks of completing his 74th year. His father was a London merchant, and he himself was educated at Reading Grammar School, at that time under the well-known Dr. Valpy. From Reading, Jackson went to Oxford, where he matriculated at Pembroke College, and in Easter Term, 1833, he was placed in the first class in Classics. He did not obtain a fellowship. At that time fellowships, except at Oriel and Balliol, were confined to special localities, and he quitted the University soon after taking his degree. In 1834 he obtained the Ellerton Theological Prize for an essay on the thesis, "The Sanctifying Influence of the Holy Ghost is indispensable to Human Salvation." He was ordained in the following year by the Bishop of Oxford, and was for a short time curate at Henley-on-Thames. In 1836 he was elected Head Master of the Islington Proprietary School, a post which he retained for ten years. During the greater part of this time he officiated first as curate and afterwards, from 1842 to 1846, as incumbent of St. James's, Muswell Hill, a district in the parish of Hornsey. In 1838 he married Mary Ann, a daughter of Mr. Henry Browell, of Kentish Town, by whom he had a family of eleven sons and daughters. Mrs. Jackson died on Jan. 6, 1874.

It was not until 1846 that Bishop Jackson came prominently before the

world and began to make himself known in London. In that year he was appointed by Bishop Blomfield, his penultimate predecessor in the see of London, to the important rectory of St. James's, Westminster, commonly called St. James's, Piccadilly. Mr. Jackson's parochial activity and powerful preaching soon attracted attention, and he became one of the best known clergymen in London. He had already been appointed Select Preacher at Oxford in 1845, and he was appointed to the same office three times afterwards, in 1850, 1862, and 1866, and in 1853, the year in which he was nominated Bishop of Lincoln, he delivered the Boyle Lectures in London. His preaching was scholarly, effective, and attractive, and, being a man of sound judgment, moderate views, and great practical earnestness, he soon gathered round him a distinguished congregation.

In 1847 he was appointed Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen, and he became Canon of Bristol in 1853. In 1853 Dr. Kaye, the Bishop of Lincoln, died, and Lord Aberdeen appointed Mr. Jackson his successor. He was consecrated the same year by the Archbishop of Canterbury and several other prelates, among whom were the Bishops of Quebec and Ohio. He remained Bishop of Lincoln till 1869, when, on the elevation of Dr. Tait, at that time Bishop of London, to the see of Canterbury, he was translated to the vacant see.

Of Dr. Jackson's tenure of the see of Lincoln there is little of public interest to record. He was one of those prelates who are content to work quietly

¹ These notices are in some cases condensed from the *Times*.

and unostentatiously, but steadily and strenuously, and it was his good fortune, to which, beyond doubt, his own good sense and moderation of temperament largely contributed, that in a time of much ecclesiastical and theological ferment he was able to keep aloof from public controversy and to avoid attracting public attention outside the limits of his own diocese. His translation to the see of London occasioned some surprise, as he was less known to the world than several of his episcopal contemporaries, but, as in the case of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the selection of Bishop Jackson by Mr. Disraeli was fully justified in the result. Till within a few years of his death when a Bishop Suffragan was given him he discharged his vast duties without episcopal assistance, and a man who could sustain for fifteen years the burden of so vast a charge, who never flinched from work, who made no enemies and secured the respect of all sections of his clergy, and indeed of all who knew him, might well be content with no more brilliant record than that of work such as this, wisely, strenuously, and quietly done. He was not a voluminous writer. Amongst his published works the following may be cited: Six sermons on the "Leading Points of the Christian Character," 1844; "Sanctifying Grace and the Grace of the Ministry," 1847; "The Sinfulness of Little Sins," 1849; "Repentance: its Necessity, Nature, and Aids" (a course of Lent sermons), 1851; "Sunday a Day of Rest or a Day of Work" (a few words to working men), 1853; "The Witness of the Spirit;" and "God's Word and Man's Heart" (sermons preached before the University of Oxford), &c. His lordship was also a contributor to the "Speaker's Commentary." He died somewhat suddenly from heart-disease at the Palace, Fulham, Jan. 6.

Earl of Aylesford.—The Right Hon. Heneage Finch, seventh Earl of Aylesford and also Baron of Guernsey in the peerage of Great Britain, who died in the second week of Jan. at the Big Springs Cattle Rancho, Texas, was the eldest son of Heneage, sixth Earl, by marriage with Jane Wightwick, only daughter and heiress of the late Mr. John Wightwick Knightley, of Offchurch, Bury, Warwickshire. He was born in Feb. 1849, and succeeded to the family honours and estates on his father's decease in Jan. 1871. He was educated at Eton, was a magistrate and deputy lieutenant for the county of Warwick, and formerly held

a captain's commission in the Warwickshire Yeomanry Cavalry. He married, in Jan. 1871, Edith, third daughter of the late Colonel Thomas Peers Williams, of Temple House, Berkshire, many years M.P. for Great Marlow. By his wife he had two children, both daughters—Lady Hilda Johanna Gwendoline, born in 1872; and Lady Alexandra Louisa, born in 1875, who had the Princess of Wales as her sponsor. He accompanied the Prince of Wales to India. In default of male issue, the earldom and barony passed to his next brother, the Hon. Charles Wightwick Finch, a magistrate for Warwickshire and for Kent, and a major in the 3rd Battalion South Staffordshire Regiment.

Earl of Dundonald.—The Right Hon. Thomas Barnes Cochrane, eleventh Earl of Dundonald, Baron Cochrane, of Dundonald, and Lord Cochrane, of Paisley and Ochiltree, in the peerage of Scotland, and a baronet of Nova Scotia, who died Jan. 15, was born in April 1814, being the eldest son of the distinguished Admiral, Thomas, tenth Earl of Dundonald, G.C.B., by his marriage with Katharine Frances Corbett, daughter of Mr. Thomas Barnes, of Romford, Essex. He succeeded to the family honours on the death of his father in Oct. 1860. He was elected a representative peer for Scotland in 1879. Lord Dundonald married, in 1847, Louisa Harriet, second daughter of the late Mr. William Alexander Mackinnon, M.P., of Mackinnon. In early life he saw a good deal of military service in China, where as Captain 18th Foot, he was also A.Q.M.G. of the forces, whilst his uncle, Admiral Cochrane, filled a high command in the naval operations.

Edmond About.—Edmond Francois Valentin About, author and journalist, was born at Dieuze in the Meurthe, Feb. 14, 1828, where his father was a *juge de paix*. He was educated at the Lycée Charlemagne, Paris, where he carried off year after year the first prizes of his form, and in 1848 crowned his career by winning the *prix d'honneur* for Latin composition at the Concours Général. This secured him the privilege of finishing his education in the École Polytechnique or the École Normale at the State expense. He chose the Normal School, and during his two years' training there for the professorate he had as companions an uncommon number of men who were to achieve distinction in after-life. He afterwards went in 1851

to the École Française at Athens, where he remained during the first two years of the Second Empire, and on his return to Paris he published in 1855 a book, "La Grèce Contemporaine," a humorous satire in prose on the manners, morals, and political squabbles of the degenerate Hellenes, which made a great sensation.

In 1855 he also published a kind of autobiographical novel, "Tolla," which established his reputation for style, and though in 1856 his comedy "Guilléry" was condemned at the Théâtre Français by a combination of Greeks, assisted by some of the French Liberals, he obtained a lucrative engagement as *feuilletoniste*, or writer of short stories, on the *Moniteur*, which was then the official journal, and he became one of the habitual *chroniqueurs* of the *Figaro* (at that time a weekly paper) under the pseudonym of Valentin de Quévilly. In the *Figaro* About had free scope for personalities against his detractors, and he did not spare them.

In 1856 he followed up his first hit at Greece by a second under the form of a novel called "Le Roi des Montagnes," which roused indignant protests from the Greeks, but which was proved by subsequent events to present only too true a picture of the condition of that country. About's books on Greece brought him under the notice of Napoleon III., but, what was more important from his point of view as an ambitious man, the delightful stories which he contributed to the *Moniteur* under the collective heading of "Mariages de Paris," made him the Empress Eugénie's favourite writer. It was resolved that he should be attracted to Court, and this was managed by his being first presented to Prince Napoleon. In the scheme of Imperial government the Palais Royal—Prince Napoleon's residence—was to be the place of resort for men who were willing to give their allegiance to the dynasty, but whose anti-religious views precluded them from being received too intimately by the Empress.

At the Palais Royal About soon became a favourite guest, for, frivolous and unstable in most things, About was thorough in his Voltaireanism, and this gave him in the eyes of some grave men a fancy value as a thinker. Meantime he continued to write with wonderful fertility and versatility. Some may rank "Madelon" (1863) as About's best novel, but popular judgment has persistently favoured "Germaine" (1857), "Trente et Quarante" (1858), and

"L'Homme à l'Oreille Cassée" (1861). All these works exhibit the author's style and wit at their best, but the last two will always be preferred for their drollery. The success of this book encouraged the author to write "Le Nez d'un Notaire" (1862), and "Le Cas de M. Guérin" (1862), both stories based on fantastic impossibilities. But none of these stories are comparable as a work of art to "Trente et Quarante," whose Capitaine Bitterlin is a wonderful piece of character-painting.

In 1858 Edmond About brought out his famous pamphlet, "La Question Romaine." He had spent a great part of the previous twelvemonth in Italy and Rome, and his pamphlet is now known to have been inspired and revised, both in manuscript and proof, by Napoleon III., who was at this date preparing for war against Austria. The pamphlet made a great noise, because it was believed to foreshadow the Emperor's purpose of withdrawing the French army of occupation from Rome and leaving the Papacy to its fate. For this pamphlet he received the Cross of the Legion of Honour as his reward. Soon afterwards the *Opinion Nationale* was started, under the auspices of Prince Napoleon, on purpose that the pamphleteer might continue to assail the Papacy, which he could not decently be allowed to do in the *Moniteur*. Accordingly, he began a series of Rabelaiso-Voltairean articles entitled "Lettres d'un bon Jeune Homme à sa Cousine Madeleine," and these went on until the imperial policy regarding Rome tacked suddenly back on the old course. About was then commissioned to write another pamphlet, "La Nouvelle Carte de l'Europe et la Prusse" (1860), and a series of leaders on home politics for the semi-official *Constitutionnel*. In 1864 he became rich, through his marriage with Mdle. de Guillerville, an heiress of Norman family. Those who would like to have details about this marriage—which was a love-match—may find them in "Étienne, ou Le Coq en Pâte," published in the volume of "Mariages de Province." After his marriage, he took life very easily and wrote with less care than of old. His "Turco" (1866) is a story of military life in Algeria, and in "L'Infâme" (1867) there is a great deal of excellent writing, though the plot is unacceptable. "Le Fellah" (1868) is a novel of Egyptian life, published after a flying trip up the Nile just before the inauguration of the Suez Canal. In 1869 he became a leader writer for the

Soir, and on the outbreak of the Franco-German war he was sent as special correspondent of that journal to French head-quarters. His letters were much read, for they were the first that called attention seriously to the shortcomings of the French army. One of them, however, containing an imaginary account of his shooting a Prussian sentry, led to his arrest in Sept. 1872 by the Prussian authorities. His apprehension made some stir in Europe, for he was taken to Strasburg and locked up in a cell with a "murderer aged nineteen." However, he was released in a few days, and Prince Bismarck threw the blame of his arrest on the over-zeal of a subordinate official. After this incident Edmond About's life offered little which is of public interest. He founded the *XIXème Siècle* with the assistance of his friend Carcey—a sort of free-lance organ directed against both Church and State; he quarrelled with M. Thiers, who would not make him Minister at Lisbon; and fell out with Gambetta because the latter, mistrusting his versatility, would help him to obtain neither a seat in the Chamber of Deputies nor a Senatorship. In 1873 Edmond About succeeded M. Philarète Chasle as Paris correspondent of the London *Athenæum*, and in 1884 he was elected to the French Academy, inheriting the chair of M. Jules Sandeau. He died Jan. 17, at the age of 57.

Colonel Burnaby.—Lieut.-Colonel Frederick Gustavus Burnaby, son of the late Rev. G. Burnaby, by Harriet, sister of Mr. H. Villebois, was born in the year 1842. He entered the Royal Horse Guards in 1859 as cornet, in which regiment he became lieutenant in 1861, captain in 1866, major and lieut.-colonel in 1880, and lieut.-colonel in 1881. At the time of his death he was in command of the regiment. He was educated at Harrow, and afterwards in Germany, where he may be supposed to have imbibed that taste for athletic exercises which he kept up till the last. The feat for which he is best known to the public was his famous ride to Khiva in 1875. He seems to have had no other object in his ride than the achievement of what had been called impossible. The Russian officials whom he met on his road regarded him throughout with suspicion, and appear to have appealed to the Horse Guards at home to try and stop the eccentric traveller. Captain Burnaby reached Khiva, and had the intention of continuing his journey into the very heart

of Central Asia and visiting Bokhara and Samarcand. But the suspicions of the Russian authorities had prevailed, and almost immediately after his arrival in Khiva he received a telegram from the Duke of Cambridge ordering his immediate return to England. In the year 1876 he started on a ride through Asiatic Turkey, by which route he reached Persia, and returned to Constantinople along the southern shore of the Black Sea. This journey was also made the subject of a book, published in 1877, called "On Horseback through Asia Minor." During the last Carlist war he was the military correspondent of the *Times* with the army of Don Carlos. In 1880 he turned his attention to politics, and stood in the Conservative interest for Birmingham. His want of success on that occasion only made him the more determined to try again, and at the time of his death he and Lord Randolph Churchill were the recognised candidates in the Conservative interest for that borough. In March 1882 he ascended alone in the Eclipse balloon from Dover, and descended, after a somewhat perilous voyage, at Envermeu, in Normandy.

His incessant thirst for adventure sometimes exposed his gallantry to unfriendly and unfavourable criticism. At the battle of El Teb, when the charge was made into the enemy's earthworks, Colonel Burnaby was the first to mount the earthworks, firing right and left with a double-barrelled fowling-piece at the natives who still clung about the works, and he received a severe wound in the engagement. The account of his bravery aroused the enthusiasm of his friends and gained the general approbation of the public, but he had to encounter the adverse criticism of some members of the House of Commons, who objected to his fighting on the ground that he was not officially attached to the force. In the expedition of 1884-5 he sought and obtained active service, and on Jan. 17 he fell, sword in hand, while resisting the desperate charge of the Arabs at the battle of Abu Klea. Colonel Burnaby married, in 1879, the only daughter of Sir St. Vincent Bentinck Hawkins-Whitshed, Bart., of Killon Carrick county Wicklow.

Earl of Wilton.—The Right Hon. Arthur Edward Holland Grey Egerton, Earl of Wilton, of Wilton Castle, county Hereford, Viscount Grey de Wilton, and Baron Grey de Radcliffe, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, who died at his seat near Melton Mowbray, Jan. 18, was

the third but eldest surviving son of Thomas, second Earl (who was himself a younger son of the first Marquis of Westminster), by his marriage with Lady Mary Margaret Stanley, fourth daughter of Edward, twelfth Earl of Derby. He was born in Nov. 1833, and was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford. From 1856 till 1859 he held a lieutenancy in the 1st Life Guards, and in 1882 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Duke of Lancaster's Own Yeomanry Cavalry. He held a seat in the House of Commons from 1859 till 1865 as one of the members for Weymouth, and in 1873-4 he sat as one of the members for Bath. It was while he represented the latter constituency that Lord Beaconsfield addressed to him the celebrated epistle in which he brought forward his indictment against the Liberal party in general and Mr. Gladstone in particular, declaring that they had signalised their tenure of office by "plundering and blundering," and leading to the dissolution and the general election which made him in a few weeks afterwards Prime Minister. Lord Grey de Wilton received, on the advice of Lord Beaconsfield, during his father's lifetime, in 1875, the honour of a peerage, being created in that year Lord Grey de Radcliffe, and this honour becomes extinct by his death. His other honours—the earldom and the viscountcy—to which he succeeded on his father's death in 1882, passed to his younger and only surviving brother, the Hon. Seymour John Grey Egerton, who was born in Jan. 1839, and married in Aug. 1862 Laura Caroline, daughter of Mr. William Russell, Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery.

General Gordon.—General Charles George Gordon, R.E., was born on Jan. 28, 1833, at Woolwich. He was the fourth son of Lieut.-Gen. Henry William Gordon, R.A., and from childhood Chas. Gordon was destined to military service. After passing some time at various private schools, shortly after his fifteenth birthday he entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. At first he gave no promise of any special abilities, but ultimately he passed his examinations so successfully that the much-coveted distinction of a commission in the Royal Engineers fell to him. His first station in 1854 was at Pembroke Dock, where he was employed on the new fortifications, but before the close of the year he was ordered to take charge of some huts despatched in haste to the

Crimea. On his arrival in Jan. 1855 he was at once placed under the officer in command of a portion of the trenches, and during the remaining nine months of the siege he took a prominent part in the engineering operations in front of the Russian stronghold. When the Russians evacuated the southern portion of the town, to Lieut. Gordon was confided the responsible task of destroying the harbour and fortifications of the gallantly defended forts. At the close of the Russian war he was specially attached to the commission appointed to define the new frontier of Bessarabia, and the experience he gained in this capacity was considered so useful that he was directed to proceed on a similar work in Armenia to act as assistant to Colonel Simmons, when the great point was to obtain the restoration of Kars to the Turks. Early in 1858 he was again sent out as special commissioner to the Caucasus to arrange certain points in connection with the Russo-Armenian frontier. On his return, and after a short stay at Chatham in the summer of 1860, he was ordered to China, where an Anglo-French expedition had been sent to compel the Chinese to ratify the treaty concluded by Lord Elgin in the previous year, and also to exact reparation for the attack on Admiral Hope's squadron by the garrison of the Taku Forts. Gordon took part in the advance on Peking, the battle of Chan-Chia-Wan, and the subsequent destruction of the Summer Palace. After the signing of peace he was stationed at Tientsin, where he surveyed much of the country and made some explorations through parts of the country at that period very little known to Europeans. In 1862 he was moved to Shanghai, where he took a responsible part as chief of the Engineer Corps under Sir Charles Staveley in the operations against the Taepings, and when in the following year Li-Hung-Chang appealed to General Staveley for an English officer to take command of the foreign-drilled force of the Chinese Government, Gordon was selected, and raised at the same time to the brevet rank of major. In March 1863 he assumed active command in the field, and during the fourteen months which followed he was constantly engaged in operations against the Taepings, bringing the war to a triumphant conclusion in May 1864. It is not too much to say of Gordon's campaign that the termination of the long struggle was due to Gordon's energy and resource. He refused every sort of

reward, pecuniary or honorific, offered by the Chinese Government; and, resuming his duties, he returned to England, where he was appointed chief of the Engineering Staff at Gravesend (1865-71). During these six years he devoted himself to philanthropic work among the poor boys of the neighbourhood. It was his habit to gather waifs out of the streets, and not only to supply their wants but spend his evenings in teaching them himself. When they arrived at the necessary age, and had passed through the required course of probation, he provided them with an opening in life, generally choosing the Navy. All this practical philanthropy was effected by Gordon on his pay as an English colonel, for he had no private means, and applied to nobody for assistance. In 1871 Colonel Gordon was appointed British consul at Galatz, where he remained until 1873, when he volunteered, about the end of the year, his services for any work in Egypt. At that moment Sir Samuel Baker had just resigned his command under the Khedive, and Colonel Gordon was appointed in his place—at first as Governor of the tribes on the Upper Nile, and later on with the higher title of Governor-General of the Soudan. From the beginning of 1874 until 1879 he governed the vast region of the blacks with credit to himself and satisfying the exigencies of the Khedive's Government. He did much to restore the finances, and he inaugurated the necessary measures for the ultimate abolition of domestic slavery and the slave trade. He firmly established the power of the Khedive on the Nile by the use of steamers, in Darfour by the overthrow of Zebahr's son Suleiman, and on the Abyssinian frontier by a treaty with King John. He gained at the same time a high reputation among the people by his justice and courage. When his rule came to an end there was no one to carry on the work he had so well begun, and the vast region, scarcely wrested from the hands of the slave-traders, again became the scene of anarchy and bloodshed. On the appointment of Lord Ripon in 1880 to the Viceroyalty of India, the post of Private Secretary was offered to and accepted by General Gordon, but only to hold it for a few months, and never to take any active part in Indian administration. Before returning to England he paid a visit to China, where

he gave some important advice to the Chinese Government, at that time engaged in a threatening dispute with Russia. He next spent a year in Mauritius, after which he went to the Cape at the invitation of the colonial authorities, where he attempted to remove many difficulties and misunderstandings; but his services were so coldly recognised that he soon withdrew from all relations with the Cape Government. During 1883 he resided chiefly at Jaffa, in Palestine, engaged in studying Scripture and the condition of the Turkish empire, but towards the close of the year he accepted an invitation from the King of the Belgians to undertake important duties on the Congo. His change of plan and acceptance of a mission to Khartoum form an important feature of English political history in 1884, in every phase of which Gordon's action or influence was traceable. An almost solitary ride across the desert brought him to Khartoum within a few weeks of his acceptance of the duty to which he had been called by public opinion, and after a short glimmer of success he found himself surrounded by enemies and shut off from the rest of the world. Still he fought on, defending the Europeans and Egyptians who had sought shelter with him with energy and resource, but to no purpose beyond protracting their trials. The beginning of 1885 found the garrison reduced to the last extremities through famine, desertions, and internal treachery. Gordon's faith in his fellow-countrymen and in the Government which had availed themselves of his services did not desert him. He believed that the British troops were being rapidly pushed on to Khartoum, and he made supreme efforts to protract the defence; but on Jan. 26 the town, probably delivered over by treachery, was stormed, and Gordon was killed at or near his residence. His head, according to many reports, was cut off and sent to the Mahdi, but the details of the last scene at Khartoum and of the carnage which attended it are conflicting and difficult to reconcile. No doubt, however, was left that amongst the earliest victims was its heroic defender, General George Gordon, who in thus sacrificing his life for those who clung to him for protection worthily closed a life which had all through been spent in the service of his fellow-creatures.

In the same month the following deaths occurred:—On the 1st, at Paris, aged 66, **M. Frédéric Baudry**, the keeper of the Mazarine Library, an Oriental

student. On the same date, at Edinburgh, aged 74, **Dr. Andrew Findlater**, a Scottish lad of humble parentage, who attained an influential position in literature. His first engagement was with the Messrs. Chambers, whose Encyclopædia he afterwards edited, and also their Manuals of Education. On the 2nd, at Ilfracombe, aged 86, **Vice-Admiral James Hosken**, who, after some service in the Royal Navy, took command of the *Great Western* steamship, for many years the largest steamship afloat, and made sixty-six passages to and from New York. He was subsequently given the command of the *Great Britain*, another marvel of its day. On the 3rd, aged 76, **Thomas Jackson**, of Eltham Park, Kent, an extensive railway contractor, who commenced work at the early age of eight on the Birmingham Canal. He was engaged for nearly twenty-five years under successive Admiralty engineers in the difficult construction of the breakwater at Alderney. On the 4th, aged 66, **Dr. Herbert Davies, F.R.C.P.**, consulting physician to the London Hospital, one time fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, the author of some valuable works upon diseases of the heart and lungs. On the 5th, at South Kensington, aged 67, **Henry Thomas Cole, Q.C.**, Recorder of Plymouth, and one time Recorder of Penzance, Treasurer of the Middle Temple, and M.P. for Falmouth; the son of Capt. George Cole, of the Cornwall Militia. On the 5th, at Goldegg, Austria, age 64, **Prince Adolf Auersperg**, President of the Supreme Court of Accounts, and ex-President of the Council of Ministers. He was for a time in the Austrian Army, but leaving it in 1860, he was elected by the constitutional party a member of the Bohemian Diet, and in 1868 became a Privy Councillor, and a life member of the House of Peers. On the 7th, at Geneva, **Gustave Petitpierre**, who devoted more than half a century to the study of philology, stenography, and languages, in the hope of inventing a writing equally suitable for all languages. On the 10th, at Cluny Castle, aged 80, **Cluny Macpherson, C.B.**, chief of Clan Chalton. He was Colonel of the Inverness-shire Rifle Volunteers, and had held many important offices connected with the town and county of Inverness. On the 12th, at Rathmines, aged 61, **Mr. P. J. Smyth**, formerly M.P. for county Tipperary, an ardent Repealer and Nationalist. On the same date, at Minnesota, aged 61, **Mr. Schuyler Colfax**, Vice-President of the United States from 1869 to 1873, and formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives. As a young man he was successively a clerk in a store, a law student, and a newspaper reporter. Also on the same date, **Prince Augustus**, of Würtemberg. Though a South German by birth, he was a fine example of the best type of the Prussian soldier, and he was held in particularly high esteem by the Emperor. Until within a year or two of his death he commanded the Army Corps of the Guards garrisoning the capital, and it was under Prince Augustus of Würtemberg that the Guards fought so well, but yet suffered such fearful loss at St. Privat. Entering the Cuirassiers of the Guard, with the rank of captain, in 1839, he rose steadily, and without much favour, till the year 1858 saw him in command of the whole corps. Also on the same date, at Königsberg, aged 68, **William James Hertslet**, a member of the Consular Service for nearly fifty years. On the 13th, at Paris, aged 38, **Commander Rondaire**, an eminent French engineer, and the author of the scheme for creating an inland sea in the desert of the Sahara. On the same date, at New-haven, Connecticut, U.S., aged 68, **Professor Benjamin Silliman**, of Yale College, a distinguished chemist and the associate editor of the "American Journal of Science." He was also the author of a large number of scientific works, chiefly relating to chemistry and physics. On the 14th, aged 40, **Dr. Evan Buchanan Baxter, F.R.C.P.**, until a short time previous to his death Professor of Materia Medica at King's College, and Examiner at the University of London and of the Royal College of Physicians. On the 18th, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, aged 70, **Lady Georgiana Charlotte Fullarton**, the wife of Mr. C. G. Fullarton, of Ballintry, county Antrim, and the authoress of several novels and other works, which at one time were very popular, in spite of their religious bias. She was the daughter of the first Earl Granville, G.C.B. On the 20th, at Dublin, aged 81, **Morgan O'Connell**, the son of "The Liberator," with whom for many years he sat in Parliament, ready to fight the duels his father's language on more than one occasion provoked. He was subsequently appointed Registrar of Deeds in Ireland, and held the office for many years. On the same date, in Welbeck Street, aged 79, **Major-General George Pope, C.B.** He was Commissariat Officer (H.E.I.C.S.) under Sir C. Napier in Scinde, and under Sir J. Outram in Persia. His extensive knowledge of Eastern affairs caused him to be frequently employed on special services by the Government. On the 24th, at Chelsea Hospital, of which he was Lieutenant-Governor, aged 58, **Colonel Richard Wadson, V.C.** He entered the Army in 1857, and served in the Indian campaign of that year, receiving the Victoria Cross for

bravery at the siege of Delhi. On the same date, at Kensington, aged 76, **John Jeffreys, LL.D., F.R.S.**, an eminent naturalist, recognised as the leading English conchologist. He accompanied most of the deep-sea expeditions sent out by our own Government and that of France, and he was the author of numerous books and papers on conchology. On the 26th, at Rome, aged 62, **Lieutenant-Colonel Balcarres Dalrymple Wardlaw Ramsay**, one of the most prominent members of Roman society, and an author. He belonged to the Queen's Body-guard of Archers, and was formerly on the staff in India. On the 27th, at Brussels, **M. Erbe**, who for many years edited the "*Journal de Bruxelles*," the leading Catholic organ of Belgium. On the same date, aged 70, **General Luigi Mezzacapo**, a survivor of the Italian war of independence. He took part in the siege of Venice, and entered the service of the republic. He was subsequently for a time Minister of War under the Piedmontese Government, and was a senator of the kingdom. Also on the same date, in Italy, aged 44, **Paul Paulovitch Demidoff**, Prince of San Donato. Born in Germany, he was educated at St. Petersburg, and went through an official career there, and at the embassies at Paris and Vienna. He was the possessor of great wealth, and the owner of gold mines in the Ural Mountains. On the 28th, at Algiers, aged 74, **Dr. Eugène Bodichon**, who was one of the group known as "The Republicans of '30." Dissatisfied with the condition of things in France, he settled in Algeria forty-four years before his death, devoting himself to literary labours and to the service of the poor as a gratuitous physician. On the 31st, aged 68, **M. Dupuy de Lôme**, a life-senator, who under the Empire rendered important services to the Navy. He superintended the building of the first ironclad, *La Gloire*, and during the war of 1870 devoted his efforts to organising the military balloon service. On the same date, at Versailles, aged 72, **M. Charles Vatel**, an indefatigable antiquary and historian. On the restoration of the famous Tennis Court at Versailles he was appointed its keeper.

FEBRUARY.

Lord O'Hagan.—Thomas O'Hagan, though he was born in a humble rank of life, the son of a small trader in the town of Belfast, belonged to a family of the highest rank in the ancient history of Ireland. He was educated in the Belfast Academy, where he pursued his studies with diligence and success.

Having finished his school course he at once took to the study of law, and was called to the Irish Bar in 1836, joining the North-East Circuit. About the same time he left Belfast to take up his abode at Newry, where he took part in editing the *Newry Examiner*. In 1840, on account of the increase in his practice, he left Newry for Dublin.

In the year 1845 he for the first time publicly identified himself with any political movement by joining the Repeal Association. He announced himself as a Federalist—that is, he favoured the establishment in Ireland of a Federal Parliament. This project, however, was distasteful to the mass of the Irish people, and for a time O'Hagan abandoned politics and devoted himself to his profession. In 1847 he was appointed to the office of Assistant Barrister, or chairman of the county Longford, the Government of

the day being anxious to show its desire to break the exclusive system which had so long prevailed, and to appoint Roman Catholics on all fitting occasions to public offices. Two years later, his private practice still increasing, he was appointed Queen's Counsel. In 1857 he was transferred from the chairmanship of the county Longford to that of Dublin, and in that year his eloquence was called into requisition by his countrymen to pronounce a panegyric over the statue of Moore. In 1858 he was appointed Serjeant-at-Law, and in 1860 was made Solicitor-General, and in 1861 Attorney-General. He was thus invested with the responsibilities of office, and experienced some of its troubles. The tide of popularity was checked, and his duty having obliged him to prosecute some of the people whose cause under other circumstances he had advocated so warmly, a feeling of resentment was excited against him. In 1862 a vacancy occurred in the representation of Tralee, and he became a candidate. He was violently opposed by the Nationalists of the day, but, owing to the strength of the Moderate Liberals and the hold which he retained upon the most influential clergy, he was returned.

His Parliamentary career, though brief, was not barren and unprofitable. He brought forward in 1864 a Bill for the Reform of the Court of Chancery procedure. It was defeated at the time, chiefly by the determined opposition of Mr. Whiteside, but was adopted and passed by the Conservative Government on their temporary return to office.

In Jan. 1865 the retirement of Judge Ball left a vacancy in the Irish Court of Common Pleas, and Mr. O'Hagan was raised to the Bench, amid the most cordial congratulations of all parties, the Conservative Press bearing generous testimony to his eminent abilities and estimable qualities. He fully realised the expectations which had been formed as to his judicial conduct by his courtesy, ability, and impartiality. But still higher honours were in store for him, for in 1868 he was appointed by Mr. Gladstone Lord Chancellor of Ireland, this being the first time that a Roman Catholic had been named to this office since the Act of Settlement. In June 1870 the new Lord Chancellor was elevated to the House of Lords as one of the few Roman Catholic Peers of the United Kingdom who have been ennobled since the Emancipation Act.

The public services of Lord O'Hagan were not limited to the Bench, the Legislature, or the Bar. He took a warm interest in several questions, especially education and the reformation of criminals. The support he gave to the Intermediate Education Act and the establishment of the Royal University was a practical proof of his enlarged and generous views of public policy. He presided at the Social Science Congress in Dublin, delivering an able and interesting address. He was elected President of the Statistical Society, succeeding Archbishop Whately and Judge Longfield, and served for some time, taking an active part in the furtherance of many useful reforms which were suggested by that and kindred bodies. He was elected Vice-Chancellor of the Royal University, and in the early proceedings assisted materially in its organisation. He used his high personal influence with good effect, attracting not only the admiration, but the friendship, of all classes of his countrymen.

After the conclusion of the State trials which followed the break-up of the Land League his failing health necessitated a retirement from office; a step which, however, was not followed by any improvement, for his powers gradually failed

and on Feb. 1 he died at his London residence, Hereford House, Park Street.

Lord O'Hagan was twice married. By his first wife, a daughter of Mr. Charles Hamilton Teeling, of Belfast, he had six children, of whom but one, a daughter, survived, married to Mr. Justice O'Hagan (a namesake but no relative), the Chief Judge of the Land Commissioners' Court. Lord O'Hagan's first wife died in 1868. By his second wife, a daughter of Colonel Towneley, he left issue the Hon. Kathleen Mary O'Hagan and the Hon. Thomas Towneley O'Hagan.

Sir Robert Phillimore.—Sir Robert Phillimore, whose death took place on Feb. 4, at Shiplake, Oxfordshire, at the age of 74, was the second son of Dr. Joseph Phillimore, the well-known ecclesiastical lawyer and Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford. He distinguished himself at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, though he did not take so high a degree as might have been expected, considering his ripe scholarship. For a few years he was a clerk in the Board of Control, but he soon quitted it for the proper arena for his talents. He was admitted as an advocate at Doctors' Commons, and his rise in his profession was very rapid. For some years scarcely a case of importance came before the Admiralty, Probate, or Divorce Courts in which he was not engaged as counsel, and in process of time there fell to him a fair share of the easy and not ill-paid offices which in those days were reserved for civilians. He was successively Official to the Archdeacons of Middlesex and London, and Chancellor of the dioceses of Chichester and Salisbury.

In 1853 he entered the House of Commons, as member for Tavistock, as a Liberal-Conservative. In 1854 he brought into the House of Commons a bill for the introduction of *viva voce* evidence into the ecclesiastical courts, and with the aid of Lord Brougham succeeded in carrying the measure (17 and 18 Vic., cap. 47) through Parliament.

In 1855 he was appointed Judge of the Cinque Ports, and in 1862 Advocate-General in Admiralty. When Dr. Lushington retired in 1867, there could be little doubt as to who was his fit successor in the Admiralty Court. To that position Sir Robert Phillimore was raised with general approval, and for nearly sixteen years he presided there with dignity. In accordance with the Public Worship Act he resigned in 1875, and Lord Penzance succeeded to the office of

Dean of Arches, and the same year witnessed a great change in the Admiralty Court. The Judicature Act, 1873, which came into operation in the former year, transferred the powers of that ancient Court to the new High Court of Justice, and thus the famous historic Court of the Lord High Admiral of England may be said to have ended. Sir Robert Phillimore continued to sit as a Judge of the new Admiralty, Probate, and Divorce Division until March, 1883, when he resigned, to the great regret of the Bar, which expressed, through the medium of the Attorney-General, its sense of the loss.

Sir Robert Phillimore found time to distinguish himself in literature. His "Commentaries on International Law," in four volumes, are a magazine of learning; and those who criticise the order in which the materials are presented ought to recollect that they were almost inaccessible to the English public until he collected them. His work on the "Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England," in two volumes, still holds its ground; and his translation of Lessing's masterpiece, the "Laocoon," is an evidence of the varied culture of the Judge.

Sir Robert Phillimore was married in 1844 to Charlotte, daughter of John Denison, of Ossington Hall, Newark. He was created a baronet in 1881, and was succeeded by his son, Dr. Walter Phillimore, the Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln.

Cardinal MacCabe.—His Eminence Cardinal MacCabe, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, who died at his residence, Kingstown, on Feb. 11, was a native of Dublin, and was born in James Street, in one of its poorest districts. His early education was limited, but he showed such a promise of intellectual ability as led to his being admitted as a student of Maynooth. He there had a wide field for study, but the bent of his mind was towards the Christian ministry. Having completed his college career, he was ordained by Archbishop Murray and obtained a curacy at Clontarf, where he applied himself with conscientious diligence and with marked intelligence to the social and moral improvement of the poor people with whom he felt a natural sympathy. After the death of Archbishop Murray, Cardinal Cullen, who succeeded him, and who was a keen observer of character, selected MacCabe for the office of administrator in the Cathedral, Marlborough Street. Here he gave further proofs of his fidelity

and wisdom, and a vacancy having occurred in the church of St. Michael's, in Francis Street, the neighbourhood in which he was born, he was appointed to take charge of it, and at the same time was made Vicar-General and a canon of the cathedral. He remained there for a few years, and was then transferred to Kingstown, where he had a wider sphere of duty, and where he has left many permanent memorials of his piety and zeal. In 1877 the declining age and enfeebled health of Cardinal Cullen rendered it necessary that a Coadjutor Bishop should be appointed, and the most suitable one that could be found was the priest of Kingstown. The Pope ratified the choice, and he was consecrated that year Bishop of Gadara *in partibus in fidelium*. After the death of Cardinal Cullen, in Oct. 1878, his name was sent forward by the clergy to the Pope as *dignissimus*, other names submitted with his being those of Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory, *dignior*, and Dr. Conaty, Bishop of Ardagh, who was *dignus*. His Holiness had no hesitation in selecting him, and he was soon created Archbishop. In the beginning of 1882 the Pope conferred upon him a further mark of approval and reward for the firmness and wisdom with which he maintained the interests of religion and good government amid hours of popular passion and excitement, by promoting him to the dignity of a Cardinal on St. Patrick's Day. The life of Cardinal MacCabe was not as eventful as it was distinguished. His habits were unobtrusive, and he took no prominent part in any political or public affairs. His course was one of earnest and constant devotion to the duties of his sacred calling. He rose by steady gradations from the rank of the humble curates, recruited from peasant life, to the highest pinnacle of ecclesiastical dignity as a spiritual prince invested with supreme authority in this country. No dignitary of the Church took a more active part in every work of charity or a warmer interest in the cause of education; and as a leading member of the Royal University he proved his belief in an experiment which was to extend to Catholic students the benefits which up to the time of its establishment had been reserved for Protestants.

General Stewart.—Major-Gen. Sir Herbert Stewart, who died at Gakdul, Feb. 16, from wounds received in his brilliant victory at Abu Klea, on Jan. 17, was born June 30, 1843. He was a son of the Rev. Edward Stewart and of

his wife Louisa Ann Harbert, of Muckross, county Kerry, and was a near relative of the Earl of Galloway. He was at one time a student of law at the Inner Temple, but although keeping his terms he was never called to the Bar. When in his 21st year he was appointed ensign in the 37th Foot, of which regiment he became adjutant July 17, 1866. He acted as aide-de-camp to the Major-General commanding in the Bengal Presidency 1868-70. From 1872 to 1873 he served as Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General in Bengal. In Oct. 1873 he joined the 3rd Dragoon Guards; he acted as brigade major of cavalry during the Zulu war; became lieutenant-colonel in July 1880; and received his regimental majority in July 1881. He served in South Africa in 1879-80, taking part in the Boer war. At the battle of Majuba Hill he was taken prisoner, and was detained for some time in the Boers' camp. For several months, after his return to England in 1882, he acted as aide-de-camp to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. In that year he was despatched to Egypt, and was present at all the engagements. The important business with which he was entrusted at and immediately after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir was one of the most interesting episodes in the war. After the fight he rode on with General Sir Drury Lowe and the cavalry to Cairo. Sir Drury Lowe himself halted at Abbasiyeh (some four or five miles outside Cairo), where Arabi surrendered himself a prisoner, and where he was detained for a short time pending his transference to the Abdin barracks, in the heart of the capital. To Sir Herbert Stewart fell the task of occupying that famous spot, the Citadel, and at the head of 100 cavalry he rode up to its gate, and gave orders for its immediate evacuation by the Egyptian troops. For his services in this campaign he was appointed extra aide-de-camp to the Queen, and received the Order of Commander of the Bath, the medal with clasp, the Khedive's Star, and the clasp of the Order of the Osmanieh. In the spring of 1884 he took part in the campaign in the Eastern Soudan, his most brilliant achievement being his charge with the 10th and 19th Hussars at El Teb. At Tamai also the cavalry under his orders dashed forward at the critical moment when the square commanded by General Davis was temporarily broken, and by opening up a hot carbine fire served to check the rush of the Arabs. In the autumn of the year he embarked for

the Nile to serve under Lord Wolseley, and at the end of the year he was entrusted with the command of the column despatched from Korti to Metamneh in the hopes of opening up communications with Gordon. The adventures of this column will be found elsewhere. When the intelligence of his having been wounded reached England it drew forth expressions of regret from all classes, and the Queen telegraphed a message to him, through Lord Wolseley, promoting him to the rank of Major-General, but he was not spared long to enjoy his well-earned promotion. His wound from the first caused grave anxiety to his friends, and though he was borne back as far as the Gakdul wells, he succumbed there to his wounds, and his body was buried in the desert by his companions in arms.

Major-Gen. William Earle.—Major-Gen. William Earle, C.B., C.S.I., was the third son of Sir Hardman Earle, and brother of Sir Thomas Earle, Bart.; his mother was Mary, second daughter of Mr. William Langton, of Kirkham, Lancashire, and he was born on May 18, 1833. He was educated at Harrow, and entered the Army as an ensign in 1851, obtaining a lieutenancy in 1854, and was promoted to captain in 1855. He served with the 49th Regiment throughout the Eastern campaign of 1854-5, taking part in the battles of Alma and Inkerman and the siege of Sebastopol, including the memorable sortie of Oct. 26 and the assault of the Redan on June 18. For these services he obtained the medal with three clasps, the Sardinian and Turkish medals, and the 5th class of the Medjidie. He acted as aide-de-camp to the Chief of the Staff in the Crimea towards the close of the campaign. In 1857 he removed from the 49th Foot into the Grenadier Guards, in which regiment he was successively Instructor of Musketry and Adjutant until 1863, when he became captain and lieutenant-colonel. He was promoted to a colonelcy in 1870, and obtained the rank of major-general in 1880. He held the post of Assistant Military Secretary at Gibraltar in 1859-60, was Brigade-Major in Canada in 1862 and 1863, and Military Secretary in British North America from 1865 to 1870. From 1872 to 1876 he was employed as Military Secretary to the Governor-General of India (Lord Northbrook). For a short time in 1880 he was Colonel on the Staff of the Chatham district, and subsequently, till March 1881, was in command of the South-Eastern District at Shorncliffe. In Aug. 1882 he was ap-

pointed Brigadier-General to the expeditionary force to Egypt, and in that capacity commanded the base and line of communication, and was present at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. For these services he obtained the medal with clasp, the 2nd class of the Medjidie, and received the thanks of Parliament. Gen. Earle was in command of the garrison of Alexandria from 1883 until called out

to accompany the expedition sent to attempt the relief of General Gordon. He was appointed to discharge a perilous duty in connection with the advance across the desert; his well-planned scheme received the full approval of his chief, by whom he was wholly trusted. He was, however, prematurely cut off at the very outset of the campaign, in the engagement at Dukla on Feb. 10.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st, in Paris, aged 36, **Sidney Gilchrist Thomas**, one of the inventors of the basic Bessemer process of treating iron. On the 5th, at Paris, aged 77, **M. du Sommerard**, son of Alexandre du Sommerard; founder of the Cluny Museum, of which he became its curator when it was purchased in 1843 by the State. His object was to make it a worthy rival of our South Kensington Museum, and its rich and well-arranged contents are the best testimony to his talents. On the 6th, in Gloucester Place, Portman Square, aged 86, **Colonel William Leader Maberly**, one of the last survivors of the unreformed House of Commons. The son of the late Mr. John Maberly, M.P., of Croydon, he entered the Army in 1815, and was afterwards Secretary of the General Post Office, a Commissioner of Customs, and some time a member of the Board of Audit. On the 7th, at Uttoxeter, Staffordshire, aged 57, **Colin Minton Campbell**, formerly M.P. for the Northern Division of the county; son of Mr. John Campbell, of Liverpool, the principal partner in the firm of Messrs. Minton, the old-established "potters" and porcelain-makers at Stoke-upon-Trent. On the same date, aged 52, **Edward Caldwell Rye**, Librarian to the Royal Geographical Society. He early in life devoted himself to literary and natural history pursuits, and made a special mark as an entomologist. He assumed the editorship of the *Zoological Record* at the tenth volume, and was the author of a "Handbook to British Beetles." Also on the 7th, **Miss Gilbert**, the third daughter of the late Bishop of Chichester. Throughout life, being herself blind, she devoted herself to the interests of those similarly afflicted, and was the founder of the Association for Promoting the Interests of the Blind. On the 13th, in Jersey, aged 65, **Hon. Gerald Chetwynd Talbot**, son of the second Earl Talbot. Originally in the Civil Service at Ceylon, he subsequently became private secretary to the Secretary of State for India, and Director-General of the Military Store Department of the India Office. On the same date, at Kerbakan, in the Soudan, aged 26, **Right Hon. Barry Nugent Viscount Avonmore**, of Belle Isle, co. Tipperary, and Hayle Rock, co. Mayo. He was the son of the fourth Viscount Avonmore, whom he succeeded in 1883. On the 15th, aged 74, **Cardinal Flavio Chigi**, the only remaining member of the Roman Patriciate in the Sacred College. He represented the Holy See as Ambassador Extraordinary at the coronation of Alexander II. in Russia, and was Pontifical Nuncio at Paris during the events of 1870-71. On the 17th, at the Master's Lodge, aged 87, **Rev. John Worsley, D.D.**, Master of Downing College, Cambridge. He was for a time Vice-Chancellor of the University, and for many years held the family living of Scawton, near Helmsley, Yorkshire. On the 18th, aged 63, **Madame Sainton Dolby**, a well-known contralto singer, who obtained a European reputation. She was the wife of M. Sainton, the violin player, and was the composer of numerous popular songs. On the 19th, in the Lowndes Square, **Mrs. Lowell**, the wife of the American Minister. On the same date, at Berlin, aged 67, **Count von Schleinitz**, Minister of the Imperial Household. He had been three times Foreign Minister for Prussia. On the 23rd, at Paris, aged 71, **Susannah Arethusa**, the widow of the late Right Hon. Thomas Milner Gibson, President of the Board of Trade. She was the daughter of the late Sir Thomas Gery Cullum, of Hardwick, Suffolk, and had for many years resided in Paris. On the 24th, aged 74, **Edward W. Wyon**. The son of Thomas Wyon, Chief Engraver of Seals to Kings George III. and IV., his early life was devoted to gem-modelling. He assisted also in many of the important works of his brother Benjamin, who succeeded his father as Seal-Engraver-in-Chief. On the 27th, at Buda-Pesth, aged 59, **General Ferdinand Ebers**. A Magyar of high birth, he fought against Austria under Kossuth, and taking refuge in London, became well known there. He acted as *Times* correspondent in Omar Pasha's army during the Crimean war, and filled the same office during the Italian war of independence, fighting with the Italians under Garibaldi. After the restoration of the Hungarian Constitution, he was elected a member of the Lower House. He was *Times* correspondent at Vienna and Pesth.

MARCH.

Sir Thomas Bazley.—Sir Thomas Bazley, who died very suddenly at his residence, Riversleigh, Lytham, Lancashire, March 18, was born at Gilnow, near Bolton, on May 27, 1797. His father, Thomas Bazley, also of Gilnow, in the county of Lancaster, was engaged in commerce, and laid the foundation of the business which in the hands of the son attained to large dimensions. Thomas Bazley was educated at the Bolton Grammar School, and on leaving it was apprenticed to the cotton-spinning business with Messrs. Ainsworth & Co., the successors of Sir Robert Peel & Co. On attaining his majority young Bazley entered into business for himself at Bolton, but in the course of a few years removed to Manchester. Here he speedily made his mark, both as a citizen and as a man of commerce. By dint of his own energies, he rose to be the head and sole proprietor of the largest fine cotton and lace thread spinning concern in the trade, employing upwards of a thousand hands. In the welfare of those who served him he took a deep interest, and when such means of education were exceedingly rare he established, in connection with his factories, schools, lecture-rooms, and reading-rooms.

Sir Thomas Bazley took a very active part in the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws. As early as the year 1837 he had become associated with Mr. Cobden and other leaders of the movement; and in Dec. 1838 we find him joining in a requisition to the Chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, requesting a general meeting of the Chamber to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament for the removal of the obnoxious laws. In May 1841 he went with Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright to Liverpool as a deputation from the League, and in Dec. 1845 when it was resolved to raise a League Fund of 250,000*l.*, and a sum of 60,000*l.* was subscribed in two hours, he was one of the subscribers of 500*l.*

In 1845 he was elected President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and this important post he continued to hold for fifteen years. During his tenure of office there were two subjects specially affecting Manchester in which he deeply interested himself—namely, the growth of cotton, and the future of India. Sir T. Bazley was appointed one

of the Royal Commissioners of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and laboured assiduously in connection with the various departments. He also served upon the Royal Commission for Promoting the Amalgamation of the Laws of the United Kingdom, actively promoting legislation upon this important subject. In 1855 he was nominated a Commissioner of the Paris Imperial Exhibition; and he took a keen interest in the Art Treasures Exhibition at Manchester in 1857, and other similar as well as educational movements.

Manchester honoured Sir T. Bazley in 1858 by electing him as one of its members without a contest. In the House of Commons he rapidly acquired the reputation of one of its most useful members. On certain economic and other questions he was accepted as an authority, and although he did not succeed in attracting much attention as a speaker, as a business member and a member of committees there were few men more highly esteemed. Sir T. Bazley was re-elected for Manchester in 1859, 1865, 1868, and 1874. On the last-named occasion even Manchester felt the wave of Conservative reaction, and he was the only Liberal returned. At the general election of 1880 he retired from public life. In Nov. 1869 Her Majesty the Queen, on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone, conferred on him the dignity of baronet, on the ground of his public services, and the benefits he had conferred upon his native county and the cotton trade during his long career. The deceased, who was an officer of the Legion of Honour, married in 1828 Mary Maria Sarah, daughter of Mr. Sebastian Nash, of Clayton, Lancaster. He had one child, a son, Thomas Sebastian Bazley, who was born in 1829, and who succeeded his father in the baronetcy.

Bishop of Lincoln.—Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, who died March 20, born in 1807, was the son of Christopher Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a brother of the poet Wordsworth. Christopher Wordsworth the younger was sent to school at Winchester, and proceeded thence to the college at Cambridge over which his father presided; his elder brother Charles, subsequently Bishop of St. Andrew's, having been educated at Harrow and at Christ Church, Oxford.

These two distinguished sons of a distinguished father obtained almost simultaneously the highest honours at their respective Universities. Charles carried off two Chancellor's prizes, and was placed in the first class in classics. Christopher won at Cambridge the Chancellor's English medals in 1827 and 1828, the Porson Prize, the Brown's medals, the Craven scholarship, and was senior classical and classic medallist in 1829. The two brothers were also distinguished athletes. They met, as schoolboys do, in the cricket match between their respective schools, and Charles afterwards represented his University both in the cricket field and on the river. Soon after taking his degree Christopher was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity College, and in 1836, having taken orders in the meanwhile, he was appointed Public Orator at Cambridge. In the same year he became Head Master of Harrow, thus, in a manner, changing places with his brother, who in the previous year had been appointed second master at Winchester. Dr. Wordsworth remained Head Master of Harrow for eight years, until in 1844 he was nominated by Sir Robert Peel to a canonry at Westminster. Dr. Wordsworth explored Greece when to do so was something of an adventure, and his first impressions of the country were given to the world, under the title of "Athens and Attica," as early as 1836. His later work, entitled "Greece, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical," still holds its own, after passing through many editions, even in these days of universal travel. In 1838 he published an account of "Ancient Writings Copied from the Walls of the City of Pompeii," and another result of his classical studies was his edition of Theocritus with a new recension of the text. To general literature, he contributed in 1842 two volumes of "The Correspondence of Richard Bentley," an illustrious predecessor of his father in the Mastership of Trinity College, and in 1851 he published the "Memoirs of William Wordsworth, Poet Laureate," from the papers committed to his charge as the literary executor of the poet. This is in itself no slight record of literary work, but it sinks into insignificance by the side of the vast theological labours of the Bishop. He edited the Greek Testament, with copious notes full of learning and orthodoxy, and published also "The Old Testament, in the Authorised Version, with Notes and Introductions." His "Theophilus Anglicanus, or Instruction for the Young

Student concerning the Church and our own Branch of it," is a well-known manual of Anglican theology and ecclesiastical history, interpreted and illustrated according to the Bishop's rigid standard of orthodoxy. His controversial works are too numerous to mention. He was a staunch opponent of Rome, and yet no Evangelical. His sympathies were High Church of the pre-Tractarian type, Catholic but anti-Roman, strongly dogmatic, and possibly a little antiquated. "Babylon, or the question examined, Is the Church of Rome the Babylon of the Apocalypse?" is the title of one of his controversial treatises, and it sufficiently indicates his dominant ecclesiastical bias. He manifested a keen interest in the Old Catholic movement, and took part in the proceedings of the Old Catholic Congress which was held at Cologne in 1872.

Dr. Wordsworth remained Canon of Westminster for a quarter of a century. He even acquired great fame and influence as a preacher, and his "Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey" were published in no fewer than seven volumes. In 1847 and 1848 he delivered the Hulsean Lectures at Cambridge. In 1864, when Dr. Stanley, then Canon of Christ Church and Professor of Ecclesiastical History, was appointed Dean of Westminster, Canon Wordsworth protested publicly against the appointment, on the ground that the new Dean's orthodoxy was questionable. The protest was unavailing of course, though it was made with perfect sincerity and good faith, and without any undue theological bitterness, and happily it never interfered with the personal relations of the two men. Each was a man with whom it was easy to differ but very difficult to quarrel, and when in the following year the Archdeaconry of Westminster became vacant it was conferred at the instance of the Dean on the Canon who had opposed his appointment. They were often opponents in Convocation, but they remained good friends in the Chapter until 1869 when Dr. Wordsworth was nominated Bishop of Lincoln in succession to Dr. Jackson, translated to the see of London.

In 1883 he had announced that he intended shortly to resign his office, to the full labours of which he no longer felt himself equal at the age of seventy-six years. The expression of his intention very speedily resulted in the completion of the endowment required for the new Bishopric of Southwell, and the aged Bishop still continued to ad-

minister what remained of the enormous diocese of Lincoln until his death.

Sir Harry S. Parkes.—Sir Harry Smith Parkes, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., the British Minister at Peking, died at that city, March 22. Born in 1828, Harry Smith Parkes had become a Chinese scholar as well as resident at the early age of fifteen. In 1842 he was assistant to the Rev. Chas. Gutzlaff, Chinese Secretary and Interpreter to Sir Henry Pottinger, the plenipotentiary who negotiated at Nankin the first English treaty. His service in the Far East extended therefore over a period of more than forty years, of which nearly twenty-five were passed in China and the rest in Japan. Less than three years later he was appointed interpreter to Sir Rutherford Alcock, at that period Consul in succession at Foochow, Shanghai, and Amoy. It was in the year 1848 that Mr. Parkes obtained the first opportunity of showing his zeal and capacity in the public service. An outrage had been committed on some English subjects at Tsingpu, a small town thirty miles distant from Shanghai. Three missionaries were attacked there and ill-treated by the mob. Mr. Alcock determined to obtain reparation from the Viceroy of the province, and he therefore sent a mission, with Mr. Parkes as interpreter, to Nankin. The object was completely attained, and Mr. Parkes, who had himself been attacked by a mob at Foochow a few months previously and barely escaped with his life, was specially complimented on the skill and tact with which he had conducted the negotiations with the Viceroy of the Two Kiang. For the next eight years he served in different capacities at the ports opened to foreign trade by the Treaty of Nankin, and at last, early in 1855, after having accompanied Sir John Bowring to Siam, and brought the treaty home to England, he was appointed, on his return in 1856, by that officer Consul at Canton in succession to Mr. Alcock. He assumed this office at a very important moment in English relations with China. The Nankin Treaty, far from effecting a settlement of the question, had left many points open, and among these none had assumed greater importance than the right to enter Canton. Before Mr. Parkes became the lieutenant of Sir John Bowring the dispute, as it was termed, of the Canton Gates had reached such an acute stage that war would have undoubtedly ensued but for the diversion of public attention to the quarrel with Russia. But although a

lull ensued the collision could not have been indefinitely averted, and the *Arrow* outrage only precipitated the inevitable conflict, and an expedition was undertaken, which led to the capture of Canton by the British forces, during which Mr. Parkes succeeded in effecting, at the head of 100 sailors, the capture of Chinese Commissioner Yeh, an event of hardly less importance than the conquest of the city itself. Having been appointed Joint Chinese Secretary of Lord Elgin's special embassy, and having taken this prominent part in the events prior to the signature of the Treaty of Tientsin, Mr. Parkes was destined to have a not less important share in those which followed the refusal of the Chinese to ratify that treaty, and the repulse of Admiral Hope's squadron before the Taku forts in the spring of 1859. Sent to Tangchow to open negotiations with Prince Tsai, the Emperor's nephew, Mr. Parkes fell into the hands of the Chinese general, Sankolinsin (Sept. 18, 1860), who ordered his soldiers to treat the prisoners with every kind of indignity, forcing them to make the kotow, and binding their hands and legs. When it was seen that the battle was going against them, they placed all their prisoners in springless carts and sent them off to Peking. The agony they endured was indescribable, but worse was to follow. Most of the prisoners died under their sufferings; but Mr. Parkes, although the special mark of Chinese malignity as the best known, was after a time treated with a little more consideration on account of his fluent acquaintance with the Chinese tongue. During the negotiations the Chinese agreed to release Mr. Parkes by himself, but he refused to accept his liberty unless the same favour were also accorded to his companions, Mr. Loch and the two troopers, and it was not until Oct. 8 that the prisoners were liberated. It was in expiation of this outrage and the accompanying acts of cruelty that the Summer Palace was destroyed, and when Lord Elgin entered Peking to ratify the Treaty of Tientsin, Mr. Parkes was sent into the city to arrange the details and select the building for the ceremony as some atonement for what he had undergone. After the close of the Peking campaign he accompanied Admiral Hope on his expedition up the Yang-tse-kiang, and during the latter part of the Taeping war he acted as Consul at Shanghai. In 1862 he was rewarded for his exceptional services with the honour of the Bath, being

probably one of the youngest recipients of that order of knighthood ; and three years later he was appointed Minister at Yeddo, in succession to his old friend and chief, Sir Rutherford Alcock.

Sir Harry Parkes remained eighteen years at the Japanese Court, and during that period he was connected with all the important events which have accompanied the development of the enlightened policy with which it has identified itself. He was also a close observer of the long internal struggle for power between the party of progress fighting for the restoration of the Mikado as a constitutional sovereign and the great daimios or barons. He took the chief part in negotiating the commercial treaties which regulated our trade, and during the last few years of his residence in Japan he was actively engaged in an interchange of views between the Japanese Government and our Foreign Office on the subject of their revision. The Japanese Government on more

than one occasion benefited by his advice, which was always in favour of moderate counsels and of avoiding foreign entanglements. In 1883 he was transferred from Yeddo—or Tokio, as it is now called—to Peking, and early in the following year he was appointed also envoy to the king of Corea. His tenure of office was destined to be only too brief, and his sudden death following by so short an interval that of his old friend General Gordon left a sad void in the ranks of those whose names will be permanently identified with the great events in Chinese history, from the Treaty of Nankin to the suppression of the Taeping rebellion. In Sir Harry Parkes England lost not merely a rare Chinese scholar and an experienced Eastern diplomatist, but a man of high courage, inflexible resolution, and unwavering confidence in the destiny of the nation of which he had so long been an illustrious representative.

The following deaths also occurred during the month :—On the 1st, at Leopoldville, on the Congo, aged 23, **Edward Spenser Burns**, a son of Dr. Dawson Burns, and an able officer of the International Association. On the 2nd, aged 50, **General Don Prospero Fernandez**, President of the Republic of Costa Rica. Early in life he fought for the independence of Central America against the American filibuster Walker. Under Guardia's military dictatorship he was made a General of Division, and on the death of the former he became Constitutional President of the Republic of Costa Rica. On the 4th, at Vienna, aged 66, **Count Eugene Kinsky**, President of the Anglo-Austrian Bank and a member of the Lower House. On the 5th, at Peckham, aged 85, **John Radford Young**, a self-educated man who became professor of mathematics at Belfast College, and published many important works. On the 7th, at Monkstown, aged 86, **Charles Copland**, managing director of the Royal Bank of Ireland, which was founded chiefly through his instrumentality, and of which he was for forty-nine years chief officer. On the 9th, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, **Louisa Burton**, the widow of the tenth Earl of Kinnoul. She was the daughter of the late Admiral Sir Charles Rowley, G.C.B. On the same date, at Stockwell, aged 78, **Louis Haghe**, a celebrated water-colour painter, and the honorary president of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours. A Belgian by birth, he came early to England, where he was also distinguished as a lithographer. Also on the same date, aged 73, **Joseph Jenkins**, a well-known painter in water-colours, who in early life had acquired much fame as an engraver. On the 11th, aged 73, **Sir James Matthew Stronge**, of Tynan Abbey, county Armagh, and of Mulnaver, Drumquin, county Tyrone, some time M.P. for county Armagh. He was the son of the late Sir Matthew Stronge, of Tynan Abbey, whom he succeeded as third baronet in 1814. On the same date, at Adelaide Road, N.W., aged 66, **Professor Charles Cassal, LL.D.**, an Alsatian refugee who, coming to England in 1850, acquired distinction as a teacher. He was for many years professor of French at University College, London, and the Royal Naval School, Greenwich, and well known for his editions of French classics. On the 12th, aged 76, **Sir Curtis M. Lampson, Bart.**, whose name is associated with the laying of the first Atlantic cable. He was a native of America, who came to England at the age of twenty-four, and became a naturalised British subject. On the 13th, aged 50, **Dr. Karl Baruch Bappaport**, professor of philosophy at the University of Innsbrück, who was well known for his labours in connection with the career and philosophical doctrines of Giordano Bruno. On the 14th, aged 74, **Sir William Wellesley Knighton**, of Blendworth Lodge, Horndean, Hants, for which county he was a magistrate; son of Sir William Knighton, M.D., G.C.H., whom he succeeded as second baronet. On his death the title became extinct. On the 16th, at Vienna, aged 66, **Julius Alexander Schindler**, formerly a deputy in the Austrian Parliament. Under the

pseudonym of Julius von der Traum he was the author of popular poems and novels. From his strong likeness to Napoleon III. he was called Napoleon Schindler. On the 19th, aged 66, **Reverend Henry George de Bunsen**, Rector of Donington, Wolverhampton, and Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral, son of Baron de Bunsen, many years Prussian Minister in England. On the 21st, aged 80, **Princess Charles of Hesse**, mother of the Grand Duke. The deceased was a daughter of Prince William of Prussia, brother of Frederick William III., and therefore a cousin of the Emperor. Her character is pretty well portrayed in the published letters of her daughter-in-law, Princess Alice of Hesse, to whom she was deeply devoted. On the 22nd, at Madras, aged 65, **Sir Vere Henry Levinge, Bart.**, of the Madras Civil Service, son of Sir Henry Levinge, and succeeded his brother as eighth Baronet in 1884. On the 24th, at Margate, aged 70, **James W. Davison**. The son of a well-known actress, he early devoted himself to the study of music, and was the composer of some songs; but his chief labours were in the direction of musical literature, and he was for more than a quarter of a century musical critic to the *Times*. His wife, Madame Arabella Goddard, was formerly his pupil. On the same date, at Upper Norwood, **Thomas Fellowes Reade**, late Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General for the Regency of Tunis, a son of the late Sir Thomas Reade, who had held the same office for many years. On the 25th, aged 39, **Dr. Morrison Watson, F.R.S.**, professor of anatomy in the Owens College, Manchester, and dean of the Medical School; the author of several valuable memoirs on human and comparative anatomy. On the 27th, aged 75, **Cardinal Frederick John Joseph Celestin**, Prince von Schwarzenberg, Archbishop of Prague, and Primate of Bohemia, a prelate of commanding influence at Court, in Parliament, and in his diocese. He was conspicuous at the last Œcumenical Council by his opposition to the dogma of infallibility, which on its promulgation he accepted unreservedly. During the later years of his life he strongly supported the Slav party in the Diet. On the 29th, at Fontainebleau, **Prince Nicholas Orloff**, the Russian Ambassador to Berlin, having previously for many years represented Russia at Paris, and also at Brussels. As a soldier also he had greatly distinguished himself in 1854, during the siege of Silistria. On the 30th, at Rome, aged 66, **Hugh Andrew Johnstone Munro**, senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and at one time professor of Latin in the University. He stood in the first rank of English scholars, and will be long remembered by his editions of "Lucretius" "Horace," &c. He was an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford, and also of Dublin. On the 31st, at Krzeszovice, in West Galicia, **Princess Augusta Monlear**, who, as the daughter of Countess de Carignan, the mother of King Charles Albert of Sardinia, was related to the Austrian, Saxon, and Italian Courts. Being saved from the fire at the Austrian Embassy ball in Paris, in 1810, by a Dr. Monlear, she afterwards married her preserver, who was created a duke by Napoleon I. On the same date, at Rome, aged 80, **General Nicolo Fabbri**, one of the military heroes of the Italian war of independence. In 1861 he co-operated with General Cialdini in the suppression of brigandage, and from 1865 was always elected deputy for Modena, his native place.

APRIL.

Earl Cairns.—The Right Hon. Hugh MacCalmont, Earl Cairns, who died on the 2nd at his residence, Lindisfarne, Bournemouth, was the son of Mr. William Cairns, of Cultra, county Down, by Rosanna, daughter of Mr. H. Johnson, and was born in the year 1819. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, of which he subsequently became Chancellor, a position he continued to hold until his death. While a student at Trinity College he was placed by his father, for classical instruction, under the tutorship of the Rev. George Wheeler, afterwards rector of Ballysax.

Mr. Cairns had a distinguished career at Trinity College, where he was in the first class in classics, and obtained other academical honours. On Jan. 26, 1844, he was called to the English Bar at the Middle Temple, and he rapidly acquired an extensive practice in the Courts of Equity. Although only twenty-five years of age, his abilities were widely recognised among his professional brethren and the public, and there was undoubtedly before him a very honourable and most lucrative career.

Desirous of entering upon political

life, Mr. Cairns contested Belfast in 1852. He was returned for that borough, and continued to represent it in the Conservative interest until his elevation to the judicial bench. In 1856 Mr. Cairns was appointed one of Her Majesty's Counsel and a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. Lord Derby being called upon to form an Administration in Feb. 1858, Mr. Cairns was offered the appointment of Solicitor-General, which he accepted, receiving on the occasion the honour of knighthood. In the House of Commons his persuasive eloquence, as well as his power of marshalling and dealing with facts, rendered him an invaluable debater on the Conservative side of the House; and when his party returned to power in 1866 it was universally felt that Sir Hugh Cairns had distinguished himself so greatly, both as a law adviser and a parliamentary orator, that there could be no contest with him for the post of Attorney-General. It was consequently offered to him by the new Premier, and accepted in June 1866. In the following October he was made Lord Justice of Appeal, succeeding Sir James Knight Bruce. In Feb. of the following year, 1867, he was created a peer under the title of Baron Cairns, of Garmoyle, in the county of Antrim.

In the session of 1867 Mr. Disraeli introduced his famous Reform Bill. When after many vicissitudes it had passed through the House of Commons, and gone to the Upper House, Lord Cairns took a prominent part in the discussions upon the measure, and proposed several important amendments.

In Feb. 1868, Lord Derby relinquished the Premiership in consequence of failing health. Mr. Disraeli now became the head of the Administration, and among other changes which took place in the Ministry, Lord Cairns became Lord Chancellor, in the room of Lord Chelmsford. His lordship was again called upon to defend the interests of the Irish Church during the debate in the Upper House on Mr. Gladstone's Suspensory Bill. On that occasion Lord Cairns spoke with extraordinary force and eloquence, and his speech fully maintained, if it did not enhance, his reputation as a master in the arts of luminous statement and of close and subtle argumentation. So effective, indeed, was this oration as a defence of the Established Church of Ireland that it was subsequently printed, and attained a very wide circulation, its arguments furnishing weapons for other speakers on the same subject.

When Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Bill was brought forward in the Upper House in the ensuing session, Lord Cairns again spoke with his accustomed energy and ability. The second reading of the Bill was carried by 179 to 146, the House of Lords feeling the necessity of a compromise upon the question. Subsequently a conference was held between Lord Cairns and Lord Granville upon disputed points, and an amicable result was arrived at. Lord Cairns stated the points of compromise to the House, which consisted of the disposal of the surplus, the mode of commutation, &c.; and he intimated that, much as he disliked the whole Bill, concessions were preferable to leaving the whole controversy in suspense for an indefinite period. The service rendered on this occasion by Lord Cairns was of great practical value in the settlement of this long-agitated question of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

In 1869 Lord Cairns resigned his position as leader of the Conservative party in the House of Lords, but on the opening of the session of 1870 he consented to resume it. There was no other member of the party deemed suitable for the place, Lord Salisbury at that time being disqualified by reason of the differences which separated him on some questions from his party, and more especially from Mr. Disraeli.

Mr. Gladstone having retired from office in Feb. 1874, Mr. Disraeli was summoned by the Queen to form a new Administration, and Lord Cairns again became Lord Chancellor. In the session of 1879 his lordship introduced the Irish University Bill, put forward by the Government to supersede that of The O'Connor Don. Lord Cairns continued to hold the office of Lord Chancellor until April 1880, when Lord Beaconsfield went out of office. On several occasions his lordship severely criticised the policy of Mr. Gladstone's Government, and in the session of 1881, when affairs in the Transvaal formed a prominent topic of discussion, he called attention, in an eloquent and impassioned speech, to the arrangement which had been made by Her Majesty's Government with the Boers.

In Sept. 1878 Baron Cairns was advanced to the dignities of Viscount Garmoyle and Earl Cairns. Known to the nation at large as an eminent lawyer, statesman, and judge, his lordship had also other claims to be remembered by his fellow-countrymen. Although occupying the high

and onerous position of Lord High Chancellor of England, he never relaxed to the last those benevolent and philanthropic efforts for which he was widely esteemed in all circles. Like his successor on the woolsack, Lord Cairns was not ashamed of being a Sunday School teacher, and it is recorded of him that, when he was asked after his elevation whether he would not now be compelled to give up Sunday School work, he emphatically answered, "Certainly not." Although deeply attached to the Evangelical principles of the Church of England, he was ready to co-operate on all occasions with other workers in the religious field. He appeared on many platforms in the metropolis as an advocate of measures, social and religious, for the amelioration of the masses; and with Lord Shaftesbury he shared the distinction of being the friend of the homeless city arab.

Lord Cairns received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Cambridge University in 1862, and that of D.C.L. from Oxford in the year following. He was also LL.D. of Trinity College, Dublin. His lordship married, in May 1856, Mary Harriet, eldest daughter of Mr. John MacNeile, of Parkmount, county Antrim, and had issue five sons and two daughters, of whom the eldest surviving son, Arthur William, Viscount Garrahy, succeeded to his father's earldom.

Lord Chancellor of Ireland.—Sir Edward Sullivan, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was the eldest son of the late Mr. Edward Sullivan, of Dublin, and formerly of Mallow, and was born in 1822. He was educated at Trinity College, where he distinguished himself by taking the highest honours in classics and science. He belonged to the College Historical Society, in which he won the reputation of being an effective and eloquent debater, a reputation which he retained and extended in after-life. In 1848 he was called to the Irish Bar, and in 1858 was made a Q.C. On the promotion of the late Mr. G. Fitzgibbon, Q.C., to the Mastership in Chancery, he was made Serjeant-at-law in 1860, law adviser in Dublin Castle in 1861, and Solicitor-General in 1865. In that year he was returned for his native town of Mallow, which he represented up to 1870. In 1868 he became Attorney-General, and in that capacity he discharged the onerous duty of piloting the Irish Church Act and the first Land Act through the House of Commons. On the death of

the Right Hon. Edward Walsh, in 1870, he was elevated to the Bench as Master of the Rolls, and continued to fill that important office with great satisfaction to the public until 1883, when, upon the unexpected death of the Right Hon. Hugh Law, after a short illness, he became, in conjunction with Lord Justice Barry and the Lord Chief Baron, a Commissioner of the Great Seal. In Dec. of the same year he was appointed Lord High Chancellor for Ireland. In 1850 he married Bessie Josephine, daughter of the late Robert Bailey, of Cork, by whom he left issue surviving three sons and a daughter. His eldest son, Edward, who succeeded to the title, was born in 1852, and was called to the Bar in 1879. It may be remembered that the closing years of the Lord Chancellor were clouded by a bereavement which long weighed heavily upon him, in the death of one of his sons, who was drowned while boating in Killiney Bay, together with a young lady to whom he was engaged to be married. Sir Edward Sullivan had given notice of holding his usual levée on the re-opening of the legal sittings on April 15, and on the 13th he transacted business as usual at Dublin Castle, but after returning home to his residence in Fitzwilliam Street, he was seized with an attack of gout in the stomach and expired the same evening.

The Earl of Selkirk.—The Right Hon. Dunbar James Douglas, Earl of Selkirk and Baron Daer and Shortcleuch, in the peerage of Scotland, who died April 11, was the only son of Thomas, fifth earl, by his union with Jean, last surviving daughter of the late Mr. James Wedderburn Colville, of Ochiltree, Fifeshire. He was born on April 22, 1809, and succeeded to the family honours on the death of his father in April 1820. Educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, after obtaining a first class in mathematics, he took his bachelor's degree in 1830. In 1831 he was elected a representative peer of Scotland, and continued so during his lifetime. In 1844 he was appointed Lieutenant and Sheriff Principal of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. He was keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland from Aug. till Dec. 1852, and he was re-appointed to that office in April 1858. Lord Selkirk, who was a Fellow of the Royal Society, married, in 1878, Cecily Louisa, second daughter of Sir Philip de Malpas Grey-Egerton, M.P., of Egerton and Oulton, Cheshire, but left no issue. The first Earl of Selkirk, upon whom

the title was conferred in 1646, was the eldest son of the first Marquess of Douglas, and was afterwards created Duke of Hamilton for life, when he resigned the earldom of Selkirk and barony of Daer and Shortcleuch into the hands of the King, who conferred those honours by a new patent, but with the original precedence, upon his grace's second son. By the death of the Earl the title became extinct.

Queen Dowager of Hawaii.—We have also to record the death, on the 25th, of Emma, Queen Dowager of Hawaii, aged 62. The late Queen was of high Hawaiian blood on her father's side, but her maternal grandfather was an English sailor named John Young, who, having visited the Sandwich Islands some ninety years ago, rendered such essential services to the local authorities that he was raised to the rank of chiefdom by Kaméhaméha the Conqueror. She had been adopted as a daughter by a physician named Dr. Rooke, then resident in Hawaii, by whom she was carefully brought up, and under whom she received an English education. She married the late King, another Kaméhaméha, in 1856. The issue of the marriage was an only child, a son, who was born in 1858: he was a child of great promise, and his death at the age of four years was a blow from which the King never really recovered, dying a short time afterwards. He was succeeded by his brother Kaméhaméha V., with whom after a reign of ten years, the last of the line expired. It was therefore necessary to elect another monarch, as the nearest heir was the Princess Keelikolani—better known as Ruth—whose mother was not of sufficiently high rank to entitle her to the succession, and in the Sandwich Islands rank follows the maternal ancestry of any individual. Queen Emma, the High Chief Kalakaua, and Prince Lunailo, the son of Kekauluohi, a chiefess of the loftiest lineage, were candidates. The last was chosen, but his reign lasted only a year, and in 1874 the Legislature were once more called on to elect a ruler, the late king having no direct heirs, and having failed to nominate a successor. This time the choice lay between Queen Emma and Kalakaua, her former rival, who during the reign of the late King had distinguished himself as a prominent member of the Opposition. Popular feeling was all in favour of Emma, who, though of mixed descent, was an embodiment of much that was dear to the Hawaiian mind.

Her opponent, on the other hand, though of the bluest of blood, and related to the royal family, was strongly suspected of being too well disposed towards foreigners. The patriotism of the people, which had been roused by some ill-advised hints regarding the wisdom of annexing the islands to the United States, was, therefore, on the side of the Hawaiian lady who was for the Hawaiians. A majority seemed secured for her, and the preparations for celebrating her accession were begun, when, to the amazement of the country, it was announced that thirty-nine ballots had been cast in favour of Kalakaua, and only six for the candidate who unquestionably was the choice of the majority of her countrymen. An anticipated outbreak of popular feeling was, however, averted, and Queen Emma discreetly discountenanced any manifestation of disappointment. From the moment of Kalakaua's accession she withdrew altogether from public life as a sovereign, devoting herself to good works. The Honolulu Hospital, supported by a tax of two dollars a head on every person landing on the islands, was the work of herself and her husband, who, during the last year of his life, went from house to house, notebook in hand, collecting subscriptions for erecting the building. To her was also due the firm hold which the Church of England took in the islands. The first schools, however, had been established by the American Congregational Missionaries, and in that conducted by Mrs. Cooke four kings and Queen Emma herself were educated. Aided by Mr. Wyllie, a Scotchman, who for more than twenty-five years had been the virtual ruler of the islands and the guide of its kings, King Kaméhaméha IV. declared the Hawaiian Church independent of America, and had a bishop and clergy sent out from England.

Admiral Sir George Sartorius, G.C.B. George Rose Sartorius was born Aug. 9, 1790, the eldest son of Colonel John Conrad Sartorius, of the East India Company's service, by the latter's marriage with Annabella, daughter of Mr. George Rose, and granddaughter of Admiral Harvey. At the early age of eleven he entered the Navy as a cadet. He was present at the battle of Trafalgar as midshipman on board the *Tonnant*, and shortly afterwards he was engaged with the same rank on board the *Daphne* in the operations on the river Plate and the attack on Monte Video. He was gazetted lieutenant on March 5, 1808.

As lieutenant of H.M.S. *Success*, he commanded the boats of that vessel when in the face of a heavy fire they destroyed two French vessels near Castiglione and three barques under the Castle of Terracina in 1810. He was also present at the taking of Ischia and Procida, where two gunboats were destroyed; at the capture of two French privateers, and was in command of a gunboat at the defence of Cadiz. For his services he was thrice mentioned in despatches, and rapidly gained promotion, attaining the rank of commander on Feb. 8, 1812, and of captain on June 6, 1814. As captain of the *Slaney* he was present at the surrender of Napoleon I., in 1815, to the squadron under the command of Sir Frederick Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*, and he conveyed the news of the surrender to England. In 1831 he was engaged by the Regency of Portugal, acting on behalf of the young Queen, to fit out and take the command of a squadron to act against the usurper, Dom Miguel. This employment in a foreign service, though it gained him the rank of Vice-Admiral, caused his name to be struck off the list of captains in the English Navy, and some years passed before his rank was restored to him. In the Portuguese service he had an opportunity of showing what manner of man he was—that he was as capable of commanding as of acting under authority. He had all sorts of difficulties to contend with—factionous opposition, jealousy, mutiny, desertion, want of supplies. Over all these he triumphed by his energy and forbearance. It is said that the last difficulty was on one occasion got over by the Admiral purchasing at his own costs supplies for his starving men. He certainly won the warmest devotion from them, and while commanding them fought several successful actions. For his services to Portugal he was made Viscount de Pudade, Count of Pentafirme, a Knight Grand Cross of the

Order of St. Bento d'Avis, and was decorated with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Tower and the Sword. He was restored to his English rank as captain in 1836, and six years afterwards we find him captain of H.M.S. *Malabar*, when he received the thanks of the President and Congress of the United States for his efforts to save the United States frigate *Missouri* from destruction by fire near Gibraltar. On board the same ship in July 1843 he gave asylum to the Regent of Spain, when, after struggling for some time against the revolution, Espartero abandoned the siege of Seville and fled from his enemies to Cadiz. From this time Sartorius saw no service. But he was no idle spectator of the changes brought about by time. He who had fought in and commanded wooden ships lived to see the complete revolution in ship-building caused by iron. He at once accepted the change, and he was the first to advise, in 1855, the adaptation to modern improvements of the ancient principle of sinking the enemy's ship by a direct blow of the prow, as embodied in the vessel named by him the steam ram. By this time he was a Rear-Admiral—the date of his commission is May 9, 1849—and the rest of his public life consists of a record of the successive honours that fell to his lot with advancing age. He was made Vice-Admiral on Jan. 31, 1856, and Admiral on Feb. 11, 1861. In 1869 he was made Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom, and on July 3 of the same year he received the full honour of being named Admiral of the Fleet. In March 1865 the Queen appointed him a K.C.B., and he was advanced to the dignity of G.C.B. in 1881. He married, in 1839, Sophia, daughter of Mr. John Lamb. He died at his residence, East Grove, Lymington, Hants, on April 13, at the age of ninety-five.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 3rd, at Addlestone, **Frederick Field, F.R.S.**, who was one of the original members of the Chemical Society, and the author of numerous and valuable papers on all branches of chemistry. On the 5th, aged 87, **General Vogel von Falckenstein**, who was, with the exception of the Emperor of Germany, the only surviving wearer of the old Iron Cross, which he gained for his services in the War of Liberation. He subsequently distinguished himself in the Schleswig-Holstein campaign, and in the war of 1866, when he broke the resistance of the South Germans. On the 5th, in Grosvenor Gardens, aged 75, **Thomas Mathias Weguelin**, many years M.P. for Wolverhampton. He was a son of the late Mr. W. A. Weguelin, of London, a Russian merchant, and had been governor and a director of the Bank of England. On the 6th, at Teignmouth, aged 65, **Right Rev. Robert Aston Coffin**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark. Educated at Harrow and Oxford, he took Orders, but subsequently, joining the Roman Catholic Church, he was ordained a priest of the Order of the Redemptorists, and became its Provincial in England. He

translated and edited the writings of Alfonso di Signori, the founder of the Order. Also on the 6th, in Egypt, aged 36, **Colonel the Hon. Everard Henry Primrose**, Grenadier Guards, the son of the late Lord Dalmeny, and grandson of fourth Earl of Rosebery. He had been employed as Military Attaché at Vienna before going on special service to Egypt. On the 8th, at New York, aged 62, **Richard Grant White**, a prominent character amongst American men of letters. He was a diligent student of Shakespeare, and was a contributor to the leading literary periodicals of the United States. For many years he held an important position in the New York Custom House. On the 10th, in Portland Place, aged 63, **Laura, Countess Selborne**, wife of the Lord Chancellor, and a daughter of the eighth Earl of Waldegrave. On the 11th, at the Mansion House, aged 61, the **Lord Mayor**, Mr. George Swan Nottage, Alderman; he was for many years engaged in the iron business of his uncle, Mr. R. W. Kennard, M.P., and was the founder of the London Stereoscopic and Photographic Company. On the 13th, at Munich, aged 43, **Karl Styeler**, a celebrated Bavarian poet. On the 14th, in Portland Place, **Major-General Christopher Palmer-Rigby, F.R.G.S.**, late Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar. He entered the Bombay Army in 1836, and was employed in various parts of India as a magistrate. He served on the staff during the Persian expedition of 1856-7. On the same date, at Pesth, **William Gyoeri**, a Protestant pastor and Hungarian poet, who translated the works of Byron into the Magyar tongue. Also on the same date, at Florence, aged 80, **General Freeman Murray**, of the King's Royal Rifle Corps. He had served in the Ionian Islands and in Scinde, and was some time Governor of Bermuda. In England he had held the commands of the Chatham and Eastern districts. On the 15th, at Leipsic, aged 76, **Walther von Goethe**, the grandson of the author of "Faust," and the last representative of his family. On the same date, aged 59, **Thomas Grant**, Superintendent of Her Majesty's Naval and Victualling Establishment at Deptford. A son of the late Sir Thomas T. Grant, of the Victualling Department, he received the thanks of Government for his prompt despatch of supplies to the starving residents of Paris in 1871, and again for his services in connection with the provisioning of the Arctic Expedition of 1875-6. On the 16th, at Antwerp, aged 96, **General Brialmont**, who had served as a French officer in nearly all the campaigns of the First Empire. On the 18th, at Lincoln, aged 77, **Rev. Joseph Williams Blakesley, B.D.**, Dean of Lincoln. When Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, he devoted himself to the study of theology and classical literature, publishing a "Life of Aristotle," and an edition of "Herodotus." He was twice Select Preacher to the University, and was an original member of the New Testament Company of Revisers. For many years he was rector of Ware, Herts, whence he contributed numerous letters to the *Times* newspaper, on the topics of the day, having the signature of "A Hertfordshire Member." He was made a Canon of Canterbury Cathedral, and subsequently Dean of Lincoln. On the 18th, at Vienna, aged 70, **Dr. Rudolf von Ektelberger**, professor of art history at the University there. He published a valuable work on mediæval art monuments, and founded the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry, and was a member of the Austrian House of Lords. On the same date, **M. Marc Monnier** an eminent French publicist and dramatist. Also on the same date, at Sane Court, Thanet, aged 49, **Miss Mary Barbara Felicité Hales**, of Hales Place, Canterbury. The daughter of the late Sir Edward Hales, she was a prominent member of the best Roman Catholic circles of England and France. On the 19th, at Bucharest, aged 68, **Constantin X. Rosetti**, an eminent Roumanian poet, publicist, and politician. He was a member of the Roumanian Revolutionary Committee in 1848, and one of the four Secretaries of the Provisional Government. Taking refuge in Paris to avoid arrest, he founded there a literary and political review. He subsequently returned to his native land, and became successively President of the Chamber and Minister of the Interior. On the same date, aged 90, **Captain John Harvey Boteler**, one of the few survivors of the battle of Navarino; son of the late Mr. W. Boteler of Eastry, Kent. Also on the same date, at Upton Castle, Pembrokeshire, **Henry Halford Vaughan**, formerly Fellow of Oriel College, and Professor of Modern History at Oxford. The son of the late Right Hon. Mr. Justice Vaughan, he was called to the Bar of Lincoln's Inn, and held for many years the office of Clerk of Assize on the South Wales Circuit. Also on the same date, at St. Petersburg, aged 68, **Nicholas Ivanovitch Kostomaroff**, a well-known Russian historian. He was a State Councillor, and a member of the Scientific Academies of St. Petersburg and Agram. On the 20th, at Farnborough, Hants, aged 69, **Richard Ansdell, R.A.**, a celebrated animal painter. He was a native of Liverpool, and a constant exhibitor at the Royal Academy. On the same date, at

Craven Road, Bayswater, aged 80, **General Henry Macan, C.B.**, Colonel 17th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry. He was Assistant Adjutant-General in the Scinde and Afghanistan campaigns of 1840-41, and he commanded first brigade at the siege and capture of Kotch in 1858. On the 21st, in Albemarle Street, aged 78, **Olivia Cecilia**, the widow of the first Earl of Cowley, K.G., some time Ambassador at Paris. She was the daughter of the Baroness de Ros and Lord Henry Fitzgerald, son of the first Duke of Leinster. On the same date, at Caen, Normandy, aged 84, **Sir William Edward Leeson**, Genealogist of the Order of St. Patrick. The son of the late Hon. Robert Leeson, and grandson of the first Earl of Milltown, he entered the Army and was some time Chamberlain to the Castle of Dublin. On the 24th, aged 50, **Dr. Gustav Nachtigal**, on the West Coast of Africa, where he was employed by the German Government on special service in connection with colonisation. He had previously established himself in Africa as a doctor, and after employment in different political missions was made Consul-General at Tunis. On the 27th, in Gloucester Square, Hyde Park, aged 71, **Joseph d'Aguilar Samuda**, formerly M.P. for the Tower Hamlets; a civil engineer and a large employer of labour. On the 29th, at Swansea, aged 70, **Rev. Dr. Rees**, President of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and a translator of theological works, including the Bible into Welsh. On the 30th, at the Master's Lodge, Charterhouse, aged 69, **Rev. James Currey, D.D.** The son of the Preacher to the Charterhouse, he was educated at the school, and was for some years himself its Preacher, until he was raised to the Mastership. He was also a Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral.

MAY.

Earl of Dudley.—The Right Hon. William Ward, Earl of Dudley, of Dudley Castle, Staffordshire, Viscount Ednam, of Ednam, Roxburghshire, and Baron Ward, of Birmingham, Warwickshire, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, who died on the 7th in Park Lane, was the elder and only surviving son of the Rev. William Humble, tenth Lord Ward, by his marriage with Amelia, daughter of Mr. William Gooch Pillans, of Bracondale, Norfolk. He was born on March 27, 1817, and was educated at Eton, whence he removed in due course to Christ Church, Oxford. He migrated, however, to Trinity College, being a private pupil of the Rev. Thomas Legh Cloughton, then one of the Fellows, afterwards Professor of Poetry at Oxford, and Bishop of Rochester, and afterwards Bishop of St. Albans. Lord Dudley never had a seat in the House of Commons, having succeeded at the age of eighteen to his father's barony of Ward; nor did he take at any time an active or prominent part in politics. He sat as chairman of the Worcestershire Quarter Sessions from 1859 till 1880. He was also a Trustee of the National Gallery, and High Steward of Kidderminster. In 1854 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Worcestershire Yeomanry Cavalry, of which regiment he became Honorary Colonel in 1871. Lord Dudley was attached to Earl

Granville's special Embassy to Russia in July 1856; and also to the late Earl of Clarendon's special Embassy to Berlin and Königsberg in Oct. 1861 on the occasion of the King of Prussia's coronation. In 1860 Lord Ward was advanced by the then Premier, Lord Palmerston, to the Earldom of Dudley, on account of his having succeeded to a large portion of the wealth and estates of his father's relative, the last Lord Dudley of the previous creation. Lord Dudley was twice married. His first wife, whom he married in April 1851, was Selina Constance, eldest daughter of the late Mr. Hubert De Burgh, of West Drayton Manor, Middlesex. He was, however, left a widower in Nov. of the same year. In 1865 he married Georgina Elizabeth, third daughter of Sir Thomas and Lady Moncreiffe, of Moncreiffe.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, M.P.—Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, the fourth Sir Watkin and sixth baronet of his line, was born in St. James's Square, London, on May 22, 1820, and succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father, Jan. 6, 1840. He was educated at Westminster, and after a course of study at a private tutor's in Derbyshire entered Christ Church, Oxford, in Oct. 1837. Here he remained for nearly two years; but academical studies not prevailing over his love of

the chase and other congenial occupations, he took leave of the University and joined the 1st Life Guards in July 1839. After four years of service with the Household Troops he settled down to discharge his duties as a landlord, and took upon himself the duties of master of the hounds. Sir Watkin was initiated into the mysteries of Freemasonry in the Cheshire Province, and in 1851 became Worshipful Master of the Cestrian Lodge, celebrating the event by inviting his brethren to a banquet at Wynnstay. In 1852 he received the appointment of Provincial Grand Master of North Wales and Shropshire, and few Provincial Grand Masters have performed so much masonic work as he has done. Sir Watkin was married to his cousin, Miss Marie Emily Williams Wynn, daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Williams Wynn, K.C.B., Her Majesty's Minister at the Court of Denmark. In Dec. 1864 a daughter was born—Louise Alexandra Williams Wynn. She was christened Jan. 30, 1865, her godmothers being the Queen of Denmark and her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. The only other child of Sir Watkin and Lady Wynn was Miss Nesta Williams Wynn, who, however, died, after a brief illness, a year or two ago. Each Sir Watkin has in succession represented Denbighshire in Parliament, and in 1868 Sir Watkin, addressing his constituents on their returning him for the seventh time as their representative in Parliament, said: "It is a position which for more than a century and a half has been the most prized distinction of my family; it was preferred by my great-grandfather to an earldom, by my father to an earldom, and by myself to a peerage." In short, it may be said with equal truth and sincerity of the late owner of Wynnstay what was said of his father, the fifth baronet, by Sir Richard Pulestone—viz. that he was of a verity the Prince in Wales. He died after a prolonged illness at his Denbighshire seat, Wynnstay, Ruabon, on the 9th, in his 65th year.

Victor Hugo.—Victor Marie Hugo, one of the most remarkable figures of this generation, and perhaps the finest purely literary spirit that France has ever produced, was born at Besançon, Feb. 26, 1802. Joseph Leopold Sigisbert, the father of Victor Hugo, was a general in the French Army, and held important commands in France and Italy. His wife, the mother of Victor Hugo, was a native of La Vendée, and an ardent

Catholic and Royalist; the character of both was strongly individualised, and the poet seems to have inherited many of their mental peculiarities. His earliest years were passed amid constant change and excitement. Before he had completed his seventh year he had travelled from Besançon to Elba, thence into the province of Avellino, and he had also visited Florence, Rome, and Naples before his mother returned with him to France in 1809. Madame Hugo took up her abode at the old convent of the Feuillantines, in Paris, and for two years the young Hugo led a quiet and studious life, broken only by a year's interval, spent with his father in Spain, until he was ready to be transferred to a preparatory school in view of a military career. Victor's own inclination, however, was in the direction of literature, and before he reached the age of sixteen he had made experiments in every possible kind of verse—odes, satires, idylls, translations and imitations, tragedies, and even a comic opera. In 1817 he competed for the prize of poetry awarded by the Academy, but only reached an honourable mention, though he afterwards won the prize offered by the Academy of Toulouse at the Jeux Floraux. He was scarcely more than eighteen when he wrote the "Ode to La Vendée" and the curious story of "Bug-Jargal," published in the *Conservateur Littéraire*, a periodical founded by Victor and his two brothers. In 1821 Hugo lost his mother, and in the following year he married Mdlle. Adèle Fonchier, who had been his playmate when a child at Paris. In 1822 also appeared the first volume of his "Odes et Ballades," which was soon followed by the prose story, entitled "Han d'Islande." With the publication of the second volume of "Odes et Ballades" in 1826, it was obvious that a change was coming over the ideas of the poet, and soon Hugo became recognised as one of the chief spirits among a band of writers who charged themselves with the formidable task of regenerating French literature. They resolved to discard the old classical models, and, by the warmth of their imagination and the fervour of their zeal to reconstitute the Romantic school of poetry. A newspaper, *La Muse Française*, was established to advocate the new views, and in 1827 the first definite fruits of the literary revolution became apparent by the publication of Victor Hugo's drama of "Cromwell." In 1828 he published a series of odes entitled "Les Orientales," and in 1829 a prose soliloquy entitled "Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné," a work designed

as a protest against the infliction of capital punishment, of which until the end of his life he was a strenuous opponent. A drama, "Marion Delorme," written about this time, failed to pass the censorship of the stage, but his "Hernani," produced in 1830, excited a *furor*, which extended from Paris to the provinces, and was regarded by the Romanticists as a crowning victory. In 1831 he published his celebrated story "Notre Dame de Paris," and the same year a new volume of lyrical poems entitled "Les Feuilles d'Automne." In 1832 he wrote the play entitled "Le Roi s'Amuse," and on its performance being prohibited after the first night, he resigned the pension which he had for some years enjoyed from the Government. Dramas and poems from his pen now followed each other in rapid succession, "Lucrèce Borgia," "Marie Tudor," "Angelo," and "Ruy Blas" being the chief dramatic pieces produced between 1833 and 1843; while three volumes of poems—"Les Chants du Crépuscule," "Les Voix Intérieures," and "Les Rayons et les Ombres"—testified not only to the poet's versatility, but also to the richness and wealth of his diction. In the prose works "L'Étude sur Mirabeau," and his "Littérature et Philosophie Mêlées," issued during this period, he showed that his early royalistic ideas had given way before his conception of the rights of the people. In 1843 the last of his writings for the stage, "Les Burgraves," was produced, and after this he resolved to give up the theatre for other fields of literary labour. His genius by this time was fully recognised by his countrymen, and he was elected in 1841 a member of the Academy, and in 1845 created a peer of France by Louis Philippe with the title of Count. In the revolution of 1848 he came more prominently forward as a public man, and being elected as a *Député* of Paris in the Legislative Assembly he rapidly assumed the position of one of the leaders and chief orators of the Left. After the *coup d'état*, with other members of the Extreme Left, he was banished from France by Louis Napoleon. Immediately after his exile he published his scathing brochure "Napoléon le Petit," and in the following year, 1853, he further issued at Brussels a volume of poems under the title of "Les Châtiments," containing some of the strongest invectives ever uttered against Napoleon III. Withdrawing first to Jersey, he ultimately settled in Guernsey, with which island his name has ever since been associated, and

where he spent many years fruitful in literary effort. In 1856 he published "Les Contemplations," and in 1859 appeared "La Légende des Siècles," a work far more striking than any of its predecessors for its brilliancy and energy, its literary skill, and its powerful conceptions. He refused to benefit by the amnesty of 1859, or to return to France until after the fall of the Empire. In the year 1862 appeared his great social romance, "Les Misérables," which was issued simultaneously in nine languages, and published in Paris, Brussels, London, New York, Madrid, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Turin. In 1865 the volume of poetry, "Chansons des Rues et des Bois," intervened before his second important prose work dealing with metaphysical and social problems, "Les Travailleurs de la Mer" (1866). A third descriptive romance, "L'Homme qui Rit," appeared in 1869, the year following the death of his wife at Brussels. In 1870, after the disaster of Sedan and the flight of the Empress, Victor Hugo returned to Paris, where he was received with enthusiasm. In the elections of Feb. 1871, he was elected as one of the representatives of Paris to the National Assembly at Bordeaux, but he resigned his seat on March 8 following, in consequence of the refusal of the majority to ratify the election of Garibaldi. On March 13, 1871, a heavy domestic calamity fell upon him in the loss of his son Charles, and within a few days of this event he was compelled, on the Communist revolt, to leave Paris. Returning to Brussels he offered publicly an asylum to the defeated insurgents, a circumstance which led to his expulsion from Belgium. Returning to Paris after the fall of the Commune, he issued "Actes et Paroles," written in 1870-72; and this was followed up by "L'Année Terrible." In 1874 appeared the grand historical and political romance, "Quatre-vingt-treize," which was published on the same day in ten languages. To this work succeeded in 1874 a pathetic sketch, "Mes Fils," and in 1875-76, "Avant l'Exil," "Pendant l'Exil," "Depuis l'Exil," being a complete collection of Victor Hugo's addresses, orations, and confessions of faith, &c. during the preceding thirty years. On Jan. 30, 1876, he was elected Senator for Paris. In 1877 appeared the second part of the "Légende des Siècles," "L'Histoire d'un Crime," a work written twenty-five years earlier, giving an account of the events attending the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III., and a lighter work, "L'Art d'être Grand-père." At the Voltaire centenary, held

in May 1878, Victor Hugo was the chief speaker, and he took an important part in the International Literary Congress held the same year. "*Réligions et Religion*," which appeared early in 1880, was an attack not only upon various systems of religion, but also upon those who attack all religion. In 1881 appeared "*Les Quatre Vents de l'Esprit*"; in 1882 "*Torquemada*," a tragedy; and in 1883 the last part of his great work, "*La Légende des Siècles*," on the whole the finest, perhaps, of all the efforts of his genius. Few monarchs have received such an ovation as was accorded to Victor Hugo by the city of Paris on Feb. 27, 1881, when he became entitled to octogenarian honours. A celebration took place which was compared with that of Voltaire in 1788, and everything was done by the municipality and the literary and artistic world of Paris to show honour to the national poet. In May 1885 it became known that he was dangerously ill, and in spite of all that affection, skill, and science could devise, he died on the 22nd at his home in Paris.

Charles Rogier.—Charles Rogier, "Belgium's greatest citizen," began life as a journalist at Liège, and in the struggles between the Belgians and the Dutch in 1829 his letters against Dutch supremacy made a great sensation. In the revolutionary movement of 1830 he had raised at the beginning of the outbreak a corps of 300 men and marched to Brussels. With these, on Sept. 19, after a fresh outbreak of mob violence, he seized the Hôtel de Ville, saved it from pillage, and played a considerable part during the succeeding days, when Brussels was unsuccessfully attacked

by the troops of the Prince of Orange. A Provisional Government was appointed, of which Rogier was a principal member. Then came the meeting of the States-General at The Hague, the vote in favour of separation, the appointment of the Prince of Orange as head of a separate Belgian administration, his recall in the face of continued popular opposition, the insurrection in Antwerp, the bombardment of the city by the Dutch troops, and finally the interference of the Powers and an armistice. In the final settlement Rogier, who had voted for the candidature of the Duc de Nemours for the vacant throne, loyally accepted Leopold, aided him during the stormy and critical times which followed his accession, when Holland, if not stopped by France and England, would have reconquered Belgium; and became, in 1832, Minister of the Interior. His career from that time was conspicuously successful, though from the nature of the case his influence and his reputation did not extend far beyond the narrow limits of his own country. He was six times Minister, the most memorable of his ministerial acts being the introduction of railways and the liberation of the Scheldt. He was always a moderate Liberal, but for years past was equally venerated by all parties as *pater patriæ*. He represented from 1863 until his death the arrondissement of Tournai in the Chamber. He remained unmarried, and was always absolutely poor. He died in a suburb of Brussels in a house presented to him by national subscription. His only means of subsistence were a Government pension of 6,000f. and about 3,500f. besides annually. He died at Brussels, on the 27th, in his 85th year.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st, at Kensington, aged 66, **Brinley Richards**, a well-known musician, and the composer, amongst other popular songs, of "God bless the Prince of Wales." He was of Welsh birth, and took great interest in the music of the Principality. On the 2nd, at Temesvar, aged 79, **Prince Alexander Karageorgevitch**, a son of the liberator of Servia. He became, on the dethroning of Prince Michael Obrenovitch, Prince of Servia, reigning until 1858, when he was overthrown by the Pan-Slavist and Russian party, and succeeded by Prince Michael Obrenovitch. Accused of complicity in the murder of the latter, he was sentenced to imprisonment, but acquitted by the Emperor, since which time he lived in great retirement. On the same date, at Halliford-on-Thames, aged 31, **Mrs. Mary Lofthouse**, an artist of rare promise, a member of the Royal Water Colour Society, and the daughter of the artist T. W. Forster. On the 3rd, in Park Street, aged 80, **Hon. Eliot Thomas Yorke**, for many years M.P. for Cambridgeshire. The son of the late Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir Joseph Sydney Yorke, K.C.B., M.P., and the brother of the fourth Earl of Hardwicke, he was granted the precedence of an earl's son in 1836. On the 8th, aged 84, **Rev. James Charles Clutterbuck, M.A.**, for 55 years vicar of Long Wittenham, Berks, and for many years Rural Dean of Abingdon, and a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Applying an extensive knowledge of the science of geology to practical use, he was an authority upon all questions relating to water supply,

and he earned for himself the title of "Father of Hydro-Geology." On the 10th, at Cologne, aged 73, **Dr. Ferdinand von Hiller**, a musical composer. The son of wealthy Jewish parents, at Frankfort-on-Maine, he early showed aptitude for his art, which in succeeding years he practised in France, Germany, Italy, and England. On the 12th, at Putney, aged 68, **Philip Smith**, the author of numerous valuable works in classical, ecclesiastical, and general literature. He was a contributor to the dictionaries edited by his brother, Dr. William Smith, and rendered literary assistance to Dr. Schliemann. On the same date, aged 70, **Frances**, widow of first Earl of Gainsborough, and the daughter of third Earl of Roden, J.P. She was for many years a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, and was created a member of the Order of Victoria and Albert, second class. On the 13th, at Hackney, aged 64, **Rev. Henry Abraham Stern, D.D.**, for more than forty years a Missionary of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, one of the Abyssinian captives delivered by Lord Napier of Magdala in 1868. On the same date, at Bath, aged 43, **Juliana Horatia Ewing**, a well-known writer for the young. She was the daughter of Rev. Alfred Gatty, vicar of Ecclesfield, and of the late Mrs. Gatty, also a well-known writer, and married Major Alexander Ewing, A.P.D. On the 15th, at Mentone, aged 37, **Frederick John Fergus**, an author who was better known as "Hugh Conway." On the 16th, at the Barracks, Gosport, **Lieut.-Colonel Albert Henry Ozzard**, who commanded the Royal Marine Artillery at Suakim, having previously served throughout the Crimean war, in the China expedition, and in Zululand. On the 18th, aged 49, **Alphonse de Neuville**, a painter of battlefields, whose pictures are regarded as having contributed greatly to rouse France from her feeling of depression after the war. He was a native of St. Omer, and had studied under Meissonnier. On the 20th, **Frederick Frelinghuysen**, Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Arthur. His name is familiar in England in connection with despatches on the subject of the dynamite outrages. On the same date, at Notting Hill, aged 76, **Peter William Barlow, F.R.S.**, a member of the Institute of Civil Engineers, and for some time principal engineer to the South-Eastern system of railways. He also constructed the Tower Subway. Also on the same date, at Shanavogue, King's co., aged 43, **Francis Power Plantagenet**, thirteenth Earl of Huntingdon. He was a great sportsman, and took a leading part in Free Masonry, being Provincial Master of the Midland Counties. On the 21st, at Rome, aged 85, **Count Terenzio Mamiani della Rovere**, who early in life, taking part in the revolutionary movements in Italy, was a member of the Provisional Government of Bologna in 1831. Under the pontificate of Pius IX. he was Minister of the Interior, but soon retiring from the Cabinet, he went to Turin, founding there, with Gioberti and others, the Society of Italian Unity, and becoming a naturalised Sardinian subject. He was appointed Professor of Philosophy in the University of Turin, and afterwards Minister of Public Instruction. He was a senator of the kingdom of Italy, and distinguished as a poet, a jurisconsult, and a philosopher. On the 23rd, at Cheltenham, aged 87, **General Thomas Polwhele**, of the Bengal Army, with which he had served in Nepaul, in Burmah, and the Sutlej campaign of 1845-6. On the same date, at Paris, aged 68, **Theodore Ballu**, an architect, who, besides restoring many Paris churches, was the reconstructor of the Hotel de Ville. He was an officer of the Legion of Honour, a member of the Council of the Fine Arts School, and was also known as a painter. On the 27th, at Edinburgh, aged 80, **John Colquhoun**, son of the late Sir John Colquhoun, eleventh Baronet of Luss, Dumbartonshire, and heir presumptive to his nephew's baronetcy. At one time in the 4th Dragoon Guards, on his retirement he devoted himself to sport, and was the author of "The Moor and the Loch," an excellent book on the natural history of Scotland. On the same date, in Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, aged 91, **James Moncrieff Arnott, F.R.S.**, of Chapel, Fifeshire. A Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, he was twice its President, and was for many years Professor of Surgery at King's College and University College, London. On the 29th, at Bregenz, Tyrol, aged 63, **Alfred Meissner**, an Austrian poet, novelist, and dramatic author. One of his earliest productions was an epic poem, "Ziska," in 1843; but his most important work was a continuation of his friend Heine's political satire "Atta Froll." On the same date, at Kirknewton, Edinburgh, aged 79, **Allan Alexander Maconochie-Welwood, LL.D.**, of Garvock, Fifeshire, and Meadowbank, Mid Lothian, formerly Regius Professor of Roman and Scotch Law in the University of Glasgow. On the 30th, aged 82, **Duc de Noailles**, the "father" of the French Academy. On the same date, at Erchless Castle, Strathglass, **James Sutherland Chisholm**, popularly known as "The Chisholm." Born at Montreal, where his father had resided since the end of the last century, he came to Scotland in 1860, having succeeded, by the death of a relation, to the honours and possessions of his family.

JUNE.

Prince Charles Anthony of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.—Prince Charles Anthony Joachim Zepherin Frederic Mainrad of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was born on Sept. 7, 1811. He was the head of the collateral branch of the family of Hohenzollern which remained in its ancestral seat in Swabia, while the other and more distinguished branch migrated to Brandenburg, and has become the imperial family of Germany. His father, another Charles Anthony, was one of the numerous German princes who found themselves forced to bow before the revolutionary storm of 1848; and he abdicated in favour of his son. The latter, however, reigned for little more than a year, and on Dec. 7, 1849, resigned his dominions to King Frederick William of Prussia, and accepted the rôle of a mediatised prince. When Prince William of Prussia became Regent, in Oct. 1858, it was the liberal and enlightened Prince of Hohenzollern that he called to his aid as President of the new Ministry; an appointment regarded by the people with equal favour; but so much in the way of constitutional progress was expected from the Ministry of the so-called "New Era" that it was foredoomed to cause disappointment. However liberal the intentions of Prince Anthony and his associates, they carried but few of them into effect; and the Ministry, which held office till 1862, was memorable chiefly for the struggle between the Crown and the Parliament on the subject of army reorganisation. The Prince resumed his military duties, and as military governor of the Rhine Province took up his residence at Düsseldorf, where he spent his time in perfecting the system he had as a statesman forced upon the nation. The offer of the throne of Spain to his son Leopold in 1870 gave rise to events which need not be more than referred to. Foreseeing the danger, he exercised his parental authority to induce his son to withdraw from his candidature, but without any effect upon the march of events, and the fatal war broke out. Prince Anthony almost immediately retired from his military duties, and quitted Düsseldorf, where he had lived in the most friendly intercourse with the numerous painters forming the Düsseldorf school. His artistic and scientific tastes led him to form an ex-

tensive collection of antiquities and objects of art in his ancestral castle at Sigmaringen, giving it a place among the most important private collections of the kind in Germany. He died on the 2nd. Prince Anthony was married in 1834 to Princess Josephine of Baden. He left behind him his wife and four children—Leopold, the ex-King-Designate of Spain, a Lieutenant-General in the Prussian Army; Charles, elected Prince of Roumania in 1866, and proclaimed King in 1881; Frederick, Commander of the 3rd Brigade of Guards' Cavalry; and Marie, married to the brother of the King of the Belgians. His eldest daughter, Stephanie, died in 1859, as the wife of Pedro V. of Portugal; and his son Anthony fell in the battle of Königgrätz.

Sir Julius Benedict.—Sir Julius Benedict, who died in Manchester Square on the 5th, was born at Stuttgart, Nov. 27, 1804, and like most musicians evinced early love and aptitude for his art. Fortunately his parents did not oppose his natural bias. He was placed under the excellent concert-master Abeille, and at the age of fifteen he became the pupil of the famous pianist Hummel at Weimar. With him the youth stayed over a year, and left him for a still greater master, Carl Maria von Weber. This was at the beginning of Feb. 1821. A few months later the young man accompanied his master to Berlin, and was present at the memorable production of "Der Freischütz," from which the rise of modern German opera may be said to date. Again two years later he witnessed the first performance at Vienna of "Euryanthe," Weber's highest effort in the sphere of dramatic music. To the master the visit to the Austrian capital brought nothing but disappointment, in spite of the temporary *succès d'estime* of his new opera. For the pupil the same visit was of the utmost importance. Not only did he see Beethoven, but he was introduced on the same occasion to Barbaja, the impresario, who soon afterwards, at Weber's recommendation, engaged him to conduct the German opera at the Kärnthnerthor Theatre in Vienna. With Barbaja he subsequently travelled in Italy, and obtained at the age of twenty-one the conductorship at one of the most

important Italian opera-houses, the San Carlo of Naples. In this capacity he ventured upon his first flight as a composer. His opera "*Giacinta ed Ernesto*" was given at Naples with considerable success, and was followed in 1830 by "*I Portoghesi in Goa*," another grand opera, written essentially in the style of Rossini, but with a considerable admixture of the seriousness of the German school and the Romanticism of Weber. The Germans, however, found him too Italian, the Italians too German; and this probably determined Benedict in 1834 to try his fortune in England. In those days the annual performances given by the most popular virtuosi were a prominent feature of the London season. Such concerts Benedict arranged soon after his arrival, and continued without interruption for half a century, the fiftieth and the last being given at the Albert Hall in June 1884. But his activity was not limited to this. As a piano-forte teacher, composer, and conductor he worked successfully and incessantly almost to the last day of his life. Nothing could subdue his energy. When on his seventieth birthday the veteran composer was by a number of friends presented with a service of plate "in appreciation of his labours during forty years," it might have been expected that he would rest on his laurels, especially as his eyesight was beginning to fail. But nothing was further from his mind. He submitted to an operation and then worked on as hard as ever, although he had (in 1879) reluctantly to abandon the conductorship of the Norwich Festival and the Liverpool Philharmonic Society, and to sever his connection with the Monday Popular Concerts, which he had assisted Mr. Chappell in founding.

The compositions of Sir Julius Benedict extend over almost every form of music, from the song to the grand opera, from the *étude* to the symphony. To give a list even of the more important of these would exceed the limits of our space. It must suffice to refer to his more successful efforts in each branch of the art. His most popular English opera is the "*Lily of Killarney*," founded upon Boucicault's play, "*The Colleen Bawn*," and produced in 1862 under the management of Miss Louisa Pyne and Mr. Harrison. It has kept the stage to the present day. Less fortunate, although by no means less meritorious, were his earlier works, "*The Gipsy's Warning*" (1838) and "*The Brides of Venice*" (1843).

In sacred music the cantata "*St. Cecilia*" (Norwich Festival, 1866) and the oratorio "*St. Peter*," perhaps its composer's masterpiece, should be named. The latter was produced at the Birmingham Festival of 1870, and in the following year he received the honour of knighthood. His last extensive choral work, "*Graziella*," was written for and performed at the Birmingham Festival of 1882.

Admiral Courbet.—Vice-Admiral Courbet was born on June 28, 1827, at Abbeville. After a brilliant entrance examination, he joined the Polytechnic School in 1847. In 1852 he was appointed naval ensign, and in that capacity showed great readiness and varied aptitudes in discharging duties which were new to him. He made a voyage round the world on board of the *Capricieuse*. As a lieutenant he joined the gunnery school-ship *Suffren*, on board of which he distinguished himself by his profound scientific studies. In 1873 he received the full rank of captain, and commanded the *Savoie* in the squadron of evolution. He was then appointed Governor of New Caledonia. In 1882 he returned to France, but he had little rest. In March 1883 he was appointed to conduct a series of experiments to test the value of the new types of ships. While so engaged he was directed, on the death of Rivière, to take his place as Commander of the Naval Division of Tonquin.

On board of the *Bayard* he set out for the Far East, where he arrived early in July. He studied the situation, and proposed to attack Hué; and this was done. He took the forts of Thuan-An, and imposed a treaty on the Court. General Bouet returned to France, and Admiral Courbet was appointed to take his place. He left his ship, established his headquarters at Hanoi, and on Dec. 16 took Sontay. He afterwards united all his ships and went with them up the river Min, where he destroyed the forts and defences of the Chinese. He next proceeded to Kelung, which he seized. Two days before the signature of the peace, he took possession of the Pescadores Islands, directing in person the mixed operations against an enemy in very superior numbers. This was his last exploit; his health, which for some time had been failing, at length gave way, and after much suffering he died on the 11th. His body was conveyed to France, and after having been brought from Marseilles to Paris he was interred with great solemnity.

Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia. Prince Frederick Charles, only son of Prince Charles, brother of the German Emperor, was born in Berlin on March 20, 1828, his mother, Princess Marie of Saxe-Weimar, being sister of the Empress Augusta. As usual with the princes of the House of Hohenzollern, he was devoted at an early age to the profession of arms, and committed to the care of various military tutors and governors. Most eminent of these was Major von Roon, afterwards Prussian Minister of War, who attended the young Prince for the two years (1846-48) that he spent at the University of Bonn. In 1848 he became a captain of foot-guards, and first saw active service under Marshal Wrangel in the Schleswig-Holstein war. The first encounter in which he was engaged took place near Schleswig, in which he gave proof of the possession of such tactical talent that he was adorned with the order *Pour le Mérite*. Later he attended his uncle Prince William of Prussia in the campaign against the Free Companies of Baden in the capacity of major of hussars, having changed his branch of the service. Here he again distinguished himself by leading a brilliant charge of about forty Hussars against the Polish legion at the battle of Wiesenenthal, but received two wounds, one in the left hand and one in the right shoulder. His enforced abstention from military duties he utilised in the study of military works. In 1852 he was appointed Colonel of the First Dragoon Guards, and two years afterwards was elevated to the command of the First Guards Cavalry Brigade.

In 1855 Prince Frederick Charles visited Paris, devoting most of his time to the study of the French military system, the defects of which he was not slow to perceive. In 1859 he followed the course of the Franco-Austrian war with great interest, and embodied the results of his criticism of French tactics in a pamphlet lithographed for private circulation, but which by some means got into circulation, and naturally aroused much ill-feeling in France. The Prince had previously written several other military essays, and had impressed good judges with a high opinion of his ability. In 1861 he became a general of cavalry, and for the next ten years commanded the 3rd army corps, bringing it to a high pitch of tactical perfection. The important calls made on him in the wars of 1864 and 1866 he answered in the most brilliant manner. In the Danish

war he commanded the Prussian corps forming the right wing of the allied army, and had the credit of forcing the Danes to evacuate Denmark and also of leading the Prussians in the storming of the lines of Düppel. It was here that he acquired from the soldiers his popular sobriquet of "Prinz Forwärts." In the war of 1866 he commanded the 1st army corps, numbering about 140,000 men. With these he entered Bohemia and defeated the Austro-Saxon troops at Liebenau, Podol, and Gitschin. He displayed great generalship and skill at the battle of Sadowa, or Königgrätz. He was afterwards suspected of having opened the ball two hours sooner than commanded, in order that he might, if possible, win the deciding victory before the Crown Prince's army arrived. However this may be, he made his dispositions in a most masterly manner and carried on the contest for many hours in the most valiant manner against an army much outnumbering his own. The Crown Prince, however, did not reach the scene an hour too soon to prevent the otherwise unavoidable retreat of the Prussians and convert the battle into a brilliant victory. In the war of 1870-71 Prince Frederick Charles had again frequent opportunities of displaying his military talents. He commanded the Second Army, and his name is inseparably connected with the victories of Vionville, St. Privat, Orléans, Beaune-la-Rolande, Vendôme, and Le Mans. It was he also who invested Metz and finally compelled Bazaine and his 170,000 men to surrender—a feat of arms which was rewarded by his elevation to the dignity of Field-Marshal.

After the Franco-German war Prince Frederick Charles spent his time mainly between farming at Glienicke and watching military spectacles at Berlin. Muscular and active, though not so tall as the Emperor or the Crown Prince, the "Red Prince," as he was usually called, from his favourite Hussar uniform, was in appearance a model cavalry officer. He died suddenly on the 15th from apoplexy at the Château of Glienicke, near Potsdam.

Field Marshal von Manteuffel.—Edwin Hans Carl, Baron von Manteuffel, who died on the 17th, was born at Dresden on Feb. 24, 1809. He was educated for a military career, and entered the Dragoon Guards at Berlin in 1827, becoming a lieutenant in the following year. In 1836-38 he attended the War Academy, and attracted the

attention of his superior officers by the excellence of the work which he did. This led to his appointment as adjutant, first to the Governor of Berlin, and then to Prince Albert of Prussia. In the trying year 1848 he had the good fortune to be in the neighbourhood of the King, Frederick William IV., and so supported him that afterwards the grateful King made him one of his aides-de-camp. In 1852 he became lieutenant-colonel, being appointed to the command of the 5th Uhlans in the following year, and about the same time he was sent by the King on several important missions to the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. In 1857 he was appointed to the invidious post of Chief of the Military Cabinet, in which one of his duties consisted in investigating the personal character of the officers' corps, promoting the deserving and weeding out the worthless. In this capacity he claimed to have been the first to recognise the genius of Moltke, and to have put him in the way of winning his spurs.

His relations to the other great hero of the drama of German unity, Herr Otto von Bismarck, were said to have been at first not of the most cordial nature; Manteuffel holding a steady alliance with Austria the true method for advancing German interests; while Bismarck had already in view the drastic measure of expulsion which he afterwards put in force. Manteuffel for this reason was said to have been of considerable use in persuading the Austrian Government to join with Prussia in the Danish war. At the end of the war, having in the meantime been advanced to the grade of lieutenant-general, he was appointed Governor of Schleswig, and Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian Army of Occupation. Manteuffel, however, found it impossible to establish a *modus vivendi* with Austria, and the threatening gap between the two countries became daily wider. When the outbreak of hostilities seemed inevitable, Manteuffel forestalled the Austrians by entering Holstein and occupying Itzhoë, on June 7, 1866. Then followed the campaign in Hanover and South Germany, Man-

teuffel acting at first under Vogel von Falckenstein, but succeeding him in the command of the main army on July 19. On the conclusion of the campaign Manteuffel was sent on a diplomatic mission to St. Petersburg, where he was a *persona grata*, and succeeded in gaining Russia's consent to the arrangement of North Germany.

On the outbreak of the war with France, Manteuffel was entrusted with the command of the 1st army corps, which formed part of the First Army, under Steinmetz, and took part in the campaign that ended in the investment and capitulation of Metz. He fought in the battle of Noisseville, which prevented Bazaine from breaking out. On the retirement of Steinmetz, Manteuffel succeeded him in the command of the First Army, in which post his first exploit was the victory of Amiens. This was followed up by the occupation of Rouen and by a victory over Faidherbe. In the beginning of 1871 he was appointed to the command of the newly formed South Army, which he led in spite of hard frost through the Côte d'Or and over the plateau of Langres, cut off the French army, under Bourbaki, and after the battle of Pontarlier compelled it, 80,000 men strong, to cross the Swiss frontier, and to lay down its arms.

After the war Manteuffel was selected to take command of the German Army of Occupation left in France, and acquitted himself in this difficult post to the admiration of all. His brilliant services in the war were rewarded by his elevation to the rank of Field-Marshal. Subsequently Manteuffel was made use of in several diplomatic missions, and for a time was Governor of Berlin. In 1879 he became Governor-General of Alsace-Lorraine, the most onerous and delicate post in the service of his country. His rare tact, combining firmness and gentleness, did much to ensure, at least outwardly, the acquiescence of the vanquished in the rule of their conquerors. Although unsuccessful in reconciling the Alsatians and Lorrainers to their new masters, he established for himself a character for impartiality in his dealings with them.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 2nd, aged 24, **Prince Maximilian of Thurn and Taxis**, hereditary Postmaster-General of Germany, a member of the Prussian House of Lords and of the First Chamber of Würtemberg, and Colonel of the 2nd Regiment of Bavarian Light Horse. On the same date, at Blackheath, aged 67, **Sir William Muir, K.C.B.**, late Director-General of the Army Medical Department. He served throughout the Crimean war, in India during the mutiny, and in China, and as head of the Medical Department he introduced, in the face of much opposition, numerous beneficial changes in the

position and duties of army surgeons. The better treatment of the sick soldier, the greater promptitude of care for the wounded, and the more rapid disembarrassment of an army from the impediments which the sick and wounded create, were the objects Sir William Muir had in view; and these advantages will constitute the best monument to his memory. On the 6th, at Giessen, aged 52, **Professor Robert von Schlagintweit**, the eminent ethnographer and geographer. His name is chiefly connected with the journey of scientific investigation made by him in 1854-57 in Central India and the Himalayas, which added many important facts to our knowledge of the geography, meteorology, geology, and ethnology of that region. On the 12th, at Edinburgh, aged 52, **Fleeming Jenkin, LL.D.**, of Stowling Court, Kent, professor of engineering at the University of Edinburgh. The son of Captain Charles Jenkin, R.N., he was educated in various countries, and commenced his engineering career at Marseilles, coming afterwards to England, where he made rapid progress in his profession. On the same date, in Paris, aged 64, **Rev. Edward Paxton Hood**, Minister of Falcon Square Chapel, a popular theological writer and an eloquent lecturer and preacher. He was formerly editor of the *Eclectic Review*. On the 17th, at Tenby, aged 72, **Sir William Milman**, the son of Sir W. G. Milman, of Laneton, Woodlands, Devon, whom he succeeded as third Baronet in 1857. He was the brother of the late Bishop Milman, of Calcutta. On the same date, at Fulbeck, Lincolnshire, aged 57, **Major-General Walter Fane, C.B.**, the son of the Rev. Edward Fane, rector of Fulbeck. He entered the Indian Army, and raised a regiment of irregular cavalry for service in China, commanding "Fane's Horse" in several actions there. On the 18th, at Düsseldorf, aged 67, **William Camphausen**, a celebrated German battle-painter. He was also favourably known as an author. On the 20th, aged 75, **Princess Caroline**, the sister of Prince Anthony of Hohenzollern, whom she survived less than three weeks. On the 21st, at Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, aged 67, **William Sandys Wright Vaux, F.R.S.**, a distinguished numismatist and Oriental scholar. He entered the service of the British Museum in 1841, becoming keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals until his retirement. He was Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society. On the 26th, at St. Louis, aged 35, **Count von Alt Leiningen Westerburg**, a representative of one of the oldest and most noble families of Germany, who up to the time of the Congress of Vienna were sovereign princes. He had lived a hard-working life of poverty in St. Louis and Cincinnati for several years. On the same date, aged 60, **Sir George Henry Scott-Douglas**, of Springwood Park, Roxburghshire, the son of Sir John J. Scott-Douglas, whom he succeeded as fourth Baronet in 1836; formerly M.P. for his county, and a Brigadier-General of the Royal Company of Archers (the Queen's Body Guard) for Scotland, as well as honorary colonel of the 1st battalion of Volunteer Royal Scots Fusiliers. Also on the same date, at Exeter, aged 70, **John Syer**, of South Hampstead, a well-known landscape painter, and a member of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours. On the 27th, aged 66, **Right Hon. Sir Adolphus Frederick Octavius Liddell, K.C.B., Q.C.**, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department. A younger son of the first Lord Ravensworth. On the 28th, in Warwick Square, aged 66, **Right Hon. Sir William Robert Vesey Fitzgerald, G.C.S.I.**, and some time M.P. for Horsham. The son of the second Lord Fitzgerald and Vesey, he had held the post of Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Lord Derby's first Administration, and was subsequently Chief Charity Commissioner. On the same date, at New Jersey, aged 75, **Signor Secchi de Casali**, an Italian patriot of good family, who being compelled to leave Italy went to the United States, and established in New York the Italian paper *L'Eco d'Italia*. He was decorated by King Victor Emmanuel for his exertions in raising subscriptions in America for the relief of the relatives of the dead and wounded in the war of 1859.

JULY.

Bishop of Salisbury.—The Right Reverend George Moberly, Bishop of Salisbury, and formerly head master of Winchester College, who died at his palace on the 6th, shortly before completing his 82nd year, was a younger son of Mr. Edward Moberly, whose family were extensively engaged as merchants at St. Petersburg; his mother being Sarah, daughter of Mr. John Cayley, some time Consul-General in Russia. Born in 1803, he was educated at Winchester College, whence he passed to Balliol College, Oxford, where he was successively Scholar, Fellow, and Tutor. He took his Bachelor's degree in 1825, obtaining a first class in the school of *Literæ Humaniores*, and proceeded M.A. in 1829. Having held one of the college tutorships for some years, he married, in 1834, Mary, daughter of Mr. Thomas Crokat, of Leghorn, and in 1835 he was appointed Head Master of his old school, Winchester, over which he presided for more than thirty years, when he resigned, and was appointed rector of Brightstone, Isle of Wight, and also canon of Chester. In 1869, on the death of Bishop Hamilton, he was consecrated to the See of Salisbury. It is said by Mr. Thomas Mozley, in his "Reminiscences of Oriel College," that Dr. Moberly's elevation was delayed for some years by the fact of his having signed one of the many remonstrances of the High Church party against a measure in which he thought that the State sought to gain an advantage at the cost of the Church; but the fact that his appointment to Winchester College removed him from Oxford during the Tractarian controversy secured him from the risks attendant upon ardent partisanship. Once or twice during his reign at Winchester attacks had been made on the more antiquated portions of the public school system, yet he contrived in the long run to set himself right with the public; and probably few more effective defences of the "fagging" system, as distinct from its abuses, is to be found than that which he gave to the world as a preface to the second series of his "Sermons at Winchester College," published in 1848. Throughout his life he was attached to moderate High Church views, and his appointment by Mr. Gladstone to the episcopate was regarded with general

approval. On the burning questions of 1841 he had contented himself with publishing an "Examination of Dr. Newman's Theory of Development," which is now almost forgotten, and a "Letter to the Master of Balliol College" on the proposed degradation of Mr. Ward. The list of his other publications includes various volumes of sermons and a volume of "Letters to Sir William Heathcote, M.P., on the Studies and Discipline of our Public Schools."

General Grant.—Ulysses S. Grant, General on the retired list of the United States Army, and eighteenth President of the United States, who died on the 23rd, after a long illness at Mount M'Gregor, near Saratoga, New York, was born in the State of Ohio, at a small village called Point Pleasant, April 27, 1822. His ancestry was Scotch, and his parents were in humble circumstances. He was named Hiram Ulysses Grant, and during his infancy his parents removed to Georgetown, Ohio, where his boyhood was passed. He had but moderate opportunities for education in early life, and when seventeen years of age the member of Congress from the district in which he lived appointed him a cadet at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. By a blunder his name in the appointment was written "Ulysses S. Grant," and this name he had to adopt. He served the usual four years' military course at the Academy without special distinction, although he showed some proficiency in mathematics, and in 1843 graduated number twenty-one in a class of thirty-nine. His first commission was brevet second lieutenant of infantry in the army, and he was sent to join a regiment guarding, and sometimes fighting the Indians on, the Missouri frontier, where he continued for two years, when the war between the United States and Mexico began, and his regiment was sent to the Texan frontier to join the army corps then forming under the command of General Zachary Taylor, who afterwards became President of the United States. On Sept. 30, 1845, young Grant was commissioned second lieutenant, and he entered with ardour upon the campaign of invasion of Mexico, which began the

following spring. He developed fine soldierly qualities, and first saw bloodshed at the opening battle of that invasion at Palo Alto in May 1846. He took part in all the battles of that active campaign, which included the capture of Monterey, and the siege and capture of Vera Cruz. In April 1847 Grant was made the quartermaster of his regiment, the 4th Infantry, and he participated in the battles fought by the American troops on their victorious advance into the interior after the capture of Vera Cruz. For his gallantry at the battle of Molino del Rey, in Sept. he was made a first lieutenant on the field, and at Chapultepec, a few days later, he commanded his regiment, and did such good service that he was brevetted captain. Colonel Garland, who commanded the brigade to which his regiment was attached, called especial attention to Grant in his report. The subsequent capture of the city of Mexico and the dictation of terms of peace by the victors ended the war.

When the United States troops were withdrawn, Captain Grant returned with his regiment, and was afterwards located at various posts on the Canadian border. He married in 1848, his wife being the sister of a classmate, Miss Julia T. Dent, who survived him. For several years his life was without special feature. His regiment was ordered to the Pacific coast, and he accompanied it, being for two years in California and Oregon, where he was commissioned a full captain, Aug. 5, 1853. In July 1854 he resigned from the army and settled at St. Louis as a farmer and real estate agent. His business talents were poor and he had ill-success, and for a few years he tried various occupations in civil life at various places, finally going to Galena, Illinois, in 1859, to join his father, who was a tanner. When the American civil war began, in the spring of 1861, Grant's fortunes were at a low ebb, and he was ready for almost anything that promised an improvement. The opening of the civil war found the country without an army, and the entire North aflame to raise a volunteer soldiery. The few men in different parts of the States who had been officers of the regular army, and particularly those who had seen active service in Mexico and on the frontier, at once advanced to a high place in the popular estimation, as the main reliance in officering the new force. A company of volunteer troops was formed at Galena and selected Grant for its captain. He was thirty-nine years of age

when, a day or two after the firing upon Fort Sumter, he marched his company to Springfield, the capital of Illinois, and offered his services to the Governor of the State. Governor Yates at once selected Captain Grant as his aide-de-camp and mustering officer to organise the State troops of Illinois, and this service occupied him nearly two months. He organised twenty-one regiments, and on June 17, 1861, was commissioned as colonel of the 21st Illinois Regiment. During the remainder of this month he drilled his regiment, and in July crossed over the Mississippi river and was ordered to guard the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, which crosses the northern part of the State of Missouri, and was in constant danger of destruction by guerilla raids. Promotion was rapid in the early part of the Civil War, especially for veteran officers, and August found him practically in command of all the troops in Northern Missouri, which formed part of the force under General John Pope, and on Aug. 23 Grant was made brigadier-general of volunteers, his commission being dated May 17, 1861.

The qualities of General Grant, both as a fighter and as a strategist, were early recognised, and his remarkable military career may be regarded as beginning in August, when he was sent to take command at Cairo, the point of junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. But his first important achievement was to secure for the Federal cause Paducah, in Missouri, and with it the whole State of Kentucky. On Nov. 7, 1861, Brigadier-General Grant was defeated in the battle of Belmont by Bishop Polk. Grant, however, had already established a reputation for courage and persistency, and in Jan. 1862 made an able reconnaissance to the rear of Columbus. In the next month he was appointed Commander of the Army of West Tennessee, and took Fort Henry on Feb. 6, Fort Donelson, with 15,000 prisoners, on the 16th, and Nashville itself on the 23rd. He then became a major-general, and advanced up the river Tennessee to Pittsburg Landing. On April 6 and 7 great battles were fought at Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing, near Corinth, the Confederates getting the advantage after a long and sanguinary struggle, but paying heavily for their success in the loss of their able general, Albert Johnstone. At the siege of Corinth, under General Halleck, which immediately followed, Grant was second in command. At the end of May, Beauregard and the Confederate

forces retreated from Corinth, closely pursued by Halleck and Grant. Halleck was soon, however, sent for to Washington, and in July superseded the temporarily discredited McClellan, as Commander-in-Chief of the Federal forces, Grant taking his place in Tennessee.

He was already looked upon as one of the rising men, and towards the close of the year was nominated to supersede Sherman before Vicksburg. Grant's great opportunity had now come. He was at the head of four corps, and his work was to reduce the great Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi river. He had already begun to act on the principle of keeping pegging away, and his repeated and persistent attacks on Vicksburg, sometimes repulsed with great loss of life, resulted at last in its capture on July 4, 1863, and Fort Hudson fell soon afterwards. Meanwhile there had been great Federal losses and defeats in other parts of the vast field of war. McClellan had retreated from Harrison's Landing in August, and in the same month Pope and McDowell had been defeated by Lee at Bullrun. Confederate General Stuart had crossed the Potomac and threatened Washington in October, and Burnside had been totally defeated in the middle of December. The eyes of the Republic were already turning to Grant as the most persistent and successful of its generals. The successive failures in the east, in the campaigns made in Virginia by various generals for the capture of the Confederate capital at Richmond, caused a popular demand that the young commander who had so distinguished himself in the west should be placed in charge of what was regarded as the chief theatre of the war. When Congress convened in Dec. 1863 the first measure passed was a resolution ordering a gold medal to be struck for Grant, and returning thanks to him and his army. His name was on every tongue, and, preparatory to giving him control of all the armies, Congress in March 1864 created the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Army, and President Lincoln immediately appointed him. When his appointment was announced he at once went to Washington, arriving March 9, and received his commission. He was given entire control as Commander-in-Chief of all the campaigns against the Confederacy. Never before during the war had any general in the field commanded all the Union armies. All previous generals in Virginia had been

trammelled and thwarted by the powers in Washington. This political interference was thenceforward to cease; and it did cease in reality, Grant during the remaining year of the war being an autocrat whose will was the supreme law in military affairs. He returned to the west, and at Nashville, March 17, issued his order taking command, announcing that his "headquarters would be in the field" and with the "Army of the Potomac." He had nearly 700,000 men in active service under him.

At Nashville, in connection with General Sherman, he planned two campaigns, east and west of the mountains. Sherman was to operate against Johnstone's forces at Atlanta, Georgia; and Meade was to move against Lee at Richmond, the latter movement being supervised by General Grant in person. The movement against Richmond began May 3, 1864, and on the 5th of that month the first of the terrible "Battles of the Wilderness" was commenced, which at their conclusion left the Union troops with losses of over 41,000 men, but which enabled Grant to establish himself opposite Petersburg and commence the final struggle of the war. It was to be won by sheer persistency, and Grant possessed the endurance needful for such a struggle. Sherman meanwhile was making his historic raid through the Confederacy from Atlanta to the sea. Around Richmond the battle raged loud and long, with varying fortunes but unvarying loss to both sides. At length, on April 2 and 3, 1865, the Confederate army, under Lee, evacuated Petersburg and Richmond, and General Grant occupied both places. On April 9 the Confederate general and the army of Virginia surrendered to General Grant at Appomatox Court-house. The assassination of President Lincoln left the successful soldier the most powerful man in the Republic; and his loyalty, his courage, and Republican honesty and simplicity of purpose brought his country safely through the most dangerous period of its modern history. His reception at New York in June was one of the greatest triumphs of his great career.

When Mr. Johnson brought his ill-starred Presidency to an end it was natural that the thoughts of the Republican party should turn towards the successful soldier who had saved the State. He had been for a short time Secretary at War under President Johnson, but had not given any sign of great administrative power. He was chosen President, however, by an overwhelming

majority, and his election was received with acclamation by the country. In March 1869 he assumed the office, and devoted himself forthwith to the task of Southern reconstruction, which had been delayed by the quarrels and want of harmony during Johnson's rule. Congress was in close sympathy with the President, and the work of Southern recuperation was successfully conducted. The most prominent event of President Grant's first administration, however, was the negotiation of the Alabama Claims Treaty with Great Britain in May 1871, which was followed by the Geneva Award, in 1872, of a gross sum of \$15,500,000, to be paid to the United States for damages to American commerce by Confederate cruisers fitted out in British ports. The first movement for the reform of the Civil Service in the United States was also begun by the appointment of a Commission by President Grant in 1871 to inquire into the condition of the Civil Service. The Republican Convention held in June 1872 re-nominated Grant for President, and there was a slight secession from the party, led by the *New York Tribune*, in consequence. This party, who called themselves the "Liberal Republicans," nominated Horace Greeley, the editor of the *Tribune*, for President, and the Democrats endorsed him. Grant was easily elected in Nov. 1872, and Greeley died soon after the election. Upon Grant's second inauguration in 1873 his salary was increased to \$50,000. During this second term much attention was given to the preparations for the centennial anniversary of American Independence, and in May 1876, to commemorate that event, he opened the Philadelphia Exhibition, the first International Fair held in America.

At the end of his second term of office many of his friends and supporters were anxious to run him for a "third term," but public opinion was opposed to this, and after a prolonged contest, during which Grant's name was not brought forward as a candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes was elected President, and Grant retired March 5, 1877.

The same year a tour was planned for him round the world, and he sailed from Philadelphia for Europe and the East, being everywhere received with the highest honours as the most distinguished citizen of the great Republic. His visit was particularly appreciated in the East, and the friendships formed with the Governments of China and Japan were continued to the close of his career, the Ministers of both nations in

America making him their constant adviser. He returned to San Francisco at the close of 1879, and, after a journey across the continent which was a constant ovation, his tour round the world terminated at Philadelphia, the starting point, with a succession of brilliant pageants that at once pointed to him as the most formidable Republican candidate for President. At the Republican Nominating Convention in June 1880 at Chicago his supporters made a gallant but unsuccessful fight, James A. Garfield being finally elected. General Grant afterwards resided in New York City, and began to devote some attention to commercial matters, especially in their relations with Mexico and Central America. He made visits to those countries, and, representing the United States Government, negotiated a Mexican reciprocity treaty. His business talents were small, however, and to this, with the *penchant* his sons always had for speculation, may be traced the financial misfortunes that clouded his closing years. His later life indeed seemed mainly a series of misfortunes. On the eve of Christmas 1883 he slipped and fell on the ice in front of his residence, and sustained severe injuries to the hip, which necessitated his afterwards going about on crutches. The wild speculations of his sons with their partner Ward, conducted without the knowledge of the General, began to culminate soon afterwards, and caused their suspension, the collapse of the Marine National Bank of New York, and a general Wall-street panic in the spring of 1884, Ferdinand Ward, the guilty partner, being put in gaol. This failure was a terrible blow to General Grant, who had imagined himself up to then wealthy. On the eve of the failure he had borrowed \$150,000 from Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt, with other sums from other friends, all of which was sunk with the general wreck. Vanderbilt generously forgave his debt, but Grant would not accept his property back, and the sorrows that followed broke down his health. Excessive smoking had produced a cancer at the root of the tongue; he was racked by neuralgic pains which necessitated the drawing of several of his teeth; and his hip-trouble and lameness gave him extreme annoyance. He bore his prolonged and painful illness, however, with characteristic fortitude and patience, busying himself with the preparation of his "Memoirs" up to the very close of his painful life.

Sir Moses Montefiore.—Sir Moses Montefiore, the son of Joseph Montefiore, a not very wealthy Jewish merchant, was born at Leghorn, Oct. 24, 1784. Returning to England with his parents, Moses Montefiore was educated privately, articulated to Mr. Robert Johnson, a wholesale tea merchant in Eastcheap, and afterwards entered the Stock Exchange, where his uncle purchased for him, for 1,200*l.*, the right to practise as one of the twelve Jewish brokers. On the outbreak of the invasion panic in 1803 Moses Montefiore joined a Surrey volunteer regiment (he lived at Kennington-terrace), and rose to the rank of captain. He became very popular on the Stock Exchange, where he began the publication of a regular price-list of securities, was joined in business by his brother Abraham, and became connected in business and by marriage with Nathan Mayer Rothschild. The two friends married, in 1812, sisters, daughters of Levy Barent Cohen, a merchant of Dutch descent, greatly respected for his wealth and benevolence. Abraham Montefiore, moreover, wedded Henrietta Rothschild, sister of the great financier, and thus established another bond of union between the families. It was in 1813 that Mr. Rothschild brought out the British loan for 12,000,000*l.* for warlike operations against Napoleon Bonaparte; and henceforward the brothers Montefiore were associated with the transactions of the house of Rothschild. He lived next door to Mr. Rothschild, and has himself described how "N. M. Rothschild," as Sir Moses was wont to call his brother-in-law in speaking of him to other persons, roused him at five o'clock in the morning to give news of the escape from Elba, which Mr. Rothschild was able to communicate to the Ministry.

In 1824 Mr. Montefiore retired from business and settled in Park-lane, Mr. Rothschild removing at about the same time to Piccadilly, where he long occupied a house now the property of the Savile Club. "Thank God, and be content!" was his wife's behest to Mr. Montefiore, and he was henceforth only occupied with duties of a semi-public nature, as in founding, in conjunction with his friends, the Alliance Fire, Life, and Marine Insurance Office, the Imperial Continental Gas Association, and the Provincial Bank of Ireland. In connection with the Irish banking business Sir Moses went twice round Ireland, and was presented with the freedom of Londonderry.

It was in 1827 that Mr. Montefiore

undertook the pilgrimage which coloured the whole of his future existence. He had been known as a pious and benevolent man, and as one who, while reverent of tradition, controlled it by good sense, as in seeking his wife from among the "German" Jews, although himself a member of the Sephardic or Spanish synagogue. But his life-long devotion to the cause of his oppressed brethren in the East dates from his visit to Palestine in 1827. The way to Palestine then lay through Egypt. A meeting with Mehemet Ali laid the foundations of a lasting friendship, but Mr. Salt, the British Consul, warned the travellers strongly against proceeding to Palestine. They would be sold for slaves; he trembled to think what would become of Mrs. Montefiore. This pair of travellers, however, were not easily frightened. They sailed to Jaffa and rode in to Jerusalem, "a fallen, desolate, and abject" city, as Lady Montefiore described it. They found the Jews very poor and miserable, dwelling like conies in the clefts in the rocks, oppressed by officials, paying 300*l.* a year for the melancholy privilege of weeping at the wall known as the Wailing Place of Jerusalem. After administering bountiful alms, and making still more fruitful inquiries into the possibility of a permanent amelioration of the condition of the people by stimulating industry, the Montefiores returned to Alexandria, where they heard Arab women lamenting in the street the defeat of Navarino. Afterwards they themselves brought home some of Codrington's despatches.

In 1837 Montefiore was elected sheriff of London and Middlesex. A year before, he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. As sheriff at the Coronation, Moses Montefiore was knighted by the Queen. Immediately after he had served his year, of which the most noteworthy incident was that he obtained a pardon for the only culprit sentenced to death during his shrievalty, Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore departed on their second pilgrimage to the Holy Land. They visited on the way the seven synagogues of Rome, making valuable benefactions to the congregations. At Malta news met them that the plague was raging at Jerusalem. Sir Moses accordingly proposed to proceed alone, but to this Lady Montefiore strongly objected, and they pursued their journey together. This time they were received in Jerusalem with the most brilliant ceremony as the friends of the Egyptian ruler, and the benefactors of all. After dis-

tributing funds entrusted to him by the Chief Rabbi, Sir Moses returned to Beyrout impressed with the necessity of introducing agriculture among the Jews of the Holy Land. He obtained from Mehemet Ali a decree authorising the Jews to acquire land, and was preparing an extensive scheme for farming the soil of Palestine by the descendants of those who anciently possessed it, when political disturbances overturned all the plans formed, and rendered valueless the privileges acquired. The Sultan sent his armies against Syria, Acre was bombarded, and the rule of Mehemet Ali was destroyed.

In 1840, the blood accusation, the terrible and lying charge that the Jews offer up human sacrifice, was stirred against them in Rhodes and Damascus. In both these places the populace demanded the blood of the Jews, and the local authorities were not averse to imprisoning such as could afford ransom. Some of these victims perished in captivity. Sir Moses Montefiore called upon his fellow-citizens to express their disbelief in the charge and their sympathy with the oppressed Israelites. The Lord Mayor presided over a public meeting at the Mansion House, Lord Palmerston received a deputation, and Sir Moses Montefiore at once started for Alexandria and Constantinople to demand a fair trial for the accused, and the surviving prisoners were released. Furthermore, the Sultan in response to Sir Moses' appeal issued the firman of 12th Ramazan, 1256, which, discussing the inveterate calumny, referred to the Biblical maxim which prohibits Jews from using the blood even of animals, and dismissed as groundless the charge that they employ human blood. The firman also declared the equality before the law of the Jewish nation with the other subjects of the Commander of the Faithful, and forbade any molestation of them in their religious or temporal concerns. Finding the Hebrew congregations almost wholly illiterate, he arranged with the Rabbis that the Turkish language should be taught in their schools. The result of the mission of 1840 was felt to be so momentous that it was proposed in Germany to institute a new Purim in its honour.

Sir Moses Montefiore's next mission was to Russia. In the wintry weather of February and March he travelled to St. Petersburg to induce the Czar to recall a ukase which he had issued ordering the removal into the interior of all Jews living within fifty versts of the

frontier. With the good offices of the Court of St. James, and the commercial results of the measure being foreseen, it was recalled. On his return several members of the Royal House attended a reception given in his honour by the late Charlotte Baroness de Rothschild, at Gunnersbury, and the Queen conferred upon him a baronetcy.

In 1858 Sir Moses travelled to Rome, where he was less successful, for Cardinal Antonelli refused to give up the child Mortara, surreptitiously baptized by a nurse and stolen from his mother, who died of grief.

In 1860 Montefiore headed the subscription for the relief of the misery of the Christians of Syria, who had been attacked by the Druses of Mount Lebanon. His letter appeared in the columns of the *Times*, and resulted in the collection of more than 22,500*l*. We cannot describe all his journeys to the Holy Land, which he visited seven times in all, on the last occasion when he was more than ninety years of age. Whole cities went out to meet him on the way, sermons were preached, odes composed in his honour. In Palestine he endowed hospitals and alms-houses, set on foot agricultural enterprises, planted gardens, built synagogues and tombs. Besides his own benefactions, he was often chosen to administer the charities of others, as, for example, by Juda Touro, New Orleans, who left large sums at his disposal for improvements in Jerusalem. He pleaded with a later Czar (Alexander II.) in St. Petersburg and with the King of Roumania at Bucharest for his brethren, crossed the great desert on a litter to the city of Morocco and procured a milder treatment for Jews tortured by barbarians. In more recent years he sent letters to every member of the Hungarian Legislature exposing the iniquity of the false blood accusation at Tisza Eslar, and urged upon Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury the cause of the Jews of Roumania, whose condition he hoped would have been permanently regulated and improved by the Treaty of Berlin. Judith, Lady Montefiore, the companion of his travels, died in 1862. He built in her memory a college at Ramsgate, where Rabbis maintained by his benevolence might pass their days in prayer and study of the law. He also founded in her memory scholarships and prizes for girls and boys. The mausoleum at Ramsgate in which she was buried was a model of the building called the tomb of Rachel on the road from Bethlehem

to Jerusalem, which he had often visited with her.

Sir Moses' entry into his 100th year on the Nov. 8, 1883 (corresponding with 8th Heshvan, 5643), was celebrated as a public holiday at Ramsgate, where his liberal but discriminating charities, administered by the local clergy of all denominations, and his unfailing courtesy and hospitality, had made him most popular. The occasion became, by reason of the widespread public interest aroused, one of national significance, and the Queen herself telegraphed, "I congratulate you sincerely on your entering into the hundredth year of a useful and honourable life." The Prince of Wales, the Duke

of Edinburgh, the City of London, and hundreds of representative bodies sent similar messages. At Jerusalem and among the Jewish congregations throughout the world special prayers were offered up and services held. The Lord Mayor attended the special service held Oct. 26, 1884, in London on the completion of Sir Moses' century of existence, and the commemorations at Ramsgate and throughout the country and the world in churches and synagogues were still more striking than that of 1883. His death, which took place on the 28th inst., resulted from the gradual and peaceful decline of old age, and he retained the use of his faculties almost to the last.

During the month the following deaths also took place:—On the 4th, at the baths of Tueffer, aged 81, **Duke Alexander of Wurtemberg**, General of Cavalry in the Austrian Army, father of the Duke of Teck, who married Princess Mary of Cambridge. On the same date, at Brighton, **Rear-Admiral John Crawford Wilson**, Admiral Superintendent of Devonport Dockyard. When serving on the Australian station he displayed great activity in putting down the Polynesian slave-trade. On the 7th, aged 72, **David Evans**, "**Dewi Haran**," the well-known Welsh bard, who had contributed much to Welsh literature and poetry. On the same date, at Quebec, aged 64, **John Stoughton Dennis, C.M.G.**, late Deputy of the Ministry of the Interior, Canada, for many years connected with important public surveys and explorations, and who in 1855 took an active part in organising the volunteer movement in Canada. On the 8th, at Baden, near Vienna, aged 76, **Baron Moritz Wodianer von Capriora**, head of the well-known banking firm in Vienna and Budapest. Occupying a high position in the Austrian world of finance, he was created a baron by the Emperor, and was a life peer in the Hungarian House of Lords. On the same date, at Edinburgh, aged 91, **William Veitch, LL.D.**, a distinguished Greek scholar, celebrated for his edition of Homer's "*Iliad*," and for valuable service rendered to scholarship in the revision of Liddell and Scott's "*Lexicon*." On the 12th, aged 79, **Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman**, who for many years laboured with the late Mr. Lloyd Garrison and others for the abolition of slavery in the United States. She edited the biography of Harriet Martineau, who had committed to her all the papers and manuscripts connected with her literary life. On the 14th, at Baden-Baden, **General von Wright**, an Englishman who held a distinguished position as a cavalry officer in the Prussian Army, which he entered in 1821. On the 15th, in Eccleston Square, aged 83, **Hon. Henry Spencer Law**, the son of first Baron Ellenborough. He was formerly in the army, and afterwards acted as private secretary to his brother, the Earl of Ellenborough, when Lord Privy Seal, by whom he was appointed Clerk of the Docquets, which office he held until its abolition. On the 16th, at Oakdene, Guildford, aged 68, **William Graham**, of Grosvenor Place, formerly M.P. for Glasgow, and a well-known art connoisseur and picture collector. On the 17th, in Sussex Gardens, aged 84, **General John Ffolliott Crofton**, Colonel of the 6th (Royal Warwickshire) Regiment, son of Rev. Henry Crofton. On the 18th, at Madrid, **Señor Candido Necedal**, a prominent leader of the Carlist party in Spain. On the 19th, aged 63, **Shahzadah Sultan Sikander**, the head of the Sudozai family of Afghans. He enjoyed the largest pension ever granted by the Indian Government to a deposed prince residing in India, which was further increased after his loyal service during the Indian mutiny. On the 22nd, at Agra, aged 50, **Colonel Frederic Macnaghten Armstrong, C.B.**, who commanded the 45th B.N.I. throughout the Afghan campaigns of 1879-80 and 1880-81. On the 23rd, at Sydney, New South Wales, aged 61, **Sir George Wigram Allen, K.C.M.G.**, Speaker of the Legislative Council. The son of the late James Allen, of Sydney, he was born and educated in the colony. On the 24th, at South Kensington, aged 73, **Hon. James Augustus Erskine**, of Marple Southsea, late Assistant Commissary-General. The son of the late Hon. Henry David Erskine, and the brother of the 12th Earl of Kellie, he was raised, on the latter's succession to

the earldom, to the rank and precedence of an earl's son. He at one time had held a captain's commission in the service of the Queen of Spain. On the 25th, at Rome, aged 73, **Cardinal Nina**, late Secretary of State to Pope Leo XIII., Prefect of the Apostolical Palace, and Administrator of the property of the Holy See. On the 26th, at Sarratt Hall, Herts, aged 62, **Major-General Charles William Miles**, late of the Bengal Staff Corps. He served with the Ghorka force on the frontier of Oude in 1857, and afterwards with Frank's Column in the Oude campaign, and assisted at the siege and capture of Lucknow. On the 27th, at Bretby Park, aged 82, **Dowager Countess of Chesterfield**, the widow of the fourth Earl and the daughter of the first Lord Forester. On the same date, at Rome, aged 85, **Penly Williams**, a well-known portrait and landscape painter. On the 29th, at Paris, aged 85, **M. Henri Milne-Edwards**, President of the French Scientific Association, and the author of a large number of scientific works. He was of English parentage, from Jamaica. On the 30th, at Clyst St. George, Devon, aged 95, **Rev. Henry Thomas Ellacombe**, rector of the parish, the author of several privately printed books, and a well-known archæologist. On the 31st, at Clapham, aged 54, **Robert F. Fairlie, C.B.**, an engineer who devoted himself to the construction and equipment of railways. He made great improvements in engines, and was the inventor of the engine which bears his name. On the same date, at Avenue Road, N.W., aged 77, **Felix John de Hamel**, late Solicitor for Her Majesty's Customs. The son of the late Comte Bruno de Hamel, an emigrant of the French Revolution, he was admitted as a solicitor, and for long filled the above office. He undertook the task of consolidating the numerous Acts of Parliament relating to the Customs. Also in this month **Sultan Abdul Munin**, the ruler of the kingdom of Brunai in the island of Borneo. He is said to have attained the age of 114, and had reigned thirty years. In his youth he had received a sort of European education in the Dutch Settlements.

AUGUST.

Viscount Halifax, C.B. — Charles Wood, first Viscount Halifax, who died at Hickleton on the 8th, was the son of Sir Francis Wood, the second baronet, and was born on Dec. 20, 1800. At an early age he was sent to Eton, and thence he went in his seventeenth year to Oriel College, Oxford, where he graduated double first in 1821. In the year 1826 Charles Wood was elected for Grimsby in the Liberal interest; but it was not until the debate on the question of the disfranchisement of East Retford for gross bribery that he spoke at any length, his oratory not being of an attractive kind, although his business faculty and grasp of details were undeniable. In 1831, failing to obtain re-election for Grimsby, he migrated to Wareham, where he was successful. At the general election which took place after the passing of the Reform Bill, he was returned for the borough of Halifax, and he continued to represent it for the long period of thirty-two years. Lord Althorp and Lord Grey were early attracted by the abilities of Mr. Wood, and in 1832 he was appointed Secretary to the Treasury. After three years he was transferred by Lord Melbourne to the office of Secretary to the Admiralty,

which he held until the year 1839. When in opposition during the years of Sir Robert Peel's great Administration, Mr. Wood added to his reputation in the House of Commons. He spoke on a variety of questions, and was always listened to with respect and attention. When Lord John Russell came into power in July 1846 Sir Charles Wood was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the same year he succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father. As a Finance Minister, Sir Charles Wood had neither the originality which conceived great commercial reforms, nor the power to lighten his Budgets by the graces of rhetoric. His first Budget, brought forward in 1847, was a success, for the very natural reason that trade had multiplied, with the consequent increase in the revenue. When, however, the Budget of 1848 was produced, it was found to contain a proposition to continue the income-tax for three years at an increased rate of five per cent. This led to so much dissatisfaction that Sir C. Wood subsequently announced that this portion of the financial scheme would not be proceeded with, and in the course of the year no fewer than three Budgets

were introduced, giving Mr. Disraeli ample opportunities of casting ridicule on the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir Charles Wood nevertheless retained his office until the resignation of Lord John Russell in 1852, when Mr. Disraeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, produced his first Budget, which, having been fiercely attacked by Mr. Gladstone, the Government were driven out of office. The Earl of Aberdeen followed with a composite Ministry of Whigs and Peelites, and in this famous Government—called after a preceding one, "The Ministry of all the Talents"—Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer and Sir Charles Wood President of the Board of Control. Whatever might be said of the capacity of Sir Charles Wood as Chancellor of the Exchequer, the President of the Board of Control proved before the close of the session of 1853 that he had a large acquaintance with Indian affairs. His Indian Bill of that year, while it left the double government of the dependency practically where it was, was yet a wise and statesmanlike measure in most of its details. In bringing forward the Indian Budgets of 1854-55, the President of the Board of Control was compelled to admit that the financial prospects of the country were not satisfactory; but as a set-off to this he declared its political prospects to be quite brilliant; treaty arrangements were satisfactory, and roads, canals, and improvements were springing up in every direction.

Sir Charles Wood rarely spoke in the debates arising out of the Crimean war, but in regard to the numerous ministerial crises which occurred during this period, he justified Mr. Disraeli's taunt of not being absent from any Ministry. He was in Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet, which was overthrown in Jan. 1855, on the question of Mr. Roebuck's Sebastopol Inquiry Committee; he was in that of Lord Palmerston, formed on Feb. 7 following; and he appeared again in Lord Palmerston's reconstituted Ministry some days later. On the last occasion he exchanged the office of President of the Board of Control for that of First Lord of the Admiralty, and as such he superintended the dissolution of the naval forces got together for the Crimean campaign.

In 1858 the Ministry were defeated on the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, and retired, and Lord Derby assumed office. In the September of that year the government of India passed from the East India Company to the Crown,

Lord Canning being appointed the first Viceroy.

The Derby Government, beaten upon the reform question, appealed to the country, but in the new Parliament, having been again defeated on the Address, they resigned office. Lord Palmerston became Premier, and in his Ministry Sir Charles Wood entered upon his long tenure of the office of Secretary of State for India. The period was one of transition and reconstruction, and the difficulties which confronted him were neither few nor slight. In introducing his first Indian Budget in Aug. 1859 Sir C. Wood expressed as his opinion that if the difficulties of the next few years could be surmounted there was no reason why India should not recover the prosperity it enjoyed before the mutiny broke out. For the moment, however, he was reduced to borrowing a sum of 7,000,000*l.* in order to make up the deficiency which would exist, and he announced that at the end of 1860 the Indian debt would be 95,836,000*l.* and the interest upon the debt 3,900,000*l.* He showed that there had been a progressive improvement in the revenues of India, and declared he by no means despaired of its future. Before the end of the session a bill was brought in by Sir C. Wood and passed for limiting the number of European troops in India to 30,000. The following year an important measure was passed for the reorganisation of the Indian Army. During 1861 three measures of great importance touching the administration of government in our Eastern dependency were brought forward in the House of Commons by Sir Charles Wood. The first of these bills dealt with the Legislative Council and the whole machinery of Indian legislation. The second measure established High Courts of Judicature in India, and thus secured a fusion of the existing Supreme Courts. The third bill confirmed and legalised certain appointments in India which had been made contrary to law, and provided that, with certain exceptions, appointments in the Civil Service might be made, notwithstanding the restrictions of the old law. Lengthy discussions took place upon these measures, but in the end they passed both Houses and became law. The marked improvement in the material condition of India during the next four years was seen in the financial statements presented by Sir Charles Wood, and in 1865 he was able to show that the equilibrium of Indian finance had been nearly restored.

In the autumn of 1865 Sir Charles Wood sustained a serious accident in the hunting-field. For two or three months he bore up courageously against its effects, but by the beginning of the ensuing year he felt that he could no longer hope to sustain the burden of a great Department of the State as he had successfully done for so many years back. Accordingly, in Feb. 1866, he resigned the office of Secretary of State for India, and was raised to the peerage under the title of Viscount Halifax, of Monk Bretton, Yorkshire. During the last year he was in the House of Commons he sat for the borough of Ripon. At the time of his elevation to the peerage he had been a member of the Lower House for the long period of forty years.

In Mr. Gladstone's first Administration Lord Halifax held the office of Lord Privy Seal from the year 1870 till the retirement of the Ministry in 1874. He rarely spoke in the House of Lords, but on the question of the Afghan war, in 1878, he moved an amendment to Lord Cranbrook's resolution charging the expenses of the war on the Indian revenues, a proposal which was lost by a majority of 136.

As a speaker Lord Halifax had none of the graces of oratory, but his career furnishes one more example of the truth that it is not only the eloquent that may hope to rise in the service of the State. His steady discharge of duties, his accuracy, his punctuality, and his business qualities of other and various kinds, all made him invaluable as a Ministerial colleague. Lord Halifax married in 1829 Lady Mary Grey, daughter of the great Reform Premier, the second Lord Grey.

Lord Houghton.—The Right Hon. Richard Monckton Milnes, Baron Houghton, who died at Vichy of *angina pectoris* on the 11th, was the only son of Mr. Robert Pemberton Milnes, of Fryston Hall and Bawtry, Yorkshire, by his marriage with the Hon. Henrietta Maria, daughter of the fourth Viscount Galway. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (of which he was an honorary Fellow), he graduated there M.A. at the age of 22. After some time spent in travel, he entered Parliamentary life, being returned for Pontefract in the year 1837, which he continued to represent uninterruptedly until 1863, when he was created a peer of the United Kingdom by Lord Palmerston. In the year 1851 he married the Hon. Annabella Hungerford Crewe, youngest daugh-

ter of the second Lord Crewe, by whom he left two daughters in addition to an only son, the Hon. Robert Offley Ashburton Milnes. Lady Houghton died in 1874. In the House of Commons, which he entered as a Liberal-Conservative, and a follower of Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Monckton Milnes was an effective and occasionally an eloquent speaker, although he did not make that mark which his friends predicted. He was the earnest friend of civil and religious liberty, and he also took a special interest in all questions affecting education and the amelioration of the social condition of the lower classes. In 1846 he brought forward the first bill to establish reformatory schools for juvenile criminals. Although he supported Peel in his free trade measures, just before they were brought forward he proposed the retention of a low duty on foreign corn. In later years he allied himself rather with the Whigs, giving a general support to the successive Governments of Lords Palmerston and Russell and Mr. Gladstone. In the matters of the suffrage, he voted consistently for enlarging the privileges of the working classes. He was also one of the earliest friends and pecuniary supporters of mechanics' institutes, penny savings banks, public readings, &c. He once defined his political creed to be that of a warm advocate of liberty of conscience, and one who considered religious equality the birthright of every Briton. Lord Houghton supported all measures brought forward for the purpose of alleviating woman's lot and raising her in the social scale. In presiding at a woman suffrage meeting in the city of York, he spoke in favour of a petition for granting the Parliamentary suffrage to female householders, and when England was agitated on the question of the surrender of fugitive slaves, Lord Houghton demanded the withdrawal of the notorious Slave Circular, declaring that the free deck of an English ship should be the refuge of any slave who happened to gain it.

But while the political and social services of Lord Houghton had some share in procuring his elevation to the peerage, the position he occupied in letters had still more. In 1833—that is, when he was barely twenty-four years of age—he published a very interesting volume entitled “*Memorials of a Tour in Some Parts of Greece*”—a work which at least demonstrated the writer's capacity to sympathise with the past. “*Poems of Many Years*” appeared in 1838, and drew from “*Christopher*

North" the honour of a long notice in *Blackwood's Magazine*; and in the same year he published "Memorials of a Residence on the Continent, and Historical Poems." In 1840 appeared two volumes from his pen, entitled respectively "Memorials of Many Scenes" and "Poetry for the People and other Poems," and these were shortly afterwards followed by "Poems, Legendary and Historical" (1844), "Palm Leaves" (1844). This last last-named work was written during a tour through Egypt and the Levant, and was an attempt to introduce to the people of England the manners, the thoughts, and the habits of the East. In the same year Lord Houghton showed himself in his "Thoughts upon Party Politics," and during the famous Oxford controversy upon the "Tracts for the Times," he issued "One Tract More," which was not the least noticeable *brochure* sent forth in the course of this ecclesiastical *mêlée*. He was further the author of a pamphlet on the "Real Union of England and Ireland," supporting concurrent endowment, which appeared in the year 1845, when Irish affairs were causing much concern to our statesmen. He also wrote one or two other political pamphlets, and contributed a number of articles to the *Westminster Review*. But his greatest service to literature was undoubtedly the publication of the "Life, Letters, and Literary Remains

of John Keats." A further proof of Lord Houghton's deep interest in men of letters was afforded by the eloquent speech which he delivered at Kensal Green Cemetery on the unveiling of the memorial to Thomas Hood in July 1854.

The last published literary effort of Lord Houghton was his work entitled "Monographs, Personal and Social." This series of portraits was the result mainly of personal knowledge, for most, if not all, of the individuals dealt with were known to the author. In 1873 Lord Houghton presided over the meeting of the Social Science Congress held at Norwich; and in 1876, at the banquet given by the Lord Mayor of London to the representatives of literature and journalism, he responded to the toast of literature.

Lord Houghton received the honorary degree of D.C.L. at Oxford in 1854, and that of LL.D. at Edinburgh in 1877. He was a trustee of the Royal Geographical Society and of the British Museum, ex-President of the Statistical Society, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was also Foreign Secretary of the Royal Academy of Arts, and a Grand Dignitary of the Brazilian Order of the Rose. In 1866 he acted as chairman of the Royal Literary Fund anniversary, and in Feb. 1881 he accepted the nomination to the office of president of the London Library, vacant by the death of Mr. Carlyle.

During the month the following deaths also took place:—On the 1st, in Upper Bedford Place, aged 89, **Thomas Leverton Donaldson**, of Williamshaw, Ayrshire, for twenty-three years Professor of Architecture at University College, London, and a member of various Continental Academies of Fine Arts. On the 3rd, at Trevandrum, aged 48, the **Maharajah of Travancore**, one of the most enlightened and learned of Indian native princes. He wrote and spoke English with ease, was well versed in several Indian vernacular languages, and was an accomplished Sanscrit scholar. He had travelled over a great part of India, and wherever he went he made himself thoroughly well acquainted with everything worthy of notice. On the 4th, at Aussee, aged 81, **Anna, Countess of Méran**, the morganatic widow of the late Archduke John of Austria. Her maiden name was Plöchl. On the same date, aged 69, **Sir John Salusbury-Trelawny**, of Trelawne, Cornwall, ninth baronet, formerly M.P. for the eastern division of that county; a representative of one of the oldest and most distinguished families in the West of England. On the 6th, at New York, aged 52, **Dr. R. H. Gilbert**, the inventor of the elevated railroad system. On the 7th, at Blackheath Park, Norwich, aged 83, **Sir Henry Josias Strachey**, fifth baronet, some time M.P. for East Norfolk. On the same date, at Sidcup, aged 66, **Horace Wigan**, actor and dramatist. On the 12th, at Utrecht, **Heer Modderman**, formerly Dutch Minister of Justice. He was one of the principal authors of the new Dutch penal code. On the same date, at Hermsdorf, near Warmbrunn, aged 65, **Dr. George Curtius**, Professor of Classical Philology and Co-Director of the Philological Seminary of the University of Leipsic, and brother of the celebrated Greek scholar. His labours were especially directed to combine the study of comparative, linguistic, and classical philosophy. Also on the same date, at San Francisco, aged 54, **Mrs. W. S. Jackson**, the daughter of Professor Fiske, of Amherst College, Massachusetts, and the wife successively of Major Hunt, United States Army, and of W. S. Jackson, of Colorado Springs. A work she wrote, depicting the wrongs and sufferings of the aboriginal tribes of the West, led to her being

appointed by the President of the United States a joint commissioner with A. Kinney to investigate the condition of Indians in California. On the 14th, at Scarborough, aged 49, **Lord Ernest McDonnell Vane Tempest**, son of the third Marquess of Londonderry; for a time in 2nd Life Guards, and during the Civil War in America he served in the Federal Army under the name of General Stewart. On the 15th, at St. George's Square, aged 81, **William John Thoms, F.S.A.**, a well-known antiquary; for many years the editor of *Notes and Queries*, the Secretary to the Camden Society, and until 1882 he had held the post of Deputy-Librarian to the House of Lords. On the same date, aged 77, **John Randolph Clay**, a distinguished American diplomatist. The son of Joseph Clay, formerly member of Congress, he commenced his career in Russia, and was for thirteen years Minister Plenipotentiary at Peru. On the 17th, at Almondsbury, aged 59, **Sir Charles Henry Johnes Cuyler**, of Oakleaze, Gloucestershire, for a time a member of the Legislative Council of Trinidad. On the 18th, at Harrowgate, aged 64, **Vice-Admiral John James Kennedy, C.B.** He served with the Naval Brigade before Sebastopol for twelve months. On the same date, at Montreal, Canada, aged 78, **Sir Francis Hinckes, K.C.M.G., C.B.**, a prominent Canadian statesman, and at one time Finance Minister. Also on the same date, at Halliwell, near Bolton, aged 54, **Thomas Colan, M.D., B.N.**, Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets. He served in the Ashantee War, and later on board H.M.S. *Alert*, as principal medical officer in the Arctic Expedition under Sir G. Nares. Also on the same date, at Poonah, **His Highness Aga Ali Shah**, the spiritual head of the Khoja Community, a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, and well known to Englishmen as a keen sportsman and lover of the turf. His father was the late Aga Khan, once a claimant to the throne of Persia, and afterwards our ally in the first Afghan War, for which service he received a pension and permission to reside in India. On the 20th, at Homburg, aged 66, **Major-General Sir Harry St. George Ord, G.C.M.G., C.B.**, late Royal Engineers, one time Governor of Western Australia. On the 22nd, suddenly in London, aged 77, **Sir John-Heron-Maxwell**, of Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, Vice-Lieutenant of the county. In early life he had served in the navy, but later was better known for his connection with the Scottish Charities of the metropolis. On the 23rd, at Watford, aged 49, **Sir John Douglas, K.C.M.G.**, late Lieutenant-Governor of Ceylon, son of the late General Sir James Dawes Douglas, G.C.B. On the same date, at Dumfries, aged 70, **Sir Edward Vavasour**, second baronet, an accomplished linguist and musician. Also on the same date, at Rowsley, Derbyshire, aged 57, **Dr. Marcus M. Kalisch**, a well-known Bible critic of the Rationalistic School. A Pomeranian by birth, he came to England in consequence of the part he had taken in the revolutionary movement of 1848. On the 27th, at Glasgow, aged 85, **Hugh Brown**, the Ayrshire poet, best known as the author of "The Covenanters." He was a hand-loom weaver when he attracted notice by a poem to the memory of Lord Byron. He was subsequently a rustic schoolmaster. On the 28th, at Ottery St. Mary, aged 76, **Sir James Walker, K.C.M.G., C.B.**, late Governor-in-Chief of Barbados; also of the Bahamas. The son of the late Andrew Walker, of Edinburgh, he served for some years as a clerk in the Colonial Office, and afterwards held various appointments in the West Indies. On the 29th, in London, aged 79, **Bernard Horwitz**, a writer upon chess, and a famous player. On the 30th, at Chichester, aged 90, **William Dilke**, the brother of the critic, and the uncle of Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P. He had been a Commissary in the Peninsula, in America, and in Paris throughout the whole duration of its occupation. On the same date, at Southwick Street, Hyde Park, aged 51, **Sidney Locock**, Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Brazil, the son of Sir Charles Locock, F.R.S., D.C.L., the distinguished physician. Also on the same date, at Brenchley, Kent, **Thomas Thornycroft**, the sculptor. The son of a Cheshire yeoman, he was possessed of great artistic talent, and he devoted much time and labour to the earnest study of the antique in Rome, with the view of raising sculpture out of the low state into which it had fallen. He was also quick at mechanical invention, and in this respect he was of considerable service to his son, the eminent engineer.

SEPTEMBER.

The Maharajah of Cashmere.—The death of Runbeer Singh, Maharajah of Cashmere, which took place on the 12th, removed an important personage from among the frontier rulers of India. Although he was only considered to rank as seventh of the great feudatories of our Eastern Empire, he possessed a political influence to which some of them with more subjects and a larger revenue could not lay claim.

The modern State of Cashmere was the survival of the most notable feat of arms performed by the English in India—the overthrow of the Sikhs and the conquest of the Punjab. When Lord Hardinge concluded the first Sikh war in 1846 with a treaty of peace, signed at Lahore, he came to a separate arrangement with Golab Singh, a soldier of fortune, who had risen in the service of “The Lion of the Punjab” to be Prince of Jummoo and Cashmere, by which the latter was, on payment of a sum of seventy-five lakhs, recognised and confirmed in his possessions. This convention was concluded at Umritsur on March 16, 1846, and it remained undisturbed by the events of the second war in the Punjab, closing with the annexation of that province. Golab Singh preserved a strict neutrality during the struggle, and, being well satisfied with his actual possessions, adhered strictly to what he had promised to perform. He did not allow himself to be disturbed by any attractive schemes of external aggrandisement, and never failed to send in his tribute of “one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.” When he died in 1857 he left his son and successor Runbeer a clearly defined policy and position.

Runbeer had been only a few months in power when the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny rendered it necessary for him to take a more decided step in evidence of his attachment to the English alliance than any his father had been called upon to make. One clause of the Umritsur treaty provided that the Maharajah should “assist with the whole of his forces our troops when employed in the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions,” and in accordance with this stipulation he was called upon to

supply a contingent of troops to operate against the rebels in Delhi. The young prince readily complied, and a Cashmerian division took part in the capture of Delhi, just as a Goorkha figured at Lucknow. As the reward for this proof of fidelity, the Maharajah was given at a Durbar held at Sealkote in March 1860, confirmed by Sunnud two years later, the privilege of adopting an heir. Having thus passed through the ordeal of such temptation as there may have been to play us false during the crisis, Runbeer seems to have imagined that his worst deeds and grossest neglect were sure of palliation at our hands. The tyranny of his government year by year grew worse. During the visitation of famine, and particularly in 1879, when the pressure of want was exceptionally severe, the Mohammedans were not merely forbidden to collect grain, but numerous restrictions practically amounting to prohibition were placed in the way of their purchasing what they wanted for their own use from the Dogra and Hindoo merchants. But for the intervention of our Resident and other Englishmen, the consequences would have been most serious, as the Maharajah himself and his officials, being the chief holders of grain, could give effect to their own views. But though opposition to a despotic Eastern prince, even on the part of the Empress-Queen’s representative, was not unattended by danger, certain charges were brought against the Maharajah which, if substantiated, might have cost him his throne. He was, however, able to clear himself of the worst charge of all, and Lord Lytton condoned the rest.

Sir James Hudson, G.C.B.—Sir James Hudson, who died at Strasburg on the 20th, was born in 1810, the son of Mr. Harrington Hudson, of Bessingby Hall, near Bridlington, and his mother was a daughter of the first Marquess Townshend. He was educated at Rugby and Westminster, and afterwards studied in Paris and Rome. He filled various positions at Court until the death of William IV., to whom he acted as assistant private secretary during the whole of his reign, and Resident Gentleman Usher to Queen Adelaide, 1831. It was during this period (1834) that he was suddenly sent to

fetch back Sir Robert Peel to form a Ministry, and on account of the rapidity of his journey he acquired the name of "Hurry Hudson," which remained to him through life. On the accession of the Queen he adopted diplomacy as his profession, and he served as Secretary of Legation successively at Washington 1838, the Hague 1843, and Rio de Janeiro 1845, at which capital he became envoy in 1850. The next year he was appointed envoy at the Court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, but he did not proceed to Florence. He will be chiefly remembered as our Minister at Turin, which position he occupied from 1852 to 1863, and consequently during the time when the Italians were in the midst of the struggle for unity. It need hardly be said that Sir James Hudson warmly sympathised with the Italians. He was the personal friend and adviser of Cavour and Massino d'Azeglio, and throughout the years during which the

conflict lasted, whilst counselling patience, he urged all his influence to awaken English sympathies with Italian aspirations. He was made a K.C.B. on the arrival of the Sardinian troops in the Crimea in 1855, and on his retirement promoted to be a G.C.B. The cause of the loss of his services to the country was attributed to a difference of opinion with Lord Russell, then momentarily Foreign Secretary; and the eager haste with which Sir James Hudson's resignation was accepted, and Lord Russell's brother-in-law appointed to the vacant embassy, called forth a very general expression of dissatisfaction; but no serious effort was made to recall Sir James Hudson to the service of the Crown, and he passed the remainder of his life at his villa on the Lake of Como or elsewhere in Italy, rarely visiting even his native country. A few months before his death he was married to an Italian lady.

During the month the following deaths also took place :—On the 3rd, at Fairford, **Rev. Frederick Bulley, D.D.**, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, the first elected under the new statutes. On the 4th, at Baddesley Vicarage, Atherstone, Warwickshire, aged 75, **Colonel William Yolland, C.B., F.R.S., R.E.**, one of the inspectors of railways under the Board of Trade. Commencing his career in Canada he was employed at the Ordnance Survey in England and Ireland, and held many other appointments. On the same date, at the Grosvenor Hotel, aged 47, a week after his arrival from Cairo, **Francis W. Rowsell, C.B., C.M.G.**, barrister-at-law, the English Commissioner for the Egyptian States Domains Loan; previously Director of Contracts at the Admiralty. On the 6th **General Castella**, a Swiss politician and soldier of fortune. Driven from Switzerland for his share in an insurrection in Fribourg, he took service with the Pontifical army until the capture of Rome. Going to France in 1870, he held a command under General Bourbaki, and crossed the Swiss frontier with the Army of the East, surrendering to his own countrymen. He afterwards held a command in Spain under Don Carlos, retiring finally to Bulle, his native canton. On the 8th, aged 70, **Senor Jose de Posada Herrera**, an eminent Spanish statesman who had held office in several Liberal Administrations. On the same date, **Colonel Charles Ratcliff**, of Wyddrington, Lancashire, and of Lancaster Gate, a barrister, and fellow of many learned societies; an active promoter of reformatory and industrial schools, and one of the originators of the Social Science Society. On the 9th, aged 74, **George L. Harrison**, a noted American philanthropist, who came on a mission to England to arrange the removal of the remains of William Penn to Philadelphia. On the 10th, aged 70, **Mrs. Edwards**, the proprietress of the "Hand" Hotel, Llangollen. She had been a celebrated Welsh beauty, known as the Maid of Llangollen. On the same date, in Gordon Street, Gordon Square, aged 75, **William Augustus Guy, M.B. Cantab., F.R.C.P., F.R.S.**, formerly physician to King's College Hospital, and Professor of Hygiene there. He devoted much attention to sanitary reform, social science, and statistics, serving on different commissions. He was some time Vice-President of the Royal Society. Also on the same date, at Berlin, aged 92, **General Baeyer**, chief of the Trigonometrical Survey Department of the Grand General Staff at Berlin. He had fought under Blücher as a private in the Liberation War, and had a European fame as the author of various well-known works on Geodesics. On the 12th, aged 69, **Monsignor Forcade**, Archbishop of Aix. He formerly worked as a Bishop in Japan and Guadeloupe. On the same date, aged 56, **Hans Canon**, the eminent Austrian painter. Of Polish extraction, his patronymic was Von Straschirzipka, and he adopted the name of Canon on ceasing to be a cavalry officer. He first attracted public attention by a series of powerful caricatures of the leading politicians of the Reichsrath. On the 13th, at Berlin, aged 72, **Herr Bitter**, Prussian Finance Minister from 1879 to 1882, and German Prefect of the Vosges Department during the war of 1870.

On the same date, at Munlochy, near Inverness, aged 67, **General Sir Alfred Hastings Horsford, G.C.B.**, Colonel Commandant of the Rifle Brigade, with which regiment he had served in Caffre wars, in the war in the East of 1854, and during the Indian Mutiny. On the 14th, at Ostend, aged 49, **Robert O'Hara**, of Durham House, Chelsea, a member of the parliamentary bar, and draughtsman at the Irish Office, Whitehall. He contributed to the *Times* valuable articles on the Irish Land Question. On the 18th, at Armsary, Argyllshire, **John Campbell Shairp**, Principal of the United Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard's in the University of St. Andrews, and Professor of Poetry at Oxford. He was originally an assistant-master under Dr. Tait at Rugby School, and was afterwards appointed a professor at St. Andrews. On the same date, at Edinburgh, aged 90, **Lord Teignmouth, 2nd Baron, D.C.L.**, an active promoter of the Mendicity Society in London, and of prison reform. He had been through the Waterloo campaign in the capacity of a civilian. On the 20th, at the Master's Lodge, aged 92, **Rev. George Elwes Corrie, D.D.**, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. The son of Rev. J. Corrie, a Lincolnshire vicar, he was educated at St. Catherine's Hall, and became a fellow and tutor there. He had held the living of Newton, in the Isle of Ely, since 1851, was the editor of various Church Histories, and one of the original founders of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. On the same date, in Eaton Place, aged 54, **Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Alexander Fraser**, the son of 14th Lord Lovat, and served with the Scots Guards in the Eastern campaign of 1854-55. On the 24th, at Upper Norwood, aged 78, **John Muirhead**, who devoted himself to the extending and perfecting the telegraph system. He introduced the form of battery which bears his name, and his firm laid the first underground metropolitan lines. On the 30th, in Harley Street, aged 58, **Sir John Hawley Glover, R.N., K.C.M.G.**, son of the Rev. John Glover. He entered the navy in 1841 on board H.M.S. *Queen*, served in the Mediterranean, on the West and East Indian stations, and in the Baltic, distinguishing himself in numerous actions. In 1857 he was appointed to serve with the Niger expedition, and from that time until 1874, when he marched at the head of 700 Houssas into Ashanti and Coomassie, he remained in West Africa. In 1875, as a reward for his services, he was appointed Governor of Newfoundland, and in 1881 transferred to the Leeward Islands.

OCTOBER.

Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.—Anthony Ashley Cooper, K.G., D.C.L., seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, who died at Folkestone on the 1st, was born on April 28, 1801. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he obtained a first class in classics in 1822, graduated M.A. in 1832, and was created D.C.L. in 1841. As Lord Ashley, he was first returned to Parliament as member for Woodstock in 1826. On entering the House he gave a general but not a constant support to the Governments of Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning. His first considerable speech was delivered in 1828, in connection with the proposed provision for Canning's family, which he cordially supported. When the Duke of Wellington came into power, Lord Ashley accepted office as one of the Commissioners of the Board of Control. He was returned for Dorchester in 1830, and for Dorsetshire in 1831, which county he represented for fifteen years. Lord Ashley had a second brief experience of office in 1834-5, when he was

a Lord of the Admiralty in Sir Robert Peel's Administration. Peel again offered him a post in the Government in 1841, but Lord Ashley declined the offer on finding that the Premier's views would not allow him to support the Ten Hours' Bill. In 1847, on account of his views on the Corn Laws, he exchanged his county seat for one at Bath, and sat for that borough until 1851, when, on his father's death, he succeeded to the peerage.

Lord Shaftesbury's name will be permanently associated with the movement which led to the beneficent legislation for the factory operatives. It was begun by Mr. M. T. Sadler and Mr. Richard Oastler in 1830, but when the former lost his seat in 1833, Lord Ashley became the Parliamentary champion of the cause. The evidence which he brought together in the latter year concerning the treatment of children in factories sent a thrill of horror through the length and breadth of England. In the manufacturing districts wages were

at a starvation rate, and the children were literally worked to death. After years of weary conflict and persistent ill-success, indifference, and hostility, Lord Ashley at length succeeded in arousing the public and ministerial conscience. In 1840, chiefly through his exertions, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the employment of women and children in mines and collieries. The report of the Commissioners was one of the saddest and most melancholy documents ever submitted to Parliament. It was shown that children were consigned by their parents almost from the cradle to perpetual labour, entailing on them premature adolescence, disease, and misery, and amid scenes which insured a moral degradation. With regard to the women, it was further established that they were compelled to work like beasts of burden in noisome caves where the sun never entered, surrounded by an atmosphere of vice and pollution which could hardly be described with decency.

In June 1842 Lord Ashley moved for leave to introduce a bill founded on the Commissioners' report, and restraining the frightful evils complained of. Women and children were harnessed with chains, like animals, in trucks, and pursued their labour under the most galling and painful conditions. Eighteen hours a day of the most distressing occupation physically, and the most disastrous morally, was of frequent occurrence. "In the West Riding of Yorkshire," said Lord Ashley, "it is not uncommon for infants of even five years old to be sent to the pit. About Halifax and the neighbourhood children are sometimes brought to the pits at the age of six years, and are taken out of their beds at four o'clock; Bradford and Leeds the same; in Lancashire, from five to six. Near Oldham children are worked as low as four years old; and in the small collieries towards the hills some are so young they are brought to work in their bedgowns." Similar tales came from Scotland and Wales, and it is not surprising that in these hotbeds of horror and suffering all forms of disease and vice were rampant. The House of Commons was amazed and indignant at the harrowing details laid before it. By way of legislative provisions, Lord Ashley proposed — first, the total exclusion of female labour from all mines and collieries in the country; secondly, the exclusion of all boys under thirteen years of age; thirdly, the exclusion of all males under twenty-one years of

age as engineers; and, fourthly, the abolition of apprenticeship. With some slight amendments only, this benevolent and salutary measure passed into law.

One of the ablest of Lord Ashley's Parliamentary addresses was delivered in Feb. 1843 in connection with his motion for an address to the Queen, praying for the instant and serious consideration of the best means for promoting the blessings of a moral and religious education among the working classes. The mover strongly attacked the oppression and corruption which prevailed, and exposed the doings of those who ground the faces of the poor. He demonstrated by statistics that there were no fewer than 1,014,193 children capable of education and yet under no kind of educational influence. In the county of Lancaster alone the annual expenditure for the punishment of crime was 604,965*l.*, while the annual vote for education in all England was 30,000*l.* The evils of the truck system, the payment of wages in public-houses, and the bad state of workmen's dwellings were forcibly shown. All these things made it impossible for the adult to practise that morality of which he should be an example to his children. Lord Ashley's motion was agreed to, and it led to the Government of the day bestirring themselves in the important question of education.

The Ten Hours' Bill controversy had now become a burning question, this and the Anti-Corn Law Agitation being the most pressing social movements of the time. The former had gone through many phases, and at length, in 1844, it threatened to wreck the Government of Sir Robert Peel. Sir James Graham brought in a Ministerial bill placing further restrictions on labour in factories. Lord Ashley carried an amendment against the Government reducing the hours of labour to ten per day, and the question was further bitterly debated, the House deciding by a majority of three against the Ministerial proposition of twelve hours, and by a majority of seven against Lord Ashley's amendment of ten hours. Thereupon Sir James Graham withdrew the bill, and introduced another. The conflict was renewed at various stages, and upon the third reading Lord Ashley's proposal of ten hours was rejected by 297 to 159. As he could not get all he wished, Lord Ashley wisely took all he could get. The measure went to the Upper House, where it soon passed and became law. It contained many im-

portant provisions which had a strongly beneficial effect upon factory workers. Not long afterwards, Lord Ashley drew up an amending bill, still in favour of the ten hours' limit. Being temporarily without a seat in the House of Commons, Lord Ashley entrusted the bill to the care of Mr. Fielden. It was defeated by a majority of ten; but in 1847, Sir R. Peel having quitted office, another amending bill to the same effect was brought in by Mr. Fielden, carried successfully through the House, and sent to the Lords. It became law, but its operation was greatly impeded by legal intricacies and every form of ingenious difficulty.

Another noble movement with which Lord Shaftesbury's name is inseparably connected was the establishment of ragged schools. He was, indeed, the life and soul of this enterprise. Alive to the necessity for laying hold of the waifs and strays of our great cities before they were manufactured into hardened criminals, Lord Ashley founded his organisation for the benefit of all outcast classes. The slums of London forty years ago were as dangerous as they were disgraceful. Certain districts the police only dared venture to explore in companies. It is stated that in one rookery in Marylebone there were 300 families found herding in 119 houses, young and old alike having the characteristics of savages. The purlieus of Drury Lane were equally bad, and in Wild Court nearly 1,000 persons actually existed in fourteen houses! The influence of their surroundings upon the young was shown in the fact that 14,887 persons under twenty years of age were arrested in London during the year 1845.

In 1848 Lord Ashley pleaded the cause of ragged children in Parliament, and from that time forward, on the platform and in the Press, as President of the Ragged School Union, he laboured arduously and unceasingly for the movement. In a very short time he, and those who were associated with him in the work, had got hold of 10,000 children, snatched from the vortex of London. But the task was a very uphill one, and it was only the indomitable spirit of Lord Shaftesbury which prevented the movement from collapsing.

The Shoeblack Brigade, which had its origin at the time of the great Exhibition of 1851, owed much of its success to the support accorded by Lord Shaftesbury to its founder, Mr. J. McGregor ("Rob Roy"). Beginning in a very small way, this movement pro-

spered, so that in thirty years from its foundation it numbered at one time 306 members, who earned nearly 12,000*l.* in twelve months. Lodging-house reform was another matter in which he rendered essential service, and among the measures passed by the Legislature at his instigation was a very necessary one for the registration and inspection of common lodging-houses. Charles Dickens described Lord Shaftesbury's Common Lodging House Act as the best legislation that had ever proceeded from the English Parliament, effecting a complete revolution where one was strongly needed.

In 1851 Lord Ashley had been called to the Upper House, but as Lord Shaftesbury he relaxed neither his legislative nor his philanthropic efforts, and it was owing to his intervention that Lord Palmerston introduced his Bill for the Care and Reformation of Juvenile Offenders. The chief effect of this Act was that the reformatories established by philanthropic efforts in various parts of the kingdom were more distinctly than heretofore recognised by the Government, and received aid from the national funds.

A severe affliction befell Lord Shaftesbury in 1872 by the death of his wife. This lady, who was mourned by all classes, was the eldest daughter of Lady Palmerston, by her first husband, Lord Cowper. Her Majesty the Queen wrote a most kind and touching letter to the Earl upon his bereavement, and referred to the character of his wife in the warmest and most affectionate terms.

In connection also with his public life it must be also mentioned that Lord Shaftesbury was for some years a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and it is well known that during the premiership of Lord Palmerston he had considerable influence in the appointment of bishops. When the lunacy laws of the country were in a disgraceful condition, Lord Shaftesbury took the initiative in amending these laws, and for upwards of fifty years he was Chairman of the Lunacy Commission. Great reforms were effected in the treatment of the insane; indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that a revolution has been witnessed during the past half-century in the management of public and private asylums.

On some public questions Lord Shaftesbury held very decided views. He was strongly hostile to the opening of the national museums and galleries on Sundays. On the passing of the Ballot

Bill, while not counselling the Lords to reject it, he said that, by adopting the principle of secret voting, the nation inflicted upon itself a direct dishonour. It was an open avowal of cowardice and corruption. He predicted that the bill would be altogether ineffective to put down intimidation, and it would make bribery ten times worse. In the debate on the Public Worship Regulation Bill, Lord Shaftesbury vehemently denounced Ritualism, and, with regard to the confessional, he affirmed that, if it were suffered to continue unchecked—and it could not be checked by any ordinary legislation—it would produce an entire change in the spiritual, moral, and political character of the English people, and would sink the Established Church in inevitable ruin.

In June 1884 the freedom of the City of London was presented to the Earl in the Library of the Guildhall. The City Chamberlain, in enumerating the claims of the newest freeman, referred to his labours in connection with the Climbing Boys Act, the Factory and the Hours Acts, the Mines and Colliery Regulation Acts, the establishment of ragged schools, training ships, refuges for boys and girls, and other philanthropic institutions. Allusion was also made to his lordship's share in striking the fetters from the slaves in the colonies and elsewhere; to his successful efforts for ameliorating the condition of lunatics; to his encouragement of City mission work in the courts and slums of the vast metropolis, and of the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the various languages of the globe; and, lastly, to his active and useful sympathy on behalf of wronged and tortured dumb animals. Never was the freedom of the City more worthily bestowed, and space would fail us to enumerate the undertakings of a charitable or remediable nature in which the late Earl engaged. The British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the London City Mission, the Sunday School Union, the Field Lane Refuges and Ragged Schools, the National Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children, and a hundred other excellent organisations were all indebted to him for active aid, sympathy, and advice. He seemed to be a connecting link between the highest and lowest classes in the State. While he enjoyed the esteem and friendship of his Sovereign, he was also the friend of men in the humblest stations, down even to the costermonger and the chimney sweep. Wherever he appeared he invariably evoked enthusiasm and affection.

In religious matters Lord Shaftesbury had a Shibboleth, and it must be confessed that it was a somewhat narrow one, and one which prevented him occasionally from doing justice to the work and aims of men possessed like himself of an eminently religious nature, but whose views differed materially from his own.

In person, Lord Shaftesbury was tall and somewhat imposing in appearance. His manners and speech were alike persuasive; and his personal character stood so high that he was warmly esteemed even by those from whom he most widely differed. As a landlord, he was just and yet generous, and fully alive to his great responsibilities. The village of Wimborne St. Giles, near his family seat of St. Giles, was transformed under his care into a model village. He built new labourers' cottages, each containing a front parlour and kitchen on the ground floor, with three bedrooms above, absolutely unconnected with each other; every cottage having its apricot tree, its pump, its separate sanitary arrangements, its pigsty, and its quarter-acre allotment—the labourer paying for all these things only 52s. per annum. The tenants were never behind with their rents, but the Earl was content with a small percentage on his original outlay, and almshouses and other advantages were offered to those who were beyond work.

Field-Marshal Lord Strathnairn.—Hugh Henry Rose was born in the year 1803. His father, Sir George Henry Rose, was Clerk of Parliaments, a post which his father had held before him. Lord Strathnairn entered in 1820 the army, for which his tastes most suited him. The long peace which followed Waterloo prevented his displaying any special qualities, and he had been twenty years in the service before any opportunity occurred to justify in active employment the good opinion which his superiors had formed of his zeal and energy. In 1840, however, when Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemet Ali, had overthrown Turkish authority in Syria, and the English Government decided to afford the Sultan some assistance, Lieut.-Colonel Rose was sent, with other officers, to organise the Turkish defence. Although the Egyptians were compelled by the force of our diplomatic opposition to halt in their advance, and shortly afterwards to retreat, there were several hostile encounters, and in one of these Colonel Rose greatly distinguished himself; for, after a personal contest in

which he was wounded, he took the commander of the Egyptian cavalry prisoner.

Lord Palmerston, whose main object had been to checkmate French intrigue in Egypt, was so impressed by his conduct that he made him Consul-General for Syria; but on the fall of the Orleanists, and succession of the Bonapartists, the centre of political gravity passed from St. Jean d'Acre to Constantinople itself, and Colonel Rose was then transferred from the shores of the Levant to be Secretary to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. During the absence of his chief in the critical winter of 1853-54 Colonel Rose acted as *chargé d'affaires*, and to him belongs the credit of having been one of the first to detect the schemes of the Czar Nicholas. He took upon himself the responsibility, at the request of the Porte, of ordering the English Mediterranean Fleet into Turkish waters, and, had he been able to execute his own policy, he would have ordered it into the Black Sea, when the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope might have been averted. During the Crimean campaign he acted as Principal Commissioner at the head-quarters of the French army, and he was present at most of the assaults, being wounded on one occasion in the trenches, while at Inkerman he had two horses shot under him. When the war closed he was nominated a K.C.B., and the French commander specially recommended him for the Victoria Cross on account of his extraordinary gallantry; but as no field officer can receive that decoration, it was found impossible to comply with the representation of Marshal Canrobert. In the autumn of 1857 Sir Hugh Rose was sent to Bombay to take his part in the struggle of the English race to maintain their position in India against their enemies; and Sir Hugh Rose, who although he had attained the rank of Major-General had never commanded any body of troops in the field, was appointed to an important command. It was not until December 1857 that Sir Hugh Rose took actual command of the Central India Field Force, which was composed of two weak brigades. Early in 1858 the force began its advance from Mhow, the military cantonment situated in proximity to the capital of Holkar. The town of Rathgarbè, a place of no inconsiderable strength, was the first object of attack. Sir Hugh Rose appeared before its walls on Jan. 24, and siege operations at once commenced. The arrival of a relieving force threatened to arrest them, but Sir

Hugh Rose met the newcomers, inflicted a severe defeat upon them, Jan. 29, and the garrison, in a state of panic, evacuated their strong fort and fled, and on the ensuing day it was followed up by a victory on the Bina River. The immediate consequence of these engagements was the relief of the garrison of Segore, which had been beleaguered for eight months. One week later the strong fort of Garhakot, which at an earlier period of the century had successfully resisted the efforts of a large Anglo-Indian force, was evacuated by its garrison. The real difficulties, however, of the Central Indian campaign began with the second advance from Segore on Feb. 26. The capture of the fort of Barodia was the preliminary to the attack on the naturally strong passes of Maltun and Madanpur, but the English leader overcame the strenuous opposition of the rebel leaders by a flanking movement. A number of other forts rapidly surrendered, and the second brigade, under Colonel Stuart, having captured the strong town of Chandairi, Sir Hugh Rose arrived before the strongly fortified town of Jhansi, defended by its heroic Ranee. The position of Jhansi was formidable; and it was held by a garrison of 11,000 men, under the indomitable Ranee, whilst Sir Hugh Rose's force numbered only 1,500 men, of whom about one-third were English. The difficulty of the task was increased by the fact that the large city, four miles and a half in circumference, had to be taken before the fortress could be successfully approached. The bombardment had gone on for about a week when the news arrived that a large relieving army was approaching; and the report proved true. Tantia Topi, who has been called the ablest of the rebel leaders, had, after his defeat at Cawnpore, raised a fresh force of 22,000 men, and with these he hastened to relieve the bravest of his confederates, the Ranee of Jhansi. Instead of relaxing his attack on Jhansi until he had dealt with the relieving army outside, Sir Hugh Rose with a chosen part of his small band marched out to encounter Tantia Topi. A desperate combat ensued, but the very small English force, thanks to the skill of its leader in attacking the flanks of his assailant, proved sufficient to drive Tantia Topi's army from the field, with the loss of all its guns; a feat seldom, if ever, surpassed in the annals of war. It was followed up by a still more strenuous attack on Jhansi, which, notwithstanding the strength of its garrison and the ability of its commandant, was carried

by assault on April 3. After the capture of the palace, and the destruction of several large bodies of troops, the Ranee evacuated the fortress in the night and fled with her body-guard to Calpee, which occupied an important strategical position on the Jumna, south-west of Cawnpore. It was nearly the end of April before the English general approached the place where the Ranee and Tantia Topi had again set up their standard. The battle of Kunch proved a successful commencement for this second struggle. The rebels fought with great courage, and the day was only turned by the English general bringing up and leading in person the Camel Corps. Then the victory was complete, and the loss of the mutineers was increased by their being driven into the ravines which had constituted their chief defence. The capture of Calpee which followed was in a military sense of the highest importance, as it deprived the rebels of their principal arsenal. With its fall the Central Indian campaign was considered to have terminated, and as it was momentarily thought that both Tantia Topi and the Ranee had become fugitives without any followers, there seemed no reason why the Central Indian Field Force should not be disbanded. Orders had, indeed, been issued to that effect, when the startling intelligence arrived that the vanquished had by some means gained possession of Gwalior, reputed to be the strongest fort in India. Technically speaking, Sir Hugh Rose was without a command, but the gravity of the situation set technicalities aside. He reassumed the command, and with all the troops fit to take the field he advanced in the direction of Gwalior. When he reached a place within a few miles of Morar he was joined by Brigadier Robert Napier, subsequently Lord Napier of Magdala. Having reconnoitred the rebel position, and notwithstanding its strength, an immediate attack was decided on. The battle of Morar, although marked by more than one unfortunate incident, resulted in the complete defeat of the Mahrattas, and the subsequent action at Kotah-ki-Serai completed the overthrow of the enemy, and the formidable Ranee of Jhansi, dressed as a man, was killed in the latter of these engagements.

These brilliant services were rewarded two years after the recovery of Gwalior with the Indian Commandership-in-Chief, on the return of Lord Clyde, and when Sir Hugh came himself to England in 1865 he was appointed to a similar post in Ireland. He was

raised to the peerage as Lord Strathnairn of Jhansi in 1866, and eleven years later he received the much-coveted *bâton* of a Field-Marshal. During the trying arrangements connected with the amalgamation of the Queen's and Company's military services, he displayed much tact and patience, but he never again obtained the same opportunities of distinction as fell to his share in 1858, and his military career may be considered to have terminated on his retirement from the Irish command in 1870. He took part in the debates in the House of Peers when military questions were under consideration, but otherwise intervened rarely in politics. He died in Paris on the 16th, after a comparatively short illness.

Bishop of Manchester.—The Right Rev. James Fraser, D.D., Bishop of Manchester, who died at his residence, Bishop's Court, Higher Broughton, was the son of Mr. James Fraser, of Heavitree, Exeter, and was born in 1818 at Prestbury, near Cheltenham. He received his early education at Bridgnorth School, and went thence to Shrewsbury, then under one of its most famous masters, Dr. Samuel Butler, passing on to Oxford, where in 1839 his name appears in first-class classical list, in company with those of Professor Jowett and Sir Stafford Northcote. The following year he was elected Fellow of Oriel, of which college he became a tutor. In 1847 he succeeded the Rev. Thomas Mozley in the college living of Cholderton, an agricultural village in Wiltshire, but even in a field so restricted he found no lack of work, and soon attracted notice by the admirable management of his parish, and in 1858 he was offered and accepted the office of Assistant-Commissioner in an inquiry into the condition of education in the rural districts. He had two districts assigned him in different parts of England, and he did his work so well that he was immediately employed on two other Commissions, the reports of which had much weight in determining the direction of the elementary education of the country.

In 1860 he exchanged Cholderton for another college living, Ufton Nervet, near Reading, and at the same time gave up his Fellowship, which he had hitherto held with his small Wiltshire living. At Ufton he was very happy; the work suited him thoroughly, if only in contrast to the bustling and wandering life which he had often to lead in his investigations for the Royal Commission. He thought he had settled down at

Ufton, a charming country parsonage, for the rest of his days.

In 1870, however, the See of Manchester was left vacant by the death of Dr. Prince Lee, and Mr. Gladstone decided upon offering it to Mr. Fraser. Manchester wanted a man of energy and practical experience; a man of moderate opinions in ecclesiastical matters, who had seen something both of parochial work and of the wider problems of the time. The appointment was hailed with great satisfaction in Lancashire, and the new bishop speedily justified his reputation. He was known to be an extremely hard worker, and a good preacher.

He had no sooner established himself in Manchester than he began to impress himself upon the diocese as a man of boundless self-devotion, activity, and width of sympathy. He at once took the lead in all philanthropic movements, in all movements for elevating the social condition of the working classes, and in all movements for promoting union among different Christian bodies, thus earning the nickname of "the Bishop of all denominations." At the same time he was outspoken in his defence of what he believed to be the cause of religion, even when it was attacked under the forms of religious equality. In the later stages of the education controversy, for example, he took the side of the Union against the League; of the Manchester organisation against that of Birmingham; of religious and denominational against secular education. On Easter Monday 1873 he took the chair at a vast meeting at the Free Trade Hall, called to urge upon the Government the necessity of keeping any amending Act on the lines of the Education Act of 1870; and he laid down distinctly his view that "unless the education of this country could be maintained on a distinctly religious basis it was hardly worth having."

The Bishop's activity was very great, but he preferred to confine it to his own diocese as much as possible. He never disguised his dislike to that part of a bishop's duties which is performed in the House of Lords, and as a matter of fact he was seldom in London, at least till after his marriage. On important occasions, however, when the debate touched upon matters in which he either felt a strong personal interest or which concerned what he believed to be the interests of religion, he took care to be present. He voted, for instance, against the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill in 1884, and was formally thanked by the Man-

chester Diocesan Conference for so doing. Among the political questions in which he took an active interest was the Eastern controversy of 1876-77, in which his sympathies were strongly on the side of the nationalities; and he aroused much feeling on the one side and on the other by the energy with which he adopted Mr. Gladstone's views at the time of the Bulgarian massacres.

In January 1880 the Bishop married Miss Duncan, eldest daughter of the late John Shute Duncan, LL.D., of Bath. The same year he became involved, much against his will, in a conflict with one of his clergy, the Rev. S. F. Green, vicar of St. John's, Miles Platting, who either introduced or continued various forms and ceremonies in the conduct of public worship which contravened the law. The Court of Arches having ordered Mr. Green to discontinue the objectionable practices, he refused, and was consequently committed by Lord Penzance to Lancaster Gaol. There he remained from March 19, 1881, till November 4, 1882, when Lord Penzance, on the request of the Bishop, made an order releasing the contumacious clergyman.

During the last year or two of his life, Bishop Fraser did not appear very prominently before the world, but none the less did he continue working in his busy way within his diocese, and his sudden death on the 22nd came as a painful shock both to his own people and to the country at large. His broad and sympathetic spirit, his manly, straightforward utterances, his untiring industry, his complete self-forgetfulness endeared him to all classes of the inhabitants of Manchester, and won the respect and admiration of the whole nation. He was buried, according to his own desire, in the churchyard of the little church at Cholderton, where his labours in the Church were commenced, and his funeral was attended not only by distinguished men in Church and State, but by the population of the neighbourhood where his memory had been gratefully preserved by every class.

Bishop of Ely.—The Right Rev. James Russell Woodford, D.D., whose death took place at the Palace at Ely on Oct. 24, was born at Henley-on-Thames, April 30, 1820. He received his preliminary education at Merchant Taylors' School, and subsequently entered Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. in 1842, obtaining honours as a senior optime in the Mathematical Tripos, and as a second-

class man in the Classical Tripos. He was ordained deacon in 1843 and priest in 1845. Appointed to the incumbency of the new district church of St. Mark's, Easton, between Stapleton and Bristol, he held this charge until 1855, when he was presented by Bishop Monk to the vicarage of Kempsford, Gloucestershire. This living he held down to 1868, when he was chosen by the trustees of the parish church and vicarage of Leeds as successor to Dr. Atlay, on the elevation of the latter to the See of Hereford. Mr. Woodford, who was an able preacher and a High Churchman, found, in succeeding to a vicarage like that of Leeds, that his duties were great and onerous. He followed men who had been very popular, and the rapid growth of Leeds rendered his charge all the more arduous. Dr. Woodford was for some years examining chaplain to Bishop Wilberforce, a prelate whom he greatly admired, and to whom he was strongly attached; and in 1867 the Bishop bestowed on him an honorary canonry in Christ Church, Oxford. He was also appointed Select Preacher before the University of Cambridge in 1864, 1867, 1872, 1876, and 1878.

On the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone, Dr. Woodford was nominated to the Bishopric of Ely in 1873—when Dr. Harold Browne was translated to Winchester—and he was consecrated at Westminster Abbey on Dec. 14 in that year. At this period there were 204 parishes in the diocese which required aid in order to render their parochial machinery complete, but the new Bishop set vigorously to work, and, among other organisations, formed a General Diocesan Fund, to be supported by annual collections in every church, and by private subscriptions—the fund to be administered by the Conference. The money thus raised was applied to the increase and improvement of church accommodation, the more efficient superintendence of parishes, the augmentation of small livings, the private assistance of poor and infirm clergy, and the religious inspection of Church schools. Out of 554 parishes, 435 answered to the Bishop's call, and the experiment of a diocesan revenue, to be administered by the representative assembly of the diocese, proved successful. Bishop Woodford further established the Ely Theological College, capable of accommodating twelve students, who were to attend lectures with the Principal and the Bishop, and to become practically acquainted, by systematic visiting and by conducting services in neighbouring

mission chapels, with parochial work. In Sept. 1877 the Bishop delivered a charge at the Visitation of the Cathedral Church of Ely, and it is a noteworthy circumstance that 147 years had elapsed since the members of the ancient foundation had last been called together in a Court of Visitation. Under his direction the work generally in the Ely diocese prospered, and in delivering the charges at his second Visitation in Sept. and Oct. 1881 the Bishop announced that since the Visitation of 1877 five new churches had been built and forty-six churches restored. The work of church restoration was one to which he especially devoted his efforts. In four years the diocesan fund had granted the sum of 7,400*l.* for the purposes of church extension, the maintenance of curates, &c. Dr. Woodford reconstructed the cathedral school of Ely, and completed new buildings for the Theological College, containing rooms for a vice-principal and twelve students, with chapel, hall, and library.

In addition to numerous volumes of sermons the Bishop of Ely was the author of "Lectures on the Church, Past and Present"; and he edited the third series of "Tracts for the Christian Seasons." In 1883 he contributed a preface to "The Private Devotions of Bishop Andrews," edited by Precentor Venables. As a speaker, the late Bishop was impressive and thoughtful rather than moving or eloquent. Upon their matter rather than their manner depended the effect produced by his sermons and lectures. Dr. Woodford was Ramsden Preacher before the University of Cambridge in 1870, and a chaplain to Her Majesty 1872–73. He was also for some time Professor of Theology at Cuddesdon, Proctor for the Clergy of the Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol in the Convocation of Canterbury, and a Proctor for the Clergy of the Diocese of Ripon in the Convocation of York.

Duke of Abercorn.—James Hamilton, K.G., P.C., first Duke of Abercorn, whose death took place on the 31st, was born on Jan. 21, 1811. He was the eldest son of James, Viscount Hamilton, who predeceased his father, the first Marquess of Abercorn, who died in 1818. Succeeding to the title at the early age of seven, the young Marquess was for some years under the care of his guardian, the Earl of Aberdeen. In the course of time he was sent to Harrow, and subsequently to Christ Church, Oxford. Among his contemporaries at the University were Lord Dalhousie,

afterwards Governor-General of India, the Duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Gladstone. On taking his seat in the House of Lords the marquess sat with the Conservatives, and voted against the Reform Bill of 1832. His maiden speech, however, was not made till ten years later, when he moved the Address to the Queen. The Opposition leader, Lord Melbourne, complimented him warmly upon his effort. For thirteen years, 1846 to 1859, the marquess held the office of Groom of the Stole to the Prince Consort; but although he was necessarily much about the Court in connection with this appointment he reserved as large a portion of his time as he possibly could for the active discharge of his duties as an Irish landlord. He was very popular with his tenantry, whose interests he never failed to study to the best of his power.

On the accession of Lord Derby to office in 1866 the Marquess of Abercorn was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The disturbed condition of Ireland at this time caused the appointment to the Viceroyalty to be regarded with great solicitude. Fenianism had for some time taxed all the powers of the Executive, and the Special Commission which had tried several persons on the charge of being concerned in this conspiracy had not succeeded in crushing the prevalent disaffection. It was at this juncture that the Marquess of Abercorn went over to Ireland. High hopes were formed as to his policy and the manner in which he would acquit himself. He was successful in restoring prestige to the Viceroyalty, while his attitude towards the people was one of firmness and conciliation combined. In Feb. 1868 Lord Derby resigned the Premiership, in consequence of failing health, and was succeeded by Mr. Disraeli. Some changes were effected in the Cabinet, but the Marquess of Abercorn retained his post as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

In the following April the Prince and Princess of Wales paid a visit to Ireland. The disturbed state of some parts of the country caused many persons to predict that the Royal visit would prove a failure. The Marquess of Abercorn, nevertheless, held a different opinion. The Lord Lieutenant, with a brilliant suite, received their Royal Highnesses at Kingstown, and their progress through Dublin drew forth enthusiastic demonstrations from the populace. Wherever the Prince and Princess

of Wales appeared in Ireland they were received with feelings of the utmost affection and loyalty, and the results of the visit amply justified the Viceroy's confidence.

Mr. Disraeli resigned office after the general election of 1868, and the Marquess of Abercorn retired with his chief and the rest of the Ministry. The Viceroy left Ireland prosperous and in a condition of comparative quietude. His administration of Irish affairs had been so successful as to call forth acknowledgments from all classes. Not long before his retirement the marquess was raised, in consideration of his important services, to the Dukedom of Abercorn and the Marquisate of Hamilton.

When Mr. Disraeli came into office again in 1874 the duke consented to resume the duties of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in which he had been succeeded by Earl Spencer. His return to the Viceregal Lodge created lively satisfaction, and his reception in Dublin was of a most cordial character.

In Nov. 1876 the duke resigned the Viceroyalty, the chief reason for this step being the state of the duchess's health. The duke's appearances in public after his retirement from the office of Lord Lieutenant were rare. Occasionally, however, he spoke in the House of Lords, and in the debate on the Address at the opening of the session of 1883 he severely criticised the policy of the Liberal Government.

Although the Duke of Abercorn was the first to bear that title, his lineage was among the most illustrious in the country. He could boast, moreover, the distinction of a peerage in each of the three kingdoms, being Duke of Abercorn, Marquess of Hamilton, Viscount Strabane, Lord Hamilton, Baron of Strabane, and Baron of Mountcastle in the peerage of Ireland; Marquess of Abercorn and Viscount Hamilton in the peerage of Great Britain; and Earl of Abercorn, Baron of Paisley, Aberbrothick, Abercorn, Hamilton, Mountcastle, and Kilpatrick in the peerage of Scotland. As heir male of the house of Hamilton, he was also a member of the French *noblesse*, claiming the dukedom of Chatelherault. The Abercorn Hamiltons claim to be direct descendants of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, and the duke had also royal blood in his veins on the Irish side, being a descendant of Strongbow and Eva his wife, who was daughter of Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster.

During the month the following deaths also took place:—On the 3rd, at Crom Castle, co. Fermanagh, aged 83, **Earl of Erne, K.P.**, Custos Rotulorum for the

county, a resident landlord, possessed of extensive estates in Donegal and the west of Ireland, and who took an active interest in the condition of his tenantry. On the 6th, at Dinan, aged 52, **Major-General Montague Procter**, of the Bengal Native Infantry, son of Bryan Waller Procter (Barry Cornwall). On the 8th, aged 71, **Emile Perrin**, manager of the Comédie Française, a member of the Institute, and a Commander of the Legion of Honour. Starting in life as an artist, he obtained attention as an art critic, which led to his becoming manager of various theatres, until his appointment in 1871 to the Comédie Française. On the 9th, at Streatham Castle, aged 74, **John Bowes**, formerly M.P. for South Durham; one of the oldest members of the Jockey Club, and an owner of racehorses for more than half a century. On the 10th, aged 76, **Cardinal Archbishop John MacCloskey**, of New York. Born at Brooklyn, whither his parents had emigrated at the beginning of the century from Ireland, and educated in America, he completed his training in Rome, and was early made a bishop, receiving his Cardinal's hat in 1875. He was the first American Cardinal ever created. On the 12th, aged 65, **John Clare**, of Liverpool, the well-known nautical inventor. He made an unsuccessful claim upon Government for a large sum of money, on the ground that his suggestions for the protection of war vessels by means of iron plates had been practically adopted. On the 11th, at Turin, **Father Giacomo**, whose name is linked with that of Count Cavour. He was regarded with the utmost veneration at Turin, although he was prohibited from continuing his priestly functions in consequence of his having administered the last sacraments to his friend after his excommunication. On the 14th, in California, aged 66, **Henry W. Shaw**, a well-known American humourist called Josh Billings. On the 17th, at Gosport, aged 81, **Admiral Robert Fitzgerald Gambier, R.N.**, who, serving as a lieutenant at the bombardment of Algiers, was promoted, with the distinction of his commission being dated one day senior to all others given for the battle. He was the son of the late Sir John Gambier, some time Consul-General for Portugal. On the 20th, at Berlin, aged 91, **General von Prittwitz und Gaffron**, an engineer officer of the Prussian army, under whose direction the fortifications of Posen, Ulm, and Rastadt were constructed. On the 27th, at Wiesbaden, aged 67, **Professor Jonkbloet**, the historian of Dutch literature, and an active politician. On the same date, aged 85, **M. Sénard**, a distinguished French jurist and statesman. He was Minister of the Interior in General Cavaignac's Cabinet in 1848. On the 28th, aged 59, **General George Brinton M'Clellan**, Commander of the Union armies during the early part of the rebellion. He served with distinction in the Corps of Engineers in the Mexican war, but resigned his commission afterwards to take the post of chief engineer of the Illinois Central Railroad. Early in the Civil War, he took a command in the Federal army, and became for a time Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the United States; but being superseded by General Burnside, he eventually returned to practise as an engineer. On the 29th, at South Brent, aged 76, **Admiral Sir Augustus William Kuper, G.C.B.**, who served with great distinction in China, and received decorations from the French and Dutch Governments for his services in conjunction with them. On the same date, at Hampden, Bucks, aged 92, **Rev. Augustus Edward Hobart Hampden**, sixth Earl of Buckinghamshire, and a prebendary of Wolverhampton. His title devolved on his grandson. On the 31st, **Don Juan Battista Topete**, Vice-Admiral in the Spanish navy, and a distinguished politician, who took a prominent part in the Cadiz rising of 1868. On the same date, at Moor End, Sheffield, aged 76, **Robert Leader**, President of the Sheffield Liberal Association, and for half a century editor and chief proprietor of the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*.

NOVEMBER.

Dr. W. B. Carpenter.—Dr. William Benjamin Carpenter, whose death took place on the 10th from the overturning of the lamp of a vapour bath, was the son of Dr. Lant Carpenter, an eminent Unitarian minister at Bristol. He was born at Bristol in 1813, and was educated at the Bristol School of Medicine

and University College, London; became a member of the English College of Surgeons and a licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries in 1835; and then proceeded to Edinburgh, where he took the degree of M.D. in 1839. He practised his profession for a short time in Bristol, but in 1843 he came to London to devote

himself to the cultivation of physiology, a science of which he may almost be said to have been the founder. In two closely connected works, the "Principles of Physiology, General and Comparative," and the "Principles of Human Physiology," he built up a series of generalisations from the scattered facts which had been collected or ascertained by previous workers, and for the first time wove our knowledge of animal structure and function into something like a connected whole. Dr. Carpenter became Lecturer on Physiology at the medical school of the London Hospital, and afterwards Examiner in Physiology and Comparative Anatomy in the University of London, and Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in University College. He also engaged in several literary undertakings, and among others he edited for several years the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review*. His book, "The Microscope and its Revelations," was invaluable to the students of his day, and is still consulted as containing an admirable exposition of the principles on which the instrument depends. He soon selected the functions of the nervous system as the special branch of physiology, and his first great effort in this direction was contained in an article, professedly a criticism of "Noble's Physiology of the Brain," in which he demolished the last shred of supposed scientific foundation of "phrenology," extended the idea of reflex nervous function, and enunciated the fundamental notions of "consensual" and of "ideo-motor" action. From time to time his earlier published works were revised, and he finally completed the exposition of his views in his last book, the "Principles of Mental Physiology." In this work he discussed in a scientific manner certain abnormal conditions of mind and body, which had been observed, but misunderstood by the professors of mesmerism, and of which many of the phenomena of what is known as "spiritualism" are only modern examples. Dr. Carpenter was the first writer who arranged these vagaries of the nervous system under their proper headings, and produced order out of a chaos of mingled illness and imposture.

Dr. Carpenter was appointed in 1856 to the office of Registrar of the University of London, an office which he held for twenty-two years, and was thus released from the necessity of engaging in writing and teaching for the sake of the attendant remuneration, and left free to follow the bent of his genius.

From this time his leisure was chiefly devoted to the study of the Foraminifera, on which he contributed papers of permanent value to the Royal Society and to the Ray Society; and to an examination of the results of the scientific expeditions, like that of H.M.S. *Challenger*, commissioned to undertake deep sea dredging, and to investigate the causes and courses of ocean currents. To the University of London his services were invaluable; and when, after many years, he retired with a pension from his office, he was elected a member of the Senate. In the scientific world Dr. Carpenter was a Fellow and had been more than once Vice-President of the Royal Society, from which he had also received the Royal medal for his physiological researches; was a Fellow of the Geological and Linnean Societies, an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, and of the Cambridge Philosophical Society; a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, and of the American Philosophical Society. He received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1871, and was created a C.B. in recognition of his services to the University of London. In 1872 he presided over the Brighton meeting of the British Association.

The Ameer of Bokhara.—Mozaffur Eddin, Ameer of Bokhara, whose death took place on the 12th, was the son of Nasrullah Khan, the murderer of Conolly and Stoddart, and he succeeded his father in the year 1860, when Russia was just beginning to actively bestir herself on the northern borders of Khokand. According to the best authorities, Mozaffur was then in his 35th year, and it was his bad fortune to find himself committed by the tradition of his family and the resentment of his predecessor to an implacable war with the neighbouring Khokand at the very moment that he and the other Central Asian chiefs ought to have combined their forces to oppose the progress of Tcherniaieff's small expedition then making its way up the Jaxartes. His schemes of aggrandisement were not limited to Khokand. He was credited with entertaining designs upon Merv, and he thought to dispute the possession of Balkh with Dost Mahomed, ruler of Afghanistan. In the year 1864, however, General Tcherniaieff captured the town of Turkestan and threatened Tashkend, and the rapid success of the Russian commander carrying alarm throughout Mohammedan Turkestan,

stified the dissension which had been its bane. But before Mozaffur Eddin could arrive, Tashkend had fallen, and the Russians held possession of the principal passage of the Jaxartes at Tashkend. The hostility of the Bokharans was not, however, appeased, and when the Russians sent an embassy to propose the terms of an amicable understanding, Mozaffur Eddin threw them into prison. War ensued, but the brief campaign of 1866 was inconclusive. General Tcherniaeff crossed the Jaxartes, but finding the Bokharan positions too strong to attack with his small force, he retreated, after concluding an ignominious convention which left the Russian envoys in the hands of their captor. The war was renewed a few months later on the arrival of a new general, and in the battle of Irjar, fought on May 20, 1866, the Bokharan army was completely overthrown by General Romanoffsky. Mozaffur was present in person on this occasion, and after his defeat he thought it best to restore the Russian captives and to send them back laden with presents. The war broke out afresh in the autumn of the same year, and it was only after the capture of two of his strongest forts, Jizakh and Ara Tepe, that Mozaffur confessed his inability to prolong the struggle.

But the peace was of short duration, and soon after General Kaufmann became Governor-General, in 1867, an outrage committed on a Russian officer named Slushenko necessitated another appeal to the sword. The Ulemas of Bokhara preached a "holy war," which General Kaufmann, nothing loth, accepted. The campaign began in May 1868, and was marked by the rapid success of the Russian arms. After one successful encounter the Russians gained possession of Samarcand; but the necessity of scattering their small force gave the Bokharans an opportunity of which they endeavoured to take advantage. Samarcand had to stand an assault, and the Russian garrison was nearly overwhelmed by superior numbers. But General Kaufmann's victory at Zera Bulak decided the war, and Mozaffur Eddin accepted the terms of peace offered. The Russians retained possession of Samarcand, although they held out some hopes of its restoration, and this dream became the main solace of Mozaffur's declining days. The Ameer also accepted the control of Russia in matters of foreign policy, and conceded the right to place a Russian garrison in three of his principal towns. It must be added that this right was only exer-

cised once during his lifetime, in the case of Charjui, a town on the Oxus. Outside the Russian Foreign Office little or nothing is known of his secret policy during the last seventeen years, but it certainly was not anti-Russian. His aid during the Khivan campaign was simply invaluable, and without it the Russians would certainly have failed. During the great revolt in Khokand in 1875-76 he rigidly abstained from interference, and when war seemed imminent with England in 1878 he volunteered all the assistance in his power for the despatch of a force to Afghanistan. He sent his younger sons to Russia, and he stifled any disappointment he may have felt at not receiving the reward of his devotion in the restoration of Samarcand. When the Central Asian princes went to the Czar's coronation at Moscow, he sent his son to represent him, pleading that the fanaticism of his subjects alone prevented his performing the agreeable duty of paying his fealty to the great White Czar in person.

King of Spain.—Alfonso Francisco d'Assisi Ferdinando Pio Juan Maria de la Concepcion Gregorio, whose death took place on the 26th, was born on Nov. 28, 1857, and was therefore within three days of completing his twenty-eighth year. He was the only son of Queen Isabella II., whose husband was Don Francis d'Assisi, and his sisters were the Infanta Isabella, the Princesses Della Paz, Eulalia, and the widowed Princess Girgenti. The young Prince of the Asturias, as Alfonso was called before he became king, was but ten years old when his mother was driven from her throne and her country by the revolution of 1868. For a while he remained in Paris with her, but in Feb. 1870 he was sent to Vienna to begin his studies at the Theresianum. A little later Queen Isabella, seeing no chance of a restoration, formally abdicated in favour of her son, who thus became, in the opinion of her Court, the lawful King of Spain. Returning from Vienna, he remained for some time in Paris, and when a little over sixteen years of age he came to England and entered the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. Here he remained, winning golden opinions from his companions, and favourably impressing his teachers, until the great events which took place in Spain towards the end of 1874 showed that an important change in his career was impending. The Restoration was being prepared, and about Christmas time he left for Paris, and there a

few days later came the summons to him to enter Spain. On Dec. 29 General Martinez Campos, in the time-honoured fashion of Spanish revolutionists, made a *pronunciamiento* at Murviedro, and proclaimed Don Alfonso King of Spain. He hastened to the frontier, was received with enthusiasm, and made his entry into Madrid on Jan. 14, 1875.

The forces under Don Carlos were still holding many important points on the north when the King entered Spain, but Alfonso lost no time in passing to the seat of war, and in himself taking command of the Royal army. It was on Jan. 14, 1875, that he entered Madrid, and on Feb. 3 he arrived at the front; and though at first he met with reverses, he was soon able, by good fortune and by the skill of his generals, to turn the tide. On March 11 the famous Carlist general, Cabrera, expressed favourable feelings towards Alfonso; and soon afterwards, General Jovellar took Vittoria and Seo d'Urgel. In the winter, General Quesada occupied Villa-Real, and on Feb. 1, 1876, took Bilbao. By this time the King, who had been for some months occupied in political affairs at Madrid, had returned to the army, and on Feb. 19, he captured Estella. Next day he entered Tolosa with his troops; and seven days afterwards Don Carlos took refuge on French soil. On March 4 a general amnesty secured the pacification of the Basque provinces, devastated as they had been by the war, and on the 20th the King entered Madrid at the head of his conquering army, amid the applause of the population.

During the suppression of the Carlist movement, King Alfonso had entrusted the management of internal affairs to the "Ministry of Regency," to which, with the generals, he was indebted for his throne. At the head of this council was Señor Canovas del Castillo, a man of energy, a distinguished writer and speaker, and a strict Catholic and Conservative of the Continental type. The efforts of the new Government, other than those connected with the war, aimed at confirming and extending the political reaction. Laws were passed, and Royal decrees issued, which seemed to undo at one stroke all that the revolution of 1868 and the subsequent years had accomplished. Señor Canovas forbade the right of public meeting, abrogated the law permitting civil marriage, suppressed the liberty of public instruction, re-opened the Jesuit schools, expelled Liberal professors, entered upon negotiations for a Concordat with the Vatican, and

in 1876 the *fueros*, though not abolished, were greatly curtailed by the Cortes, acting under his direction. But the great legislative event of the early part of Alfonso's reign was the passing of the new Constitution—that known as the Constitution of 1876, which undid many of the concessions of the Constitution of 1869, and placed the liberties of Spaniards in the hands of the Government and the priests. Señor Canovas nevertheless continued to govern for six years.

The King's choice in marriage fell upon his cousin, the Princess Mercedes, daughter of that Duke of Montpensier whose marriage with the sister of Queen Isabella had been the triumphant issue of the schemes of Louis Philippe. The chief objector to this marriage was Queen Isabella herself, who had for eighteen months been installed near her son at Madrid. She left Spain in pique, and settled again in Paris. The marriage took place in great state in Madrid on Jan. 23, 1878, and for a time there was every promise of a happy union and of an excellent influence being brought to bear upon the young King's life. But, to the profound grief of all who knew her, the young Queen died, only five months after her marriage, on June 26. Reasons of State had soon to be considered, and it was imperatively necessary for the young King to marry again. This time the bride was the Archduchess Maria Christina of Austria, cousin to the Emperor Francis Joseph, and of their marriage King Alfonso left two daughters, Maria de las Mercedes, Princess of the Asturias, born on Sept. 12, 1880, and the Infanta Maria Teresa Isabella, born Nov. 12, 1882.

His personal courage was shown in the Carlist war, and when his life was threatened by Otoro, the baker's boy; he also faced the cholera with calmness and self-devotion; and when his southern provinces were laid waste by the most frightful earthquakes of our time, he hastened to the spot to give with his own hands relief to the injured. Another occasion on which Alfonso behaved with dignity and composure was in the troublesome affair of his progress through Paris on his return from Germany. He had visited the Emperors of Austria and Germany, had attended their manœuvres, and had accepted the usual honorary colonelcies from them. The mob of Paris chose to take offence at this, and to hoot the "Colonel of Uhlans" as he drove along the boulevards, for accepting an honour which a few months before his death he resigned. As a ruler he adhered to the

Constitution; he took the Ministers that seemed to him to be demanded by the feeling of the country, and he followed their advice with loyalty.

Marshal Serrano.—Francisco Serrano y Dominguez, Duke de la Torre, who died on the 26th, was born at San Fernando, near Cadiz, in the year 1810. The son of a general, he entered the army while yet a youth, and espoused the cause of Maria Christina and her daughter after the death of Ferdinand VII. He acquired considerable renown by his incontestable bravery during the long civil war between the Carlists and the supporters of Maria Christina. Gifted with great physical advantages, of amiable and seductive manners, and possessing all the charms of an elegant presence, combined with unfailing suavity and affability, he advanced so rapidly in the good graces of the Regent that at the age of thirty he was appointed General of Division. His career furnishes one more example of the facility with which soldiers rise to the supreme power in Spain. In 1843 Serrano was instrumental in compassing the downfall of Espartero, being one of the junta of Barcelona which declared the deposition of his rival and the majority of Queen Isabella. Upon the restoration of Maria Christina he joined Narvaez in overthrowing the Ministry of Olozaga. The extraordinary influence which Serrano wielded at Court extended itself over the young Queen Isabella, especially after her marriage with her cousin, Don Francisco d'Assisi, in 1846. The relations between Serrano and Isabella led, at length, to dissensions between the Queen and her husband, and caused much scandal. The Ministry of Sotomayor attempted to remove the soldier of fortune from the Court, but in vain. Serrano turned the tables and overthrew Sotomayor. He next gave his support to the Pacheco - Salamanca Ministry, but it was very unpopular with the country, and was swept away. Finding his influence to be diminishing, Serrano caused the recall of Olozaga and Espartero, by whose efforts he hoped to overshadow the rising favour of Narvaez. In 1849, on the advent of Narvaez to power, Serrano was made Captain-General of Granada. Being banished from Court, he decided to abandon the ultra-Conservative cause, and to throw himself into the ranks of the Opposition, and he vigorously opposed in the Senate the Ministries which rapidly succeeded each other. He was

implicated in the insurrectionary movement at Saragossa in Feb. 1854, and exiled; but, being restored by the revolution of July, he joined the Liberal Union, which supported the coalition of Espartero and O'Donnell. When differences arose between these two leaders Serrano declared for the latter. In 1854 Serrano had been made Captain-General of Artillery, but this office he exchanged some time later for that of Captain-General of New Castile. At the time of O'Donnell's *coup d'état* in July 1856 Madrid was under the control of Serrano, and he distinguished himself by suppressing the insurrection in the Prado and the Retiro. Shortly afterwards he superseded Olozaga as Ambassador to Paris, where, with his young and beautiful wife, he gave splendid *fêtes*. On the fall of O'Donnell he was recalled to Spain. Spanish Ministries at this period rose and fell in quick succession. Serrano joined in the Senate the Opposition which led to the downfall of Narvaez in Nov. 1857, after that statesman had been in power for two months only. In 1860 Serrano left Madrid, having been appointed Captain-General of Cuba. During his sojourn in that island he negotiated with the President of the Republic of San Domingo the retrocession of that territory to Spain. Upon the completion of the decree of incorporation in 1862 he was created a Grandee of the First Class, with the title of Duke de la Torre; but the Dominicans, not having been consulted, and being desirous of preserving their independence, revolted, and the Spanish Governor, indisposed to engage in a contest whose results could not be foreseen, deemed it prudent to recall the decree of incorporation.

In 1868 the revolution took place which overthrew the Bourbon dynasty in Spain. The whole Spanish nation, including the military and the fleet, rose and swept away one of the worst governments in Europe. In the month of April insurrectionary movements broke out in Catalonia, and the province was placed in a state of siege. At this juncture Marshal Narvaez, the President of the Council, died, and this led to the resignation of the Ministry. A new Cabinet was formed under Gonzalez Bravo, which included such men as Marfori, Roncali, Belda, and Villaroya. In July Marshal Serrano and several other Spanish generals were arrested, and, without trial, were sent into exile. At the same time the Duke and Duchess of Montpensier were banished from the country. Events now succeeded each

other with dramatic swiftness. The revolution broke out in Sept., and General Prim issued a proclamation at Cadiz. The Spanish fleet at that port, under Admiral Topete, declared for the revolution, and Serrano and the other banished generals were brought back. The Ministry resigned and the Queen fled from Spain. Serrano placed himself at the head of the popular movement, and the Royal cause was hopelessly defeated and lost. On Oct. 3 Marshal Serrano entered Madrid at the head of the revolutionary troops, and was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the inhabitants, and in Feb. 1869, with the consent of the Cortes, he assumed the executive power. A Ministry was formed with General Prim at the head, and a proposition was brought forward for making the young Duke of Genoa king, but the proposal proved abortive. Spain was in search of a monarch for some time, and in 1870 Prim's offer of the crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen proved the precipitating cause of the great Franco-German War. Failing with the German prince, Prim made a final choice of Prince Amadeus, Duke d'Aosta, second son of the King of Italy, who accepted the dangerous offer, and was duly installed as Sovereign of Spain. He retained the Ministry which had given him the Crown, although it was shortly afterwards bereft of General Prim, who was assassinated in the streets of Madrid. The northern provinces, however, had never accepted the "foreign" king, and the insurrection, long smouldering, at length broke out into civil war.

In April 1872 Serrano was appointed to the chief command of the forces sent against the Carlists. The latter were hemmed in and defeated, and Don Carlos escaped into France. Serrano concluded the Convention of Amorevieta with the rebel leaders of Biscay on May 27. It was hoped this would pave the way for a pacification of the country, but King Amadeus was surrounded by difficulties—want of money, the uncertain loyalty of his officers, the intrigues of the Duke de Montpensier, the questionable projects of the Radicals, and ultimately on Feb. 11, 1873, Amadeus abdicated the throne. A republic was proclaimed, and Señor Figueras entrusted with the executive power. Serrano was conspicuous in his opposition to the new Government, and having in April become implicated in a seditious movement, he fled from the country. Before he left Madrid he had incurred

much odium for his abandonment of Amadeus, and for his efforts to discredit the King with the upper circles of Madrid society. His life was in jeopardy; the crowd set up an angry search for him; he fled from house to house; and his handsome features were a source of danger to him from their facile recognition. At length, to escape from the perils of his situation, he went to the house of the English Minister, Mr. Layard, who dressed him up in disguise and accompanied him, with Mrs. Layard, by the Northern Railway to Santander, where they saw him on board a steamer bound for St. Jean de Luz. But a revulsion of feeling, or the need of a capable general, speedily declared itself. On the invitation of Señor Castelar, Serrano returned to Spain to help the Government in the war against the Carlists in 1873. While in command of the army of the north, Alfonso was proclaimed King at Madrid, and Serrano once more quitted Spain, with his family, without protest, and for some time resided in France. He eventually returned to his native country, however, and proceeded to Madrid, where on May 31, 1875, he presented his homage and devotion to King Alfonso, whose mother he had dethroned. After that event the name of Serrano was less conspicuously before the world, though he remained until 1884 the chief leader of the party of the Dynastic Left. It may be incidentally mentioned as matter of curiosity that Serrano during his political career witnessed eighty-four radical changes in Spanish ministries, forty distinct *pronunciamientos* or rebellions, and twelve changes in regard either to the persons or the character of the supreme power in the State.

Duke of Somerset.—Sir Edward Adolphus St. Maur, twelfth Duke of Somerset, who died at Stover Park, Torquay, on the 28th, was born on Dec. 20, 1804. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. In the year 1830 he married the youngest daughter of Mr. Thomas Sheridan, and granddaughter of the brilliant wit and dramatist and great parliamentary orator, Richard Brinsley Sheridan. As Lord Seymour, he entered upon parliamentary life in 1834, when he was returned, in the Liberal interest, for the borough of Totnes. This borough he continued to represent for twenty-one years. In the year following his return to Parliament he was appointed a Lord of the Treasury, and in 1840, as Secretary to the Board of Control, to which office he

was appointed in 1839, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to establish a Board of Superintendence for Railways, which valuable measure, having been piloted through the House of Commons with considerable skill by Lord Seymour, received the Royal assent before the close of the session. From June to Sept. 1841 he occupied the post of Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department. Lord Seymour voted in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws, though he did not speak on behalf of that great measure. In 1851 he accepted from Lord John Russell the office of Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and was accorded a seat in the Cabinet; but in the following year the Ministry went out.

For seven years Lord Seymour held no official appointment. At the time of the Crimean War he was one of the Committee appointed to inquire into the condition of the army. But when that Committee had reported, and Mr. Roebuck brought forward his resolutions condemning the Government, Lord Seymour objected to these resolutions on several grounds, one being that they censured not only the policy of our own Government, but also that of our allies. On the death of his father, Lord Seymour was called to the Upper House in the year 1855. The new duke was a strong Liberal on some points, and in the session of 1858 he moved in the House of Lords the second reading of Sir John Trelawny's Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates. On the formation of Lord Palmerston's Government in June 1859 the Duke of Somerset accepted the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, and this post he continued to hold until the fall of Lord Russell's Administration in 1866. An important duty fell upon his Grace in 1861 and 1862, when it was decided by the Government to improve and strengthen our naval defences.

The duke, though he approved of the principle of the disestablishment of the Irish Church, expressed himself against the bill of 1869, which he characterised as no sense a liberal or statesmanlike measure, inasmuch as it destroyed everything and left nothing.

Although a Liberal in politics, of recent years the duke was not a warm admirer of Mr. Gladstone. Speaking at Warminster in 1879, he referred to Mr.

Gladstone as an enthusiastic politician trying to set everything to rights, and remarked of the right hon. gentleman that he was a very good Chancellor of the Exchequer, but a very bad Prime Minister. In the debate on the Address at the opening of the session of 1882 the duke spoke strongly on the Irish question, affirming that the policy of the Government had been regulated by agitation and disturbance, and declared that unless England made up its mind we should drift into legislative independence for Ireland, and that if that were conceded Ireland would be full of filibustering Americans and military adventurers from Europe; we should have commercial quarrels first and political quarrels afterwards, and before long there would be a terrible civil war.

The Duke of Somerset was a man of excellent classical attainments, and he was also a good mathematician. In 1842 he published a work entitled "The Elementary Properties of the Ellipse, deduced from those of the Circle and geometrically demonstrated"; and in 1851 appeared a sequel to this work, "Of Alternate Circles and their connection with the Ellipse." In 1880 his Grace published "Monarchy and Democracy: Phases of Modern Politics." In this treatise an endeavour was made to trace the growth of modern political opinions. The writer was of opinion that there was an incessant interference with the governed; and the legislation of every recurring session imposed some new restriction on human freedom. At a later period of his life he was the author of a theological treatise on the influence of St. Paul.

In his domestic life he was saddened by severe domestic bereavements. His younger son, Edward Percy, died unmarried in India, on Dec. 20, 1865. Then his elder and only surviving son, Earl St. Maur, upon whom he built many hopes, and who exhibited great promise, died unmarried, on Sept. 30, 1869. The duke, therefore, left no direct heir to his honours and estates, and he was succeeded by his brother, who was born in 1810. In 1851 the duke was created a Privy Councillor, and in 1862 received the Garter. He was Governor of the Royal Naval College, and a Trustee of the British Museum.

In the same month the following deaths also took place:—On the 2nd, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 67, Robert Thorburn, A.R.A., a miniature painter of some mark, who subsequently took to figure painting, and became an Associate of the Royal Academy. He was a native of Dumfries, and had studied under Sir William

Allan. On the 3rd, aged 80, **Dr. Pirie**, Principal of Aberdeen University, for forty years one of the most prominent leaders of the Church of Scotland, and a powerful supporter of the Church Establishment. On the same date, at Leicester, aged 86, **Rev. James Phillips Mursell**, for fifty years minister of a Baptist church there. In conjunction with his friend Edward Miall he started the *Nonconformist* newspaper, and originated the society known as the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control. On the 4th, at Southampton, aged 55, **Captain James M'Donald, R.E.**, who, when a non-commissioned officer in the Royal Engineers, by his skill in photography rendered great assistance in the exploration of Palestine and Sinai, under Sir Charles Wilson in 1864 and 1868. On the 7th, at Ewell, Surrey, aged 81, **Rev. Sir George Lewen Glyn, Bart.** A son of Sir George Glyn, he succeeded his brother as fourth baronet in 1840, and held the family living of Ewell from 1831 to 1881. On the 8th, **Joseph Prowse**, who was for upwards of thirty years surveyor of the National Life Boat Institution, and under whose supervision the large fleet of life-boats was built. On the 11th, at Gothenburg, Sweden, aged 70, **James J. Dickson**, head of the firm of James Dickson & Co., Sweden, and Dickson Brothers, of Moorgate Street, London. For forty years he took a leading and active part in developing the resources of Sweden, and in benefiting her working people by his advocacy of the "Gothenburg system" of granting spirit licences. On the 12th, at Weybridge, aged 74, **Hon. Peter John Locke King**, many years M.P. for East Surrey. The son of the seventh Lord King, and brother of the first Earl of Lovelace, he made himself conspicuous prior to 1867 by his exertions in favour of an extension of the suffrage. On the same date, at Bayswater, aged 65, **J. Lewis Farley, F.S.S.**, some time Turkish Consul at Bristol, and Privy Councillor in the Public Works Department of Bulgaria. He was well known for his acquaintance with Bulgarian affairs, and for his writings on Turkish and other Eastern subjects. On the 13th, at Fulham, aged 73, **Thomas Heron Jones**, seventh Viscount Ranelagh, K.C.B. He served for some time in the 1st Life Guards, and also in Spain under Sir De Lacy Evans, and afterwards took a prominent part in originating and forming the volunteer force of the country in 1859, especially identifying himself with the Middlesex Regiments. On the same date, at Lisbon, aged 68, **Anselmo José Braamcamp**, a leader of the Liberal or Progressist party in Portugal, who had frequently held high office under the Crown. On the 16th, at Rome, aged 80, **Don Livio Odescalchi**, the head of the great Roman princely house of that name, and a grandee of Spain. Born at Vienna, he for some time represented the Emperor of Austria as his ambassador at Paris. Later on he went to reside at his ancestral palace in Rome, where he took a prominent part in the promotion of works of public utility. On the 19th, in Bruton Street, aged 77, **Sir William Rose, K.C.B.**, Clerk of Parliaments, the son of the late Right Hon. Sir G. H. Rose, G.C.H., also Clerk of Parliaments, and Minister at the Courts of Bavaria and Prussia, and brother of Lord Strathnairn. On the 20th, at Weston-super-Mare, aged 80, **Tristram Kennedy**, a conspicuous figure among the Irish members, who advocated the national cause from 1852 to 1868. As agent for the Marquess of Bath, he was most successful in his efforts to help the tenantry during the years of famine. On the 21st, aged 77, **Cardinal Antonio Maria Panebianco**, a Franciscan friar, who, possessing great talent, rose to high posts, and was for some years looked upon as the probable successor of Pius IX. in the Pontificate. On the 23rd, aged 76, **Frederick Swanwick, C.E.**, for many years confidential assistant and private secretary to George Stephenson. In his retirement he took a deep and practical interest in all the philanthropic and educational movements of his county of Derbyshire. On the 25th, at Ramsgate, aged 82, **General Sir William M. Coghlan, K.C.B.**, of the Royal Artillery, for some time Political Agent and Commandant at Aden. On the same date, aged 66, **Thomas Andrews Hendricks**, Vice-President of the United States. He at one time practised as a barrister in Indiana, of which State he afterwards became Governor. For some years he was regarded as the leader of the Democratic party in the Senate. In 1868 his nomination to the Presidency was strongly supported by the National Convention in New York. On the 26th, in Regent's Park, **Elizabeth Philp**, a talented authoress, and the composer of many well-known ballads. On the same date, at Belfast, aged 71, **Thomas Andrews, LL.D., F.R.S.**, for many years Vice-President of Queen's College, Belfast, and professor of chemistry. Also on the same date, at Rotherfield, Sussex, aged 68, **Sir Mordaunt Wells**. Formerly Recorder of Bedford, he was in 1858 appointed Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and subsequently a Judge of the High Court of Judicature. On the 27th, at Richmond, aged 76, **Sir Ralph Gosset, K.C.B.** He had been for forty-nine years in the service of the

House of Commons, first as Assistant-Serjeant to his father, Sir William Gosset, and afterwards as Deputy-Serjeant. In 1875 he succeeded Lord Charles Russell as Serjeant-at-Arms, and held the post until the end of the session of 1885. On the same date, in Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, **Rev. Benjamin Webb, F.S.A.**, Vicar of St. Andrew's, Well Street, and Prebendary of St. Paul's. He was for many years editor of the *Ecclesiologist*, and general editor of the Ecclesiological Society's publications. Also on the same date, aged 77, **Duke Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein Glücksburg**, brother of the King of Denmark. Also on the same date, aged 84, **Lavinia Barnes**, of Gilling Castle, Yorkshire, the widow of the late Rev. James Alexander Barnes, and the daughter of Charles Gregory Fairfax, the direct descendant of Cromwell's Fairfax. Also on the same date, at Milan, aged 84, **Count Andrea Maffei**, a senator of the kingdom of Italy, well known through his admirable translations of Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe, Schiller, &c. On the 29th **Miss Helen Prideaux**, one of the most distinguished of the medical women. She graduated at the London University, carrying off the gold medal and other honours, and was highly esteemed in all ranks of the profession. She died of diphtheria contracted at her post of house-surgeon to the children's hospital at Paddington.

DECEMBER.

William Henry Vanderbilt.—William Henry Vanderbilt, who died very suddenly from paralysis of the brain at his residence in Fifth Avenue, New York, on the 8th, was the second son of Cornelius Vanderbilt, and was born about 1821 on Staten Island.

He received only the ordinary education of an American youth, and did not show much ability until he was approaching thirty years of age. His father had regarded him as quite unfit to follow in his own footsteps, but "The Commodore" found out eventually that his son was by no means stupid though he had developed slowly. Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt had the good fortune to marry Miss Kissum, a lady of Dutch origin, who used her influence over him to arouse his ambition, and when his father obtained control of the New York Central and other railroads he placed Mr. Vanderbilt in positions of responsibility connected with them. For many years he was one of the vice-presidents of the New York Central, and gradually became, under his father's teaching, a clever operator in Wall Street, and quite shrewd enough, as it turned out, to keep, and even greatly increase, the vast sum left to him. Malicious rumours were, indeed, current that "The Commodore" never had entire confidence in William Henry Vanderbilt, and that on more than one occasion his father used him as a blind, instructing him to sell and buy at the wrong time, in order to mislead the public. But Cornelius Vanderbilt's will showed plainly that he believed in William Henry, for he left him four-fifths of the total estate of 20,000,000*l.* This disposition of so im-

mense a property was not likely to pass unchallenged by Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt's elder brother and sisters, who endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to set the will aside on the ground that William Henry had obtained it by the use of undue influence over his father.

Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt was not often seen in public, and was averse to mixing in general society, but those who knew him well describe him as genial in manner and generous in disposition. His public spirit was shown in more than one instance, especially in the foundation of the Vanderbilt University, in the State of Kentucky, which cost him a million dollars, but he never meddled with politics. His chief amusements were horse-trotting and cards, and he was the owner of Maud S., the famous trotter, of whom it was said that, whilst never seeming to be a fast goer, she never let anything pass her on the road.

King Ferdinand of Portugal.—Ferdinand Augustus Francis Antonio, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who died at Lisbon on the 15th, was born Oct. 29, 1816. The immediate cause of his death was a fall, which aggravated a facial cancer from which he had long suffered. He was the son of the Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, and first cousin of the Prince Consort of England, of the present Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and of the King of the Belgians. He married in 1836 Doña Maria II., Queen of Portugal, and on the birth of his eldest son he received the title of King Consort. On the death of the Queen on Nov. 5, 1853, he assumed the regency

and conducted the affairs of the kingdom without making any change in the ministry until Sept. 16, 1855, when he resigned the royal authority into the hands of his son Dom Pedro V. The present King, Louis I., ascended the throne on the death of his brother, Dom Pedro, in 1861. The elder daughter of King Ferdinand married Prince George, brother and heir presumptive of the King of Saxony, and the younger daughter, Princess Antonia, Leopold, hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and elder brother of the King of Roumania. In 1869 King Ferdinand married, morganatically, Madame Eusler, who was afterwards created Countess Edla. He was a man of literary tastes and an ardent book collector, his especial delight being in collecting from every country in Europe books, pamphlets, and prints of all descriptions which had been forbidden by the Government or the police; and in this way he accumulated a perfectly marvellous collection of the forbidden literature of Europe.

He had the Prince Consort's taste for building, planting, and improving the estates he purchased, and nothing short of a passion for bric-à-brac. His Palace of the Necessidades was a museum of choice furniture, and his country house at Cintra was equally well stored with the same kind of pleasant riches. He spent in building that residence, midway up a mountain, eight million francs. During his frequent visits to Royat and other French watering places, Dom Fernando used to astonish Frenchmen, who never speak of their wives, to blame or praise them, in their absence, by his enthusiastic eulogiums of the Countess Edla; but the affection and admiration in which he held her won for him the sympathy of American visitors to Lisbon. Mrs. Grant, the wife of General Grant, was invited by the ex-King to visit her. Having heard she was when young a star of the ballet, General and Mrs. Grant were agreeably surprised to find a simple-mannered, hospitable German lady, not above making the tea-cake which she pressed them to eat, and intelligent as she was amiable.

The Dean of Chester.—The very Rev. John Saul Howson, D.D., was born in 1816, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he had a distinguished career, graduating B.A. in double first-class honours in 1837. He proceeded to the degree of M.A. in 1841, and to that of D.D. in 1861. On

three occasions he bore off University prizes, taking the Members' Prize in 1837 and 1838, and the Norrisian Prize in 1840. Dr. Howson took orders in 1845, and became senior classical master, and subsequently, in 1849, Principal of the Liverpool College. He held this post for sixteen years, and had the satisfaction of witnessing very successful results attend his collegiate labours and headship. Resigning this appointment at the close of 1865, he was appointed Vicar of Wisbech St. Peter in 1866. He acted as examining chaplain to the Bishop of Ely from 1867 to 1873, and was appointed to the Deanery of Chester in 1867 by Lord Derby.

He had only been a few months in residence before he began the formidable undertaking of restoring Chester Cathedral, and in the course of four years he was successful in obtaining no less than 40,000*l.* towards this object. Actual work began in the summer of 1868, and it was pursued continuously till the close of 1871, leaving other portions to be subsequently undertaken. By his efforts large sections of the building which had been for a long period in extreme dilapidation resumed the form in which they were originally seen, especially the earlier portions by King Edward I., and the later by King Henry VIII.; and in some cases the designs which the original architects were hindered from accomplishing were successfully completed. The Dean of Chester was moreover one of the chief movers in favour of the establishment of an order of Deaconesses in the Church of England. He believed that at no time had the systematic ministry of women been unnecessary in the Church, and he desired to see it systematic and continuous, trained for the work it had to do, acting in harmony with parochial arrangements, and under the sanction of the bishops, but yet reasonably flexible and free, and adapted to the requirements of various institutions; and he continued up to the last to encourage these links between domestic life and parish life. As an author, in addition to a large number of special sermons, lectures, and essays, Dean Howson edited Masson's "Apology for the Greek Church," "Essays on Cathedrals, by various writers," and contributed to Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," and "The Speaker's Commentary."

But the work by which he will be chiefly remembered was that undertaken in conjunction with the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, and entitled "The Life and Epistles of St. Paul." It was published

in two quarto volumes in 1852. Mr. Conybeare supplied the translations of the epistles and speeches of St. Paul, while Mr. Howson undertook the historical and geographical portions, which formed the major part of this important work. The object of the authors was to present a living picture of St. Paul himself and of the circumstances by which he was surrounded. It was in the geographical branch of the undertaking that the most solid addition was made to the existing means of realising and understanding the Apostolical age. But the work was far from exhausting the results of Dean Howson's researches into the life and character of St. Paul. The Pauline theme was his special study. The five Hulsean lectures which he delivered in 1862 had "The Character of St. Paul" for their subject; and he published in addition "Scenes from the Life of St. Paul, and their Religious Lessons," 1866; "The Metaphors of St. Paul," 1868; and "The Companions of St. Paul," 1871.

In his personal ministrations Dean Howson was an able and eloquent preacher, indefatigable, so far as his health would permit, in the service of the Church, liberal and widely tolerant in his views, and scholarly in his attainments. In private life he was especially amiable, engaging in his manners, and of a kind and compassionate nature, so that he was popular among all classes with whom he came in contact. He had for some time been in failing health, and he passed peacefully to his rest at Bournemouth on the 15th.

Sir Arthur Phayre.—Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Purves Phayre, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.B., formerly Chief Commissioner at British Burmah, died at Bray, near Dublin, on the 15th. He was born in 1802 of a military family, and entered the Bengal Army as an ensign in 1828. He was attached at first to the 7th Bengal Native Infantry, and after seven years' service became lieutenant in 1835. Promotion was slow in those days, and after twenty-six years' service he only attained the rank of major in 1854. However, he had before that shown that his capacity lay rather in a diplomatic and an administrative direction than in a military. Employed in Arracan, a province which had fallen to our share in the first Burmese war, he had gained a high reputation for his knowledge of the Burmese language and character, and for his skill in managing a light-hearted but still sensitive people. When Lord Dalhousie had to provide

for the civil administration of those provinces taken from Burmah in 1853 it was not unnatural that he should assign a position of great responsibility to the officer who had gained "a great name along the Eastern coast." Major Phayre was appointed Commissioner of Pegu, and it was he who read the Governor-General's proclamation annexing it before a multitude of Burmese subjects. Shortly afterwards the Burmese sent an embassy to Calcutta, and he interpreted the different speeches at the interview which culminated in Lord Dalhousie's famous declaration that "as long as the sun shines in the heavens the British flag shall wave over those possessions." Although Lord Dalhousie would not surrender territory, he agreed to send a complimentary mission in return, and Major Phayre was appointed English Envoy to Amarapoora, at that time the Burmese capital. He was accompanied by a large suite, and the secretary of the mission, the distinguished Colonel Yule, wrote a most interesting report of their experiences. After this mission Sir Arthur Phayre was appointed in 1860 the first Commissioner of the United Provinces of British Burmah. Shortly after this increase of rank he was sent on a second mission to the new Burmese capital of Mandalay. This mission resulted in a treaty, of which one of the principal stipulations was the residence of an English officer at Mandalay; but a very brief experience sufficed to show that the treaty possessed no practical value. Numerous unpleasant collisions occurred between Englishmen and Burmese in 1865-66, when a different turn was given to the whole question by an insurrection in the capital, during which the Crown Prince and other members of the family were slain. Colonel Phayre, ably supported by Colonel Sladen, acted throughout the crisis not merely with great firmness, but also with great consideration for the difficulties of the Burmese ruler, and so much stress was laid on this moral support that Colonel Phayre went a third time as Envoy to Mandalay. The King showed himself more obstructive than ever, and when Sir Arthur Phayre retired from the Commissionership in March 1867 the question of our future relations with Upper Burmah was in a very critical condition. But Sir Arthur Phayre's chief services in this quarter were rendered not to the inhabitants of Independent Burmah, but to those of the British province; and it is not too much to say that he accomplished a marvellous success in

popularising English rule among an alien race. In 1874 Sir A. Phayre was appointed by Lord Carnarvon to the Governorship of the Mauritius, from which post he retired in 1878, having attained, in the previous year, the rank of Lieutenant-General, with the additional honour of the Grand Cross of

St. Michael and St. George. The last seven years of his life were passed in what may be called an honourable retirement, from which he only emerged to contribute some paper on the subject with which his name was identified to one or other of the learned societies.

In the same month the following deaths also took place:—On the 1st, at Sheffield, aged 56, **George Wilson**, of Bannercross, the chairman and managing director of Messrs. Cammell & Co.'s Cyclops Steel and Iron Works. On the same date, at Hastings, aged 68, **General Robert Wardlaw, C.B.**, Colonel of 7th Dragoon Guards, who commanded the 1st Dragoon Guards in the Crimean War. On the 2nd, aged 50, on board ship, **Major-General Sir Peter Scratchley, K.C.M.G.**, the Special Commissioner for the protected territory of New Guinea. He was the son of Dr. John Scratchley, of the Royal Artillery, and had served in the Crimea and in India. He acted for some time as Commissioner of Defences for five of the Australian colonies, and as Military Adviser to the Agent-General for Victoria in London. On the same date, at the Vicarage, Pinner, aged 72, **Rev. William Henry Pinnock, D.C.L., LL.D.**, a voluminous writer upon ecclesiastical law and usages, and the editor of "Pinnock's Catechisms of the Arts and Sciences." On the 3rd, aged 47, **Colonel the Hon. Walter Rodolph Trefusis, C.B.** The son of the nineteenth Lord Clinton, he served with the Scots Fusiliers in the Crimea, and more recently distinguished himself in the Soudan campaign. His death took place on the day on which the polling took place for the division of Devon, for which he was the Conservative candidate. On the 4th, at Calderwood Castle, aged 57, **Sir William Maxwell**, of Calderwood, Lanarkshire; succeeded as tenth baronet in 1870. On the 6th, at Berlin, aged 64, **Dr. Wolfgang Strassman**, President of the Municipal Council there. As a doctor for the poor he had gained wide popularity, and the history of the development of the modern city of Berlin is inseparably connected with his name. On the 7th, in Bayswater, aged 87, **Sir Alexander Reid, Bart.** Formerly a merchant in Brazil, he acted there for twenty-five years as Consul-General for the Argentine Republic. He was the son of the late Sir John Alexander Reid, of Barra, Aberdeenshire, and succeeded his brother as eighth baronet in 1845. On the 9th, aged 65, **Hermann Heinrich Becker**, the chief burgomaster of Cologne, and a member of the German Reichstag, where he belonged to the Progressist party. Early in life he had suffered many years' imprisonment on account of his advocacy of the popular cause during the movements in the Rhine provinces. On the same date, at Ueberlingen, Lake of Constance, aged 79, **Xavier Ullesberger**, the well-known palæontologist, whose special distinction was that of having discovered the lacustrine villages on the Lake of Constance. On the 12th, aged 76, **David Cox**, an Associate Exhibitor of the Society of Painters in Water Colours, and the son of the famous water-colour artist of that name. On the 11th, at Shepherd's Bush Green, aged 81, **James Fahey**, one of the Founders of the New Society of Painters in Water Colours, of which during four years he was the Secretary. On the 14th, at Dover, aged 42, **Sir Hew Crawford-Pollok**, of Pollok, Renfrewshire, fifth baronet. On the 16th, at Cannes, aged 81, **Right Hon. Henry James Baillie**, of Redcastle, Ross-shire. He was at one time M.P. for Inverness-shire, one of the joint secretaries of the Board of Control during the Derby Administration of 1852, and Under-Secretary of State for India in 1858. On the 18th, at Rome, aged 73, **Morris Moore**, whose name has been for many years associated in Italy with that of Raphael by his purchase of the painter's house where he founded a museum. On the 19th, at Sydling Court, Dorchester, aged 34, **Dudley Francis North**, seventh Earl of Guildford, the son of Lord North, who died in 1860, and who succeeded his grandfather in the earldom. On the same date, at Liverpool, **Stephen Barker Guion**, the originator of "the Guion line of steamers"; an American by birth, but a naturalised Englishman. On the 20th, in Dawson Place, Bayswater, aged 70, **Captain Sir Frederick J. O. Evans, R.N., K.C.B., F.R.S.**, many years hydrographer to the Admiralty. Entering the navy as a master, he acquired a high reputation as a surveying officer. When superintendent of the compass department of the Admiralty, he devoted much attention to the science of terrestrial magnetism in relation to iron ships, and, in conjunction with Mr. Archibald Smith, F.R.S., he published the "Admiralty Manual for Ascertaining and Applying the Deviation of the Compass." On the 22nd, **Baron Carlos von Gagern**, a German

nobleman of democratic principles, who, being obliged to quit the Prussian Army during the period of revolution, went to Mexico, where he commanded a regiment. He was recently sent by the Republic as Military Attaché to its Legation at Madrid, but he soon resigned the post, and devoted himself to journalism. On the 24th, at Ravenstone Castle, Wigtownshire, aged 72, **Right Hon. Cunninghame**, eleventh Lord Borthwick, a representative peer for Scotland. He was the son of Patrick Borthwick, a banker of Edinburgh, and in 1870 established his claim to the Barony of Borthwick, which had been dormant since 1772. He was for some years a member of the firm of Borthwick, Wark & Co., stockbrokers, of London. On the 26th, at the Palace, Armagh, aged 84, **Most Rev. and Right Hon. Marcus Gervais Beresford**, D.D., LL.D., Oxon., Lord Primate of Ireland. He was the son of the late Right Hon. George de la Poer Beresford, Bishop of Kilmore, and was, before his elevation to the Primacy, himself Bishop of the United See of Kilmore, Elphin, and Ardagh. Since the disestablishment of the Church he had taken an active part in the general synods. On the same date, at Torquay, aged 63, **Sir Walter Medhurst**, for many years Consul at Shanghai. Commencing his thirty-seven years of labour in China as a youth in the Chinese Secretary's office, he acquired such a knowledge of the language as to be one of the first eligible for appointment to the responsible office of consular interpreter. From this period he was actively employed, and was for a time Secretary and Registrar to the Plenipotentiary, and Chief Superintendent of Trade. Also on the same date, aged 79, **Rev. Charles Portalis Golightly**, formerly of Oxford, well known in the early Tractarian days as an energetic opponent of the High Church movement. On the 27th, in Caversham Road, N.W., aged 72, **Samuel Birch**, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., Keeper of the Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, and the author of numerous and valuable works upon Egyptian, Assyrian, and mediæval antiquities. A member of several foreign learned societies, he was twice sent to Italy by Government to report on collections there. In conjunction with the late W. R. Cooper he founded the Society of Biblical Archæology. He was the son of S. Birch, D.D., Rector of St. Mary's, Woolnoth. On the same date, at Pisa, **Countess Rosa de' Mirafiori**, themorganatic wife of King Victor Emmanuel. On the 28th, in London, **Rev. Thomas John Main**, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Chaplain in the Royal Navy. He was for thirty-four years Professor of Mathematics at the Royal Naval College, Portsmouth, and was the author of various works on the marine steam-engine. On the 30th, at Compton Place, Eastbourne, aged 76, **Lady Fanny Howard**, the wife of Frederick John Howard, formerly member for Youghal. She was the daughter of the Hon. William Cavendish, and grand-daughter of the first Earl of Burlington, and was raised to the rank of a duke's daughter on her brother succeeding his cousin as Duke of Devonshire. On the 31st, at Malta, aged 73, **Charles MacIver**, one of the founders of the Cunard Steamship Company. When quite young he went to the United States as a coffee and cotton planter, but, returning to England, he became associated with the late Sir Samuel Cunard and Mr. John Burns in the establishment of the British and North American Mail Steam Packet Company. From the outset of the Volunteer movement Mr. MacIver maintained an artillery brigade, composed of 500 men in the employ of the firm.

INDEX.

The figures between [] refer to PART I.

ABERDEEN, British Association at, Sir Lyon Playfair, President, 54

ACCIDENTS.—Aberdale Colliery, explosion, 38; Brussels tramcars, collision, 7; Bury, steam tramcar overturned, 20; Chancelade Quarries, near Périgueux, fell in, 61; Chatham Pier, 45; Chester, excursion train, collision, 47; Cincinnati and Tennessee Railway tunnel, 35; Civita Vecchia, explosion, 52; Clifton Hall Colliery, explosion, 37; Cologne, fall of houses, 45; Dudweiler Colliery, Saarbrück, explosion, 39; Eugene Road, Rotherhithe, gas explosion, 23; Fencehouses Collieries, Durham, inundation, 33; Highland Railway, fell over embankment into the sea, 65; *Inflexible*, the, explosion, 34; Karwin Coalmines, Moravia, explosion, 18; Lièvre Colliery, explosion, 4; Lucca Gunpowder Mill, explosion, 38; Metropolitan District Railway, collision, 51; Newry and Besbrook Electric Tramway, collision, 48; North Staffordshire express, collision, 5; Ostram, Moravia, explosion, 18; Penniston Railway, excursion train, 1; Rhondda Valley, colliery explosion, 70; Saarbrücken Collieries, explosion, 16; Scotch limited mail, Wolverhampton, collision, 2; Sloane Street, sewer, bursting of, 34; Taylor pit, Wigan, explosion, 70; Thiers (Puy-de-Dôme), 35; Tropham, Silesia, explosion, 18; Usworth Colliery, explosion, 13

AÉROLITE, fall of, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, 55

AÉRONAUTICS.—Ascent from West Brompton, 41; Centenary fêtes at Guines, 31; M. Dubois' and M. Ferrenga's ascent from Antwerp, 15; M. Lille picked up in the Channel, 36

ÆSCHYLUS' tragedy of the *Eumenides* acted in Greek by members of the University, 66

AFGHAN frontier dispute referred to arbitration, 26

AFGHANISTAN.—BOUNDARY question, [309]; Frontier Commission [313]; Lumsden, Sir Peter, recalled [312]; Penjdeh taken [311]; Rawál Pindi, meeting between Lord Dufferin and the Amir [314]; Russian advance [310]

AFRICA. *Vide* Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Cape Colony, Congo, Egypt, Madagas-

AFRICA, *continued*.

car, Mauritius, Natal, Transvaal, Zululand.

— SOUTH, Bechuanaland annexed by Great Britain, 35; Transvaal Government suspended payment, 46

AGRICULTURAL Show, the Royal, opened at Preston, 43

ALBANY, Duke of, the body removed to the sarcophagus in the royal vault, 39

— National Memorial Hospital opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales, 41

ALBERT Victor, Prince, came of age, 3

ALBERT Palace, Battersea Park, opened by the Lord Mayor, 34

ALEXANDER of Bulgaria, Prince, proclaimed Sovereign of the United Provinces of Roumelia and Bulgaria, 55; dismissed from his honorary colonelcy in the Russian army, 62

— Mr. J., diamond merchant, shot, 81

ALEXANDRA Palace and Park reopened by Lord George Hamilton, 20

ALSACE-LORRAINE, result of German rule [239]

AMBADO, in the Somalis country, annexed by the English Government, 52

AMÉRICA, 369. *Vide* Brazil, Canada, Chili and Peru, Mexico, West Indies, United States

— CENTRAL. — BARRIOS, Gen., proclaims his design of re-uniting the States [383]; Colombia, United States [383]; San Salvador attacked [383]

AMSTERDAM, New National Museum of Fine Arts opened, 42; procession and meeting to pass resolutions against capitalists, 55

ANGRA Pequena, report of its mineral wealth by Herr Pohle, 60

ANTI-COOLIE League, details published, 68

ANTWERP Exhibition opened, 25

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC. — AVELLANEDA, Dr., death of [388]; Budget [388]; railway system developed [388]; specie payments, suspension of [388]

ARMSTRONG, Eliza, abduction case, 53

ART, retrospect of.—BRITISH Museum, 104

GROSVENOR Gallery, 105

NATIONAL Gallery, the, 103; National Portrait Gallery, 104

ROYAL Academy of Arts, 104

SALES, 106

SOUTH Kensington Museum, 104

- ASIA, CENTRAL.—BHOOTAN, disturbances in [317]; Cashmere, earthquake in [316]; Dalgleish, Mr., expelled [315]; Lockhart, Col., expedition to Gilgit and the Chitral region [315]; Nepaul, troubles in [316]; north and north-west frontiers [315]
- AUSTRALASIA 391. *Vide* Fiji, New Guinea, New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, Tasmania, Victoria
- AUSTRALIA.—The Federal Council Act [392, 399]; offer of troops for the Soudan [391]
- SOUTH, 401. DOWNER, Mr., forms a new Cabinet [401]; resolution in favour of admitting single women to the franchise, 401
- WEST [402]. FREMANTLE Harbour [402]; railway enterprise [402]
- AUSTRALIAN Colonies, the Representatives of the, received by the Duke of Cambridge, and Lords Hartington and Morley, 13
- AUSTRALIAN Contingent inspected by Lord Wolseley, 29
- AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.—BRUNN, labour riot, 36
- CIS-LEITHAN Parliament opened [253]; Czerkavski, M., and Herr Klotz [252]
- EAST Roumelian revolution [256]; EASTERN question [256]; ELECTIONS [252]; EMPEROR and Empress visit the Emperor of Germany at Gastein, 48
- GERMANY, relations with [254]
- HUNGARIAN Diet, thirty life-peers appointed, 34; Parliament opened [253]
- PESTH exhibition opened, 25
- STORMS and waterspouts, 43
- TEMESVAR Post Office blown up, 16
- VIENNA, newspaper strike [251]; Opera House, restrictions on ladies' dress, 56; Skating Club, fancy dress ball given on the ice, 6
- BANK of England, rate of discount reduced, 7, 16, 26, 29, 32; raised, 69
- BANTRY Bay, sham fight in, 39
- BARING, Mr. Edward, peerage conferred on, 38
- BARTHOLDI's statue of "Liberty" received at New York, 37
- BASS, Mr. M. T., statue to the late, at Derby, unveiled by Sir W. Harcourt, 59
- BASUTOLAND [360]. DISTURBANCES in, [361]; hut-tax [362]
- BATTENBERG, Prince Henry Maurice of, took the oath of allegiance, 47
- BEATRICE, Princess, married to Prince Henry of Battenberg, 44
- BECHUANALAND.—HONEY, Mr. James, his murderers arrested [357]; official limits [355]; pacification of [359]; Rhodes, Mr., his resignation [358]; Robinson, Sir H., his relations with Sir C. Warren [357]; Warren, Sir C., his policy in Stellaland [356]; popularity [359]; recalled [360]
- BEEs, a swarm of, alighted on a man in Regent Street, 42
- BELGIANS, King of the, congratulatory address from the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, 26
- BELGIUM.—CONGO States [281]
- EDUCATION, National [279]
- ELECTORAL reform [279]
- LEOPOLD II., elected chief of Congo [281]
- MONETARY Union [280]
- TAXES [281]
- "BENBOW," H.M. ship, launched, 36
- BETTING-HOUSE Act at Manchester, infringement of, 30
- BIRKBECK Institution opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales, 41
- BIRMINGHAM Corporation Museum and Fine Art Gallery, first stone laid by the Prince of Wales, 66
- BISMARCK, Prince, his colonial policy [67]; on abstaining from work on Sunday [236]; celebration of his seventieth birthday, 20
- Count Herbert, arrived on a special mission from Berlin, 13
- BOATS, twelve steel, for use on the Nile, left the Clyde in the *Parthia*, 23
- BOMBAY, judgment given in the case of Sir Munguldass Nuthoobhoy, 23
- BOOTH, Bramwell, charged with the Armstrong abduction case, 53, 56, 63
- BORNEO, British North [406]; coal extensively developed [407]; discovery of gold [407]; fanatical outbreak [407]; revenue [406]
- "BOSPHORE EGYPTIEN," the, at Cairo, 30
- BOURSES, European, panic in, 22
- BOYDELL, Charles H., arrested at Vienna for writing threatening letters to Mr. Gladstone, 49
- BRADLAUGH, Mr., application for a new trial refused, 7
- BRAZIL.—EMANCIPATION Bill, the Saraiva [387]; Misiones boundary question [388]
- BRITISH flag, the, hoisted on the Louisades, Woodlark Island, the Huon Gulf, and D'Entrecasteaux Island, 6
- BROWNING Society, the, annual entertainment, 64
- BRUNSWICK succession [288]
- Diet, the, elect Prince Albrecht of Prussia Regent, 60
- BRUSSELS, outrage on the royal cortège, 21; grand historical procession in commemoration of the introduction of railways, 50
- BULGARIA, war declared by Servia against, 64
- BULLFIGHT at Vittoria, onslaught by a bull, 48
- BURMAH.—BHAMO in the possession of banditti [317]; Bombay and Burmah Trading Company, breach of contract [318]; Dacoits [320]; European employes killed and imprisoned [320]; expedition under Gen. Prendergast and Col. Slade [319]; Mandalay, occupation of [320]; Theebaw, King, endeavours to raise money [318]; sent to Rangoon [320]; war declared against the king, 64; Pagan captured, 65; King Theebaw sends a flag of truce, 65
- BURNE Jones, Mr. E., associate of the Royal Academy, 38
- BURNS, the poet, relics sold at Ayr, 47

- CABINET, resignation of, accepted, 35
 CAMBRIDGE, decision against the claims of the undergraduates to vote, 56; upheld by the Divisional Court of Appeal, 61
 "CAMEL Corps," the Guards', reached London, 43
 CAMEROONS, the [366]; agreement between Germany and Great Britain [367]; German expedition [366]; King Bell [366]
 CANADA [377]. FORT Pitt seized by the Indians, 23; forces attacked at Tub Creek, 24; Montreal, outbreak of small-pox [379]; riots on the attempt to enforce the Compulsory Vaccination Act [379], 57; Riel, Louis, his rebellion [377], 17; education [378]; tried for high treason and executed [379], 48; Williams, Col., tendered his services for garrison duty in England, 9
 CANARY Islands, the, refuse from fear of cholera to admit to their ports any vessels from the home country, 51
 CANTERBURY Cathedral Crypt, discoveries of richly carved fragments of stone, 10
 CAPE COLONY.—DEFENCES, proposed [354]; Finances, [354]; Pondoland, British protectorate over [353]
 CARNARVON, Lord, his state entry into Dublin, 41
 CAROLINE Islands, or New Philippines, colonised by Spain, 49; dispute, the Pope's award, 64
 "CELTIC," the, robbery of the Government despatches on board, 11
 CHAMBERLAIN, Mr., at the Working Men's dinner at Birmingham, 2
 CHANNEL Squadron, the, telegraphic orders to prepare at once for sea, 1
 —Tunnel Bill, second reading rejected, 28
 CHANZY, Gen., statue to his memory and the army of the Loire unveiled at Le Mans, 50
 CHARNWOOD Forest Railway Company, frauds in, 22
 CHESTER Cathedral, new baptistery opened, 58
 CHILI and PERU [389]; Caceres, victory of [389]; civil war [389]; deposits of gold and silver discovered [390]; financial condition [390]; Iglesias resigns [389]; Paraguay, settlement of external debt [390]; Venezuela, prosperity of [390]
 CHINA, 330.—ANNAM, affairs in [333]
 BANGBO, French troops retire, 17
 FORMOSA, the French in [331]
 GOLD, discovery in Manchuria [336]
 LANG-SÖN, retreat from [332]; occupied by General Brière de Lisle, 10; LIKIN tax, the [335]
 OPIUM treaty with England [335]
 PRESS, native [336]
 RAILWAY construction [336]. RUSSIAN troops, collision with [337]
 SHANSI, Roman coins discovered, 62
 TONQUIN, the French in [332]; troops repulsed, 19. TREATY of peace [334]
 CHINA Town adjoining Tacoma, burnt, 62
 CHINESE squadron, two of the ships blown up by Admiral Courbet, 11
 CHOLERA.—At Brest, 62; Conegliano and Venice, 68; Marseilles, 30, 47; Ponzone in Italy, 52; Sicily, 55; Spain [289], 35; official returns of, in Spain, 38
 CHURCH, the, address by Lord Egerton of Tatton against disestablishment, 62
 CISCO, Messrs. John & Sons, New York, suspended payment, 5
 CIVIL Contingencies Fund discussed, 16
 CLIFTON, Lady Bertha Delgarda, co-heiress of the Barony of Grey de Ruthin, 67
 CLOSURE, the, applied for the first time in the House of Commons, 12
 COBDEN Club Annual Dinner, 36
 COCHIN China, revolt in [215]
 COLDSTREAM Guards, the 1st Battalion reach London, 54
 COLE, Police Constable, the Albert Order conferred on him, 7; presented to him by Sir W. Harcourt, 17
 COLERIDGE, Samuel Taylor, his bust unveiled in Westminster Abbey, 27
 COLLIERY explosions, number of, 70
 COLON, two men hanged for complicity in burning, 20
 COLONNA da Galatio, Prince Fernando, his marriage with Miss Mackay, 9
 CONFERENCE at St. James's Hall for the suppression of vice and immorality, 51
 CONGO Free State.—Berlin Conference, result of [239], [365]; four districts [366]; European settlements [364]; explorations [365]; National flag, 70; Railways [366]
 CONNELL, the woman murdered by Nicholas Archibald, buried, 6
 COOKE & Co., Messrs. William, of Sheffield, their men offered to do a week's work for nothing, 17
 COOMBS, Mrs., charged with the Armstrong abduction case, 53; 56
 CO-OPERATIVE Congress at Oldham, inaugural address, 31
 COREA.—CHINA, treaty with, confirmed [339]; condition of the inhabitants [339]; Möllendorf, Herr von, his treaty with Russia [338]; Port Hamilton, British occupation of [340]; British flag hoisted, 20
 CORK Steam Packet Company, meeting to consider the threat of the South Ireland Cattle Association, 59
 CREMATION, Mrs. Pickersgill's body burnt, 17; adopted for the remains of bodies dissected in the Paris hospitals, 50
 CRICKET match, Eton and Harrow, 42; University, 40
 CRIMINAL CASES.—ALT, Henry, hanged at Newgate, 43; Armstrong abduction case, 53, 56, 63
 CUNNINGHAM and Burton charged with being concerned in causing the explosion at the Tower, 9, 18, 30
 DUDLEY, Mrs. Lucilla, shooting O'Donovan Rossa, 39
 FLINT, Joseph, murder of his wife, 4
 GASPARD, the assassin of Mr. Delaunay, executed, 49. Goodale, Robert, executed at Norwich, 66
 JAY, Horace J., hanged for murdering his sweetheart, 4. Joyse, Peter, *alias* Larry

CRIMINAL CASES, *continued*

- Mack, convicted of a libel on Mr. R. C. Jarvis, 18
- KIRTON, Walter, issuing forged tickets for the Aston Grounds, 11
- LEE, James, murder of Inspector Simmons, 25; hanged at Chelmsford, 30.
- Lee, John, sentenced to death for the murder of Miss Keyse, 8; commuted, 11. Lieske beheaded at Cassel, 64
- MAGEE, John, and his wife for threatening the life of the Prince of Wales, 69.
- Malcolm, John, *alias* McDonald, guilty of bigamy, 56. Marchandon executed for the murder of Madame Cornet, 49.
- Mourez, Madame, six months' imprisonment with hard labour, 63
- NORMAN, Henry, hanged for the murder of his wife, 58
- OSTROVSKAIA, Rachel, fifteen years' hard labour for child murders, 2
- REDSTONE, Emily, attempting to drown two children, 8. Reed, a negro, lynched for murdering a girl, 70. Reinsdorff and Kütchler executed in the Halle prison, 8. Riel, Louis, sentenced to death, 60; hanged at Regina, 64. Ryan, Miles, seven years' penal servitude for the abduction of Mary Harger, 13
- SHORT, tried for the attempted murder of Phelan, and acquitted, 27
- THAMES Police Court, seven men charged with resisting the police, 56. Tucker, Joseph, executed at Nottingham, 47
- WELDON, Mrs., found guilty of libel on M. Rivière, 19. Williams and Hill executed for the murder of Ann Dickson, 65
- YATES, Mr. Edmund, sentenced to four months' imprisonment, 5
- CYCLONES.—Alabama, 62; Orissa Coast, 56; Persian Gulf, 33; Philadelphia, 47; Philippine Islands, 63; Sicily and Southern Italy, 59
- DARWIN, Charles, statue of, unveiled in the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, by the Prince of Wales, 35
- DAVIS, Police Constable, shot, 43
- DAWLISH, Lee Mount, fall of cliff, 52
- DEKEIREL, M., tried at Douai and acquitted, 33
- DENMARK.—BERG, M., arrested [301]. BUDGET [298], [301]
- ESTRUP, M., his Budget [301]; attempted assassination [302]
- MINISTRY, change in [304]
- POPULAR Meetings [300]. PROVISIONAL legislation [303]
- RIFLE Clubs abolished [300]
- DEVY, Miss, restrained from publishing the letters of the Lords Lytton, 3
- DIAPASON, the normal, adoption sanctioned for the Queen's private band, 4
- DIGGLE, Rev. J., elected chairman of the School Board for London, 67
- DINORMIC Quarries, three thousand quarrymen locked out, 61
- DISESTABLISHMENT in Scotland [178]
- DIVISIONAL Court, the, its decisions respecting votes, 61, 62
- DOGS, police regulation about, 67

- DONKEY, case of a long-lived one, 60
- DORMER, Lord, epileptic seizure in the House of Lords, 28
- DOULTON, Mr. Henry, presented with the Albert medal of the Society of Arts, by the Prince of Wales, 69
- DRAMA.—BANCROFT, Mr. and Mrs., retirement of, 111; Burlesque, 107; Comic Opera, 110; French and German work, 109; Melodrama, 106; Revivals, 108
- DUELS.—M. Dekeirel, 33; M. Rulhière and Pasteur Ducaux, 41
- DUMONT, Gabriel, arrested and set at liberty, 32
- DURHAM, the Earl of, his case dismissed with costs, 14
- DYNAMITE.—Admiralty, the, 24; Barrow Steel Works, 3; House of Commons [18], 6; Metropolitan Railway, near Gower Street, 1; New York, the statue of Major André, 62; Temesvar Post Office, 16; Tower of London [17], 6; Warminster Old Town Hall, 4; the authorities at the Post Office, British Museum, and Inland Revenue received anonymous information of an early attack, 7
- ST. EANSWIDE, lead reliquary with her remains discovered at Folkestone, 38
- EARTHQUAKES.—Algeria, 67; Bengal, [324]; Gibraltar, 32; Granada, 12, 59; Kindberg and Canary Islands, 52; Lake District, 40; Malaga, 8, 12, and the mountains round Torro, 8; Muzuporabad, Cashmere, 37; Rome, Frosinone, and Avezzano, 22; Rungpur, Bengal [324], 44; Spain [287], 4; Srinagar, 32; Susa and Velletri, 2; Venice, 70; Yorkshire and Argyllshire 37
- EAST London Industrial Exhibition opened by the Princess Louise and Marquess of Lorne, 26
- ECCLESIASTICAL.—ST. ALBAN'S Abbey, the restored nave opened, 60
- BICKERSTETH, Rev. E. H., nominated Bishop of Exeter, 8; consecrated, 25.
- Butler, Rev. R. H. Montagu, Dean of Gloucester, 10
- CHURCH Congress, the 25th, at Portsmouth, 58. Compton, Lord Alwyne, bishop of Ely. Cross, archiepiscopal, presented to the Archbp. of Canterbury, 25
- EDGHILL, Rev. J. C., Chaplain in General of the Forces, 4
- KING, Rev. E., Bishop of Lincoln, 8; consecrated, 25
- TEMPLE, Dr., translated to the See of London, 7; installed Bishop, 21
- WALSH, Dr., appointed Archbishop of Dublin [200], 39
- WORDSWORTH, Canon, appointed Bishop of Salisbury, 50
- EGYPT.—ABU KLEA, battle of [341] 5. Abyssinian expedition, [353]. ARAB attack of zariba [346]. AUSTRALIAN contingent, arrival of [346]
- BERBER railway abandoned [347]. *Le Bosphore Egyptien*, suppressed [350]
- CASUALTIES, total, in army and navy, from July 1882, to March 1884, 14

EGYPT, *continued.*

- DALKA attacked by Gen. Earle, 9. DONGOLA, retreat from [347].
 GORDON, Gen., death of [344.] GRAHAM, Sir G., his engagement near Suakin, 16
 KASSALA garrison surrendered, 47.
 KHARTOUM, fall of [343], 7. KHEDIVE, the, tour of inspection through the Delta [351]. KORTI, arrival of the last convoy of sick and wounded, 13.
 KOSHEB attacked by Arabs, 68
 LOAN of £9,000,000 [349]
 MAHDI, the death of [348]. MASSOWAH occupied by the Italians [352]. MCNEILL, Sir John, his troops surprised by the Arabs, 17
 NILE Expedition, the [340]; casualties from Sept. 1884, to Jan. 1885, 15
 SUAKIN, projected expedition from [345], and railway [345]
 WOLFF, Sir H. Drummond, arrival at Cairo [351]
 EGYPTIAN 3 per cent. guaranteed by the European Powers, 46
 ELECTION, the General [201]
 ELECTIONS, General, results of polling since 1859, 69
 ELWYN, Canon, elected to the Mastership of the Charterhouse, 38
 ERRINGTON, Sir George, his letter to Lord Granville, in the *United Ireland* [200]
 ESTRUP, M., Danish Prime Minister, fired at by Rasmussen, 60
 "ETRURIA," Cunard Line steamer, quick passage from New York, 48; from Queenstown to Sandyhook, 51

- FENIANS and members of the dynamite party, meetings, held at Paris, 12
 FERRAN, Dr., of Alcira, his inoculating for cholera, 30; experiments stopped by the Spanish Government, 31
 FIJI, annexation to New Zealand proposed, [404]; indemnity claims of German subjects, [404]
 FINCH, Hon. Charles, his right to be Earl of Aylesford and Baron Guernsey admitted, 40
 FIRES.—ABERYSTWITH, 41
 ADRIANOPLE, English Consulate, 48
 ALDERSGATE Street, Charter House Buildings, 58
 AMPTON Hall, Bury St. Edmund's, 2
 ANCRUM House, near Jedburgh, 11
 BELVEDERE Road, Waterloo Bridge, 43
 BERLIN, Old Palace of Monbijou, 30
 BERMONDSEY, 41
 BRADFORD, Mitchell Bros., 30
 BRENTWOOD Lodge, 25
 BUCKNELL Street, Bloomsbury, 50
 CAMBERWELL timber-yards, 27
 CHICAGO, 70
 CHINA Town, near Tacoma, 62
 CINCINNATI, 30
 CRYSTAL Palace, printing-room, 69
 EAST HAM, Abbey Mills, 26
 ERITH, Belvedere oil-mills, 19
 EXETER Theatre, 8
 GALVESTON, Texas, 64
 GRODNO, West Russia, 35
 HAMBURG, Exhibition Hall, 29

FIRES, *continued.*

- HAREWOOD House, near Leeds, 56
 HAYMARKET Theatre, 10
 HOVODENKA, in the Bukovina, 41
 HULL, seed-crushing mills, 15
 INVENTIONS Exhibition, 36
 KENNINGTON Road, timber yard, 52
 KINECHMA, Russia, 46
 KIZIL-AVAT, railway material, 34
 KNUZDEN Brook, cotton mill, 11
 JAPANESE Village, Albert Gate, 25
 KURSH, Russia, 43
 LAMBETH Pottery Works, 38
 LANDECK, in the Tyrol, 51
 LEEDS, Yorkshire College, 68
 LOWESTOFT Pier, 39
 MAIDENHEAD, railway station, 62
 MANCHESTER, Behrens & Co., 63
 NEW KENT Road, Elephant and Castle Theatre, 46
 OXFORD Street, 14, 26
 ST. OVEN, near Paris, 41
 PARIS, Batignolles quarter, 44
 ST. PETERSBURG, 46
 PHILADELPHIA, lunatic ward, 9
 PLYMOUTH, Looe Street, 68
 RESHT, on the Caspian, 44
 ROCHESTER Row, Westminster, 27
 ROTHERHITHE, 22
 SOUTHWARK Street, 67
 SUFFOLK, Western Virginia, 34
 SUNDUSKY, Ohio, lunatic asylum, 64
 TORONTO, 47
 UNION Street, Borough, 24
 WARSAW, 43
 WESTBOURNE Grove, Whiteley's, 37
 WILLIAMSBURG, Western Virginia, lunatic asylum, 34
 WOODFORD Bridge, Essex, St. Paul's Church, 33
 FIRES in the metropolis, number of, 70
 FISH, Mr. J. D., of the Marine Bank, New York, guilty of embezzlement, 39
 FITZROY, the Misses, burnt to death, 70
 FLOES and icebergs between Europe and America, 28
 FRANCE.—BRISSON, M., his Cabinet [209]. Budget [221]
 CAMPENON, Gen., resigns [203]. Clergy, attitude of [218]. Courcy, Gen. de, sent to Tonquin [209].
 FERRY, M., resigns [207]; his ministry dismissed [19]; its impeachment discussed [213]. Floquet, M., President of the Chamber of Deputies [210]. Freycinet, M., fails to form a ministry [208]
 GENERAL Election, result of, 57. Grévy, M., re-elected President, 70
 HUGO, Victor, death of [211]; funeral [212], 32. Hyères, the fêtes of the *Félibres* celebrated, 32
 PARIS, Anarchists, meeting of, 9; Boujereau, M., the chief *médaille d'honneur* awarded him, 32; Bourse, political meeting at, 55; Election disturbances, 58; Ste. Geneviève Church secularised and used as a burying-place, 31; Louis XIV.'s throne offered for sale, 23; National fête, anti-English demonstration, 43; Père la Chaise, rioting at, 31; subsidence of the Pont Neuf, 68
 REVENUE, total [222]

FRANCE, continued.

SCRUTIN de Liste confirmed [206] ; Bill modified [213]. Senatorial elections [204]
 TONQUIN expedition, vote of money [209] ; treaty with China [209] ; Committee of inquiry [219]
 VALLES, Jules, his funeral [206]. Vote, the Radical [216]
 WHEAT, foreign, taxed [205]
 "FRANCISCO Moresini," ironclad, launched at Venice, 46
 FRASER, Mr. J., his claim to the Lovat title and estates not admitted, 39
 FREDERICK Charles of Prussia, funeral, 37
 FREYCINET, M., fired at by Mariotti, 61

GARDINER, Mr. George, his peculiar will, 3
 GAS undertakings, Parliamentary returns, relating to, 2

GERMANY.—ALSACE-Lorraine, result of German rule [239]

BERLIN, old palace of Monbijou burnt, 30. BISMARCK's foreign policy [239]
 BRUNSWICK succession [238]
 CAMEROONS, the [241]. CAROLINE Islands, Spanish claims [249]. COLOGNE, fall of two houses, 45. COLONIAL relations with England [245]. CONGO conference [239]. CORN Duty [232]
 EASTERN questions [251]. EXCHANGE duties, tax on [237]
 FIJI, settlement of claims of German subjects in [240]. FRANKFORT-on-Maine, burial of a Social Democrat, 44 ; five English gentlemen detained, 51.
 FOREIGN policy [248]
 IMPERIAL message about the expulsion of the Poles [234]. INCOME-tax [237]. INTERNATIONAL telegraph conference, 51
 MANTEUFFEL, Field-Marshal, death of [238]
 NEW GUINEA, protectorate of [243]
 POLES, banishment of [233]. PROTECTORATES abroad [247]
 ROTHAN, M., expelled from Alsace-Lorraine [249]
 SUNDAY Labour Bill [236]
 "WHITE Book," the [243].
 ZANZIBAR, treaty of [247]
 GLADSTONE, Mr., announced the resignation of the Cabinet, 34 ; offered an earldom, 36 ; he and his colleagues deliver up their seals and insignia of office, 38 ; restores the "Mercat" Cross, 65
 GLENDALE, open-air meeting, 2 ; the Crofters tried at Portree, 16
 GORDON, General, special services for a day of public mourning for his death, 15 ; meeting of the Memorial Committee at the Mansion House, 15 ; grant of £20,000 to his family, 15
 GORILLA, a live, landed at Liverpool, 55
 GOSCHEN, Mr., his series of addresses at Edinburgh, 7 ; rejected by the Liberal Associations of Edinburgh, 12
 GOSSET, Capt., the Serjeant-at-arms, his intended resignation, 44
 GOETHE, sums received during his lifetime and by his heirs until 1865, 31
 GRANT, Gen., funeral at New York, 49 ;

GRANT, continued.

funeral services held in Westminster Abbey, 48
 GRAY, the poet, bust unveiled in the hall of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 81
 "GREAT EASTERN," the, sold by auction, 61
 GRÉVY, M., re-elected President of the French Republic, 70
 GRIMM, the Brothers, celebration of centenary, 2
 GUARDS, three detachments of, left for Egypt, 11 ; withdrawal, 29
 GUATEMALA Government, the, and construction of a railroad to St. Thomas, 2 ; suspend payment of interest for one year, 50
 GUERNSEY, fall of an enormous ball of fire into the sea, 6

HALL v. the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway, judgment delivered, 39

HATFIELDT, Count, succeeds Count Münster at the Court of St. James, 59

HENLEY, Sarah, jumped off the Clifton Suspension Bridge, 27

HERKOMER, Mr. H., A.R.A., elected Slade Professor at Oxford, 48

HOUSE of Commons, stringent regulations regarding the admission of strangers and reporters, 10

HUÉ, the French garrison at, attacked by the Annamites, 41

HUGO, Victor, death of [211] ; interment of [212], 32

HUGUES, Mme. Clovis, acquitted of the murder of Morin, 3

ICELAND, avalanche in Seydisford, 24

ILKESTON, Notts, rioting and wrecking property, 48

INTERNATIONAL Faith-healing Conference, commenced its sittings, 38

— Inventions Exhibition opened, 26 ; closed, 63

INDIA, BRITISH [321].—ADMINISTRATION, changes in [322]. ARMY Reforms [322]

BENGAL Tenancy Act [324]

COMMERCE [325]

DELEGATES, their mission [329]. DUFFERIN, Lady, her fund for the provision of medical aid for native women [329]

EARTHQUAKES, in Lower Bengal [325]

FINANCE [325]

GWALIOR, rendition of [322]

HYDERABAD jail, outbreak of prisoners [321]

JHANSI fort ceded to England [322]

LEGISLATION [324]

MISCELLANEOUS Events [329]. MOORSHEDABAD, bursting of the Lilita Kuri Embankment, 54

PENJDEH, Afghans attacked by the Russians, 20. PUBLIC Works [328]

RIOTS with the Moplahs [323] and of the Talávias [324]

SEASONS [322]

THAKUR of Palitána, death of [321].
 TRADE, state of [325]

- IRELAND.**—**DUBLIN**, address presented to the Prince of Wales by 10,000 Sunday School children, 24 ; illuminations in honour of his visit, 21 ; inaugural banquet, given by the Lord Mayor, 1 ; the stolen standard [197], and new city flag, 31
CASTLE Farm, attacked by "moon-lighters," Mr. Curtin fatally wounded, 64
ERRINGTON Letter, the, [199]
GENERAL Election, the [201]
MUNSTER Bank suspended payment, 43 ; aid refused by Government, 44
NATIONALIST demonstrations [199]
WALES, Prince of, his visit [195]
IRENE, Princess of Hesse, her confirmation at Darmstadt, 25
IRISH Revolutionary Party at Paris, their warning to the British Cabinet, 11
IRKUTSK, revolt of the prisoners, 10
IRVING, Mr. Henry, dinner at the "Criterion," 25
ITALY.—**AFRICA**, health of the troops, [227]. **AGRARIAN** distress [224-226]
BUDGET [231]
CABINET, the, remodelled [229]
ENGLAND, treaty with [222]
LAND-TAX, debate on the equalisation [230]
MANCINI, Signor, and the Pentarchy [226] ; resignation [228]. **MASSOWAH**, occupation of [230]
NAPLES to Benevento, train from, robbed, and guard murdered, 62
NAVY [232]
RAILWAY tariffs [224]. **ROME**, two ancient granaries discovered at Monte Testaccio, 48
SERINO, inauguration of the great reservoirs [226]
TURIN, outbreak of students [226]
- JACKSON**, Dr., the late Bishop of London, his funeral at Fulham, 3
JACQUES, *alias* Mussabini, charged with the Armstrong abduction case, 53, 56, 63
JAFFRAY Hospital, Birmingham, opened by Prince of Wales, 65
ST. JAMES' Park, the stall-holders ordered to close their booths, 53
JAPAN.—**CHINA**, treaty with [337] ; Roman Alphabet Association [337]
JAPANESE Village, the, at Albert Gate, opened by Sir Rutherford Alcock, 3
JARRETT, Rebecca, and the Armstrong abduction case, 53, 56, 63
JESUITS, the, vote for their expulsion from Jersey thrown out, 21
JEWELLERY robbery in Oxford Street, 49
JOHN of Austria, Archduke, rowed in a small boat from Linz to Vienna, 61
JUMBO, death, at St. Thomas, Ontario, 55
- KHARTOUM**, the fall of [19] ; opinions of the various newspapers [20] ; communication opened with, 5 ; carried by treachery, 7
- KOMAROFF**, Gen., his account of the attack on Penjdeh [71] ; presented with a diamond-hilted sword [261]
KORTI, telegram, about the Household Cavalry and men of the Royal Navy, 2
- LAURIE v. South-Western Railway**, 67
LAWN Tennis Championship at the Wimbledon Club Grounds, 42
LEEDS, Yorkshire College opened, 43
LEICESTER Secular Club, attempt to inaugurate Sunday cricket-playing, 38
LESSEPS, M. de, received at the French Academy, 24
LEWES Crofters and their sons tried at Stornoway, 11
LION, escape of, from a menagerie, 52
LITERATURE, retrospect of, 71. **WORKS OF THE SEASON**, principal :—
ABBOTT, Dr., "Francis Bacon," 86.
Arnold, Mr. Matthew, "Discourses in America," 98. **Mr. John Ashton**, "Old Times," 99. **Austin**, Mr. Alfred, 94
BAGWELL, Mr., "Ireland under the Tudors," 73. **Beaufort**, Duke of, and **Mr. Mowbray Morris**, "Hunting," 99. **Benson**, Mrs. M. E., "Russia," 73. **Boase**, Mr., "Register of the University of Oxford," 72. **Brackenbury**, Gen., "The River Column," 78. "Buckland, Life of Frank," 84. **Burke**, Mr., "Anecdotes of the Connaught Circuit," 74
CAIRD, Prof., "The Social Philosophy and Religion of Comte," 86. "Catalogue of books in the Library of the British Museum, printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of books in English printed abroad, to the year 1640," 102. **Cholmondeley-Pennell**, "Fishing," 99. **Christison**, Sir Robert, "Autobiography," 85. **Colquhoun**, Mr., "Amongst the Shans," 91. **Cross**, Mr., "George Eliot's Life," 82. **Crowe and Cavalcaselle**, Messrs., "Raphael," 100
DOBSON, Mr. Austin, "At the Sign of the Lyre," 93 ; "Steele," 98. **Doyle**, Mr., "The Official Baronage of England," 101
FITZPATRICK, Mr. W. J., "Father Thomas Burke," 85. **Forbes**, Mr. H. O., "Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago," 88. **Forbes-Leith**, Mr., "Narrative of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI." 72. **Fremantle**, Mr., "The World as the Subject of Redemption," 100. **Friedman**, "Anne Boleyn," 71
GORDON, Major-Gen., Journals of, at Khartoum, 79. **Gilbert**, Mr., "Landscape in Art before Claude and Salvator," 101. **Gosse**, Mr., "From Shakespeare to Pope," 97. "Greville's Memoirs," the, 84
HAMERTON, Mr., "Landscape," 101. **Hare**, Mr., "Studies in Russia," 88. **Harris**, Mr., "History of the Radical Party in Parliament," 74. **Hobart**, Lady, "Essays and Miscellaneous Writings

LITERATURE, *continued*

- of Vere Henry, Lord Hobart," 80.
 Hodgkin, Mr., "Italy and her Invaders," 78. "Holy Bible," the, 100. Hozier, Col., "Turenne," 78. Hughes, Mr. T. P., "Dictionary of Islam," 77. Hutton, Mr., "Selections from the Letters and Correspondence of Sir J. B. Burges," 82
 INGELow, Miss Jean, "Poems," 96
 JEAFFRESON, Mr., "The Real Shelley," 97. Johnston, Mr., "The Kilimanjaro Expedition," 90
 KEBBEL, Mr., "History of Toryism," 75
 LANSDELL, Dr., "Russian Central Asia," 89. "Lauderdale Papers," the, 72. Lee, Miss T. Melville, "Switzerland," 73. Leslie, Rev. R. J., "Charles Leslie," 85. Liddon, Canon, "Easter Sermons," 99. Lightfoot, Dr., "The Apostolic Fathers," 100. Low and Pulling, Messrs., "Dictionary of English History," 76. Lowe, Mr., "Prince Bismarck," 80. Lucy, Mr., "Diary of two Parliaments," 76. Lytton, Lord, "Glenaveril; or, the Metamorphoses," 95.
 MAINE, Sir Henry, "Popular Government," 75. Martineau, Dr., "Types of Ethical Theory," 86. Mullinger, Mr., "The University of Cambridge," 72
 NOBLE, Mr., "The Russian Revolt," 89
 O'BRIEN, Mr. Barry, "Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland, 1831-1881," 74
 PARKMAN, Mr., "Montcalm and Wolfe," 77. Pattison, Mr. Mark, "Memoirs," 83. Poole, Mr. Lane, "Letters and Journals of Jonathan Swift," 98. Powell, Mr. York, "History of England," 73
 RYE, Mr., "History of Norfolk," 88
 SAINTSBURY, Mr., "Marlborough," 84; "Specimens of English Prose Style," 98. Sendall, Mr., "Literary Remains of C. S. Calverley," 84. Shaw, Mr., "Madagascar and France," 90. Sidgwick, Mrs. C., "Norway," 73. Stanley, Mr. H. M., "The Congo and the Founding of its Free State," 88. Stephen, Sir James, "Story of Nuncomar," 81. Stephen, Mr. Leslie, "Dictionary of National Biography," 76; "Life of Henry Fawcett," 82. Stevenson, Mr. R. L., "A Child's Garden of Verses," 93. Swinburne, Mr., "Marino Faliero," 95. Symonds, Mr., "Wine, Women, and Song," 97
 TAYLOR, Sir Henry, "Autobiography," 81. Tennyson, Lord, "Tiresias," 92. Thompson, Mr., "Through Masai Land," 91. Thornton, Mr. Percy, "Harrow School and its Surroundings," 87. Tuer, Mr. Andrew, "Life of Bartolozzi," 85
 WALFORD, Mr., "Greater London," 87. Ward, Mr. Humphrey, "Men of the Reign," 77. Welsh, Mr., "Bookseller of the Last Century," 85. Wills, Mr., "Melchior," 94. Wilson, Col., "From Korti to Khartoum," 79
 YOUNG, Mr. Alexander, "Short History of the Netherlands," 73
 LLANBERIS Slate Quarries, demonstration of the men, 68
- LORD Mayor of London (Fowler) chosen for the remainder of the civic year, 22; preached the jubilee sermon at Brunswick Chapel, 39; entertained her Majesty's ministers at the Mansion House, 46
 — (Nottage) death of, 22; funeral, 23
 LUMSDEN, Sir Peter, ovation on reaching Charing Cross, 34
 LYCEUM Theatre, booking the seats in pit and gallery, given up, 27
- MACDONALD, Mr. J., his decision against the claims of the proprietor of the London Stock Exchange to vote, 57
 MADAGASCAR.—HOVA expedition [367]; Ranavalona, Queen, recognised by the French [368]; Trade [367]
 MADERA (California) stage coach from the Yosemite Valley robbed, 31
 MAHDI, the death of [348]
 MAITLAND, Major, claims the earldom of Lauderdale; judgment given in his favour, 44
 MANCHESTER, Bishop of (Dr. Fraser), funeral at Upton Nervet, 61
 — Ship Canal Bill allowed, 27, 46
 MANSION House Committee, meeting to abandon the idea of erecting a hospital at Port Said as a national memorial to General Gordon, 32
 MASKELYNE, J. N., damages awarded to him in his action for libel against Mr. Bishop, 4
 MASS meeting of the unemployed held in front of the Royal Exchange, 5; in Trafalgar Square 28; in Hyde Park on the prevalence of criminal vice, 51
 MASSOWAH, Gen. Gené, assumed the civil government of, 67
 MAURITIUS, right granted of electing their own representatives to the Legislative Council [368]
 "MERCAT" Cross, the, restored by Mr. Gladstone, 65
 "MERSEY," H.M. ship, launched at Chatham, 20
 MERSEY Tunnel traversed by the Mayors of Liverpool and Birkenhead, 10
 METEORS, upwards of 600 observed, 66
 MEXICO.—BARRIOS, Gen., attempt to force a union of the Central American States [380]; commerce and finance, [382]; customs tariff, new [382]; Diaz, President, his unpopularity [381]; drainage of the valley [382]; financial difficulties [380]; Nuovo Leon, the Governor deposed [381]; rebel prisoners drowned at Aspinwall, 28; waterspout over Jalisco and Guanaxajata, 34
 St. Michael's Church, Highgate, struck by lightning, 48
 MILE End, meeting at, 52
 MILITIA, the, and first-class reserves called out by proclamation, 11
 MILLAIS, Mr., baronetcy conferred on, 38
 MONETARY Convention of the "Latin Nations," 62
 "MONK," the disappearance of, in the Baltic, 64

MONTEFIORE, Sir Moses, funeral of, 47
 MOORE, Mr. Henry, Associate of the Royal Academy, 33
 MORMONS, the, emigration to "New Canaan," in the State of Chihuahua, 53
 MOUREZ, Madame, sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour, 63
 MUNICIPAL Elections, the, 62
 MUNSTER Bank suspended payment, 43; aid refused by Government, 44
 MUSIC, retrospect of.—BACH Choir, 114. BIRMINGHAM Festival, 115. BOROUGH of Hackney Choral Association, 114
 CRYSTAL Palace, 112; Handel Festival, 115
 ENGLISH work, 112
 HEREFORD, 162nd Festival, 116
 ITALIAN Opera, decadence of, 111
 LONDON Select Choir, 114
 NOVELLO'S new series of Oratorio Concerts, 114
 POPULAR Concerts, St. James's Hall, 114
 RICHTER Concerts, 113. ROYAL Albert Hall Society's Concerts, 113
 SACRED Harmonic Society, 113

NAISH, R. H. John, appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 24
 NANTES, the Edict of, bicentenary celebration of, in Canterbury Cathedral, 60
 NAPIER, Mr. A. S., Professor of English language and literature at Oxford, 32
 NATAL.—BULWER, Sir H., his departure [362]. Budget [362]. Coalfields [362]. Goldfields [362]
 NATIONALIST manifesto to the Irish electors of England and Scotland, 64
 NAVY, the, meeting at the Cannon Street Hotel, 23
 NETHERBY Hall, burglary at, 61
 NETHERLANDS.—BLICKHAUSEN, M. de, resignation [284]. BUDGET [283]
 CABINET, changes in [283]. CONSTITUTION, revision of [282]
 EDUCATION, primary [283]
 LUXEMBURG, question of succession [284]
 MILITARY service [282]
 SUCCESSION, Law of [282]
 NEW GUINEA.—BOUNDARY arrangements [405]; expedition to explore the unknown interior [406]; protectorate of [243]; Scratchley, Sir Peter, his efforts to establish a good understanding with the authorities [404]; his death [405]
 NEW SOUTH WALES.—CARRINGTON, Lord, succeeds Lord A. Loftus as Governor [395]; coast line, preparations for putting it in a better state of defence [393]; contingent to Suakin left Sydney [393], 13; Land Act, the new [394]; loan issued in London for public works [395]; Parliament opened by Lord A. Loftus [394]; *Récidivistes* from New Caledonia [394]; revenue and expenditure [395]; Suakin, arrival of first detachment, 19
 New York, Concordia Hall, fierce fight at a Socialist meeting, 8; the Flood Rock, known as Hell Gate, removed by dyna-

NEW YORK, *continued*
 mite, 58; Irish dynamite faction resolved that the Prince of Wales merited death, 19; a juror fined and imprisoned, 29
 NEW ZEALAND.—Customs duties revision [403]; gold-mining industry [403]; "homestead system" [403]; measures for defending the colony [402]
 NIAGARA Falls, the American, purchased by the New York State, 43
 NIHILIST conspiracy discovered at Warsaw, 57
 NILE expedition, casualties during the, 66
 NILSSON, Mme. Christine, at Stockholm, 56
 NORTHAMPTON, a number of young women stabbed after nightfall, 15
 NORWAY.—BUDGET [305]
 EDUCATION question [305]
 KIELLAND, Mr. Alexander, grant of "poet's stipend" refused [305]
 MINISTRY, changes in [305]
 STORTHING, the, opened by the Crown Prince [304]

OBITUARY.—ABDUL Munin, Sultan, 174; Abercorn, Duke of, 188; About, Edmond, 136; Aga Ali Shah, his Highness, 178; Alfonso, King of Spain, 192; Allen, Sir George Wigram, 173; Alt Leiningen, Westerburg, Count von, 166; Andrews, Thomas, 197; Ansdell, Richard, 156; Armstrong, Col. Frederick Macnaghten, 173; Arnott, James Moncrieff, 161; Auersperg, Prince Adolf, 141; Augustus of Würtemberg, Prince, 141; Avonmore, Viscount, 146; Aylesford, Earl of, 136
 BAEYER, General, 180; Baillie, Rt. Hon. Henry J., 201; Ballu, Theodore, 161; Bappaport, Dr. Karl Baruch, 150; Barlow, Peter W., 161; Barnes, Lavinia, 198; Baudry, M. Frédéric, 140; Baxter, Dr. Evan Buchanan, 141; Bazley, Sir Thomas, 147; Becker, Hermann, 201; Benedict, Sir Julius, 162; Beresford, Most Rev. and Rt. Hon. Marcus G., 202; Birch, Samuel, 202; Bitter, Herr, 180; Blakesley, Rev. Joseph, Dean of Lincoln, 156; Bodichon, Dr. Eugène, 142; Bokhara, the Ameer of, 191; Borthwick, Lord, 202; Boteler, Capt. John H., 156; Bowes, John, 190; Braamcamp, Anselmo J., 197; Brialmont, General, 156; Brown, Hugh, 178; Buckinghamshire, Earl of, 190; Bulley, Rev. Frederick, 180; Bunsen, Rev. Henry G. de, 151; Burnaby, Col. F. G., 138; Burns, Edward Spenser, 150
 CAIRNS, Earl, 151; Campbell, Colin Minton, 146; Camphausen, William, 166; Canon, Hans, 180; Capriora, Baron Moritz Wodianer von, 173; Caroline, Princess, sister of Prince Anthony of Hohenzollern, 166; Carpenter, Dr. W. B., 190; Casali, Signor Secchi di, 166; Cassal, Prof. Charles, 150; Castella, General, 180; Celestin, Card., F.J.J., Prince von Schwarzenberg, 151;

OBITUARY, *continued*

Chapman, Mrs. Maria Weston, 173 ;
 Chesterfield, Dowager Countess of, 174 ;
 Chigi, Cardinal Flavio, 146 ; Chisholm,
 James Sutherland, 161 ; Clare, John,
 190 ; Clay, John R., 178 ; Cluny, Mac-
 pherson, C.B., 141 ; Clutterbuck, Rev.
 James C., 160 ; Coffin, Rt. Rev. Robert
 Aston, 155 ; Coghlan, Gen. Sir William
 M., 197 ; Colan, Thomas, 178 ; Cole,
 Henry Thomas, Q.C., 141 ; Colfax, Mr.
 Schuyler, 141 ; Colquhoun, John, 161 ;
 Copland, Charles, 150 ; Corrie, Rev.
 George E., 181 ; Courbet, Admiral,
 163 ; Cowley, Lady Olivia C., 157 ;
 Cox, David, 201 ; Crawford-Pollok,
 Sir Hew, 201 ; Crofton, Gen. John
 Ffolliott, 173 ; Currey, Rev. James,
 157 ; Curtins, Dr. George, 177 ; Cuyler,
 Sir Charles H. J., 178.
 DAVIES, Dr. Herbert, F.R.C.P., 141 ;
 Davison, James W., 151 ; Demidoff,
 Paul Paulovitch, Prince of San Donato,
 142 ; Dennis, John Stoughton, 173 ;
 Dickson, James J., 197 ; Dilke, William,
 178 ; Donaldson, Thomas Leverton,
 177 ; Dorsley, Rev. John, 146 ; Douglas,
 Sir John, 178 ; Dudley, Earl of, 157 ;
 Dundonald, Earl of, 136, Dupuy de
 Lôme, M., 142.
 EARLE, Major-Gen. William, 145 ; Ebers,
 Gen. Ferdinand, 146 ; Edwards, Mrs.,
 180 ; Ektelberger, Dr. Rudolf von, 156 ;
 Ellacombe, Rev. Henry T., 174 ; Ely,
 Bishop of, Rev. J. R. Woodford, 187 ;
 Erèbe, M., 142 ; Erne, Earl of, 189 ;
 Erskine, Hon. James A., 173 ; Evans,
 Capt., Sir Frederick J. O., 201 ; Evans,
 David, 173 ; Ewing, Juliana Horatia,
 161.
 FABBRIZI, General Niccolo, 151 ; Fahey,
 James, 201 ; Fairlie, Robert F., 174 ;
 Falckenstein, Gen. Vogel von, 155 ;
 Fane, Major-Gen. Walter, 166 ; Fargus,
 Frederick J., 161 ; Farley, J. Lewis,
 197 ; Ferdinand, King of Portugal, 198 ;
 Fernandez, Gen. Don Prospero, 150 ;
 Field, Frederick, 155 ; Findlater, Dr.
 Andrew, 141 ; Forcade, Monsignor,
 180 ; Fraser, Lieut.-Col. the Hon.
 Alexander, 181 ; Frederick Charles of
 Prussia, 164 ; Frelinghuysen, Frederick,
 161 ; Fullarton, Lady Georgina Char-
 lotte, 141.
 GAGERN, Baron Carlos von, 201 ; Gains-
 borough, Lady Frances, 161 ; Gambier,
 Admiral Robert F., 190 ; Giacomo, Fa-
 ther, 190 ; Gibson, Susanna Arethusa,
 146 ; Gilbert, Dr. R. H., 177 ; Gilbert,
 Miss, 146 ; Glover, Sir John H., 181 ;
 Glyn, Rev. Sir George L., 197 ; Goethe,
 Walther von, 156 ; Golightly, Rev.
 Charles P., 202 ; Gordon, Gen. Charles
 G., 139 ; Gosset, Sir Ralph, 197 ;
 Graham, William, 173 ; Grant, Gen.
 Ulysses S., 167 ; Grant, Thomas, 156 ;
 Guildford, Earl of, 201 ; Guion, Stephen
 B., 201 ; Guy, William A., 180 ; Gyöeri,
 William, 156.
 HAGHE, Louis, 150 ; Hales, Mr. B.
 Félicité, 156 ; Halifax, Viscount, 174 ;
 Hamel, Felix John de, 174 ; Harrison,
 George L., 180 ; Hawaii, Emma, Queen

OBITUARY, *continued*

Dowager of, 154 ; Hendricks, Thomas
 A., 197 ; Heron-Maxwell, Sir John,
 178 ; Hertslet, William James, 141 ;
 Hesse, Prince Charles of, 151 ; Hiller,
 Dr. Ferdinand von, 161 ; Hinckes, Sir
 F., 178 ; Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen,
 Prince Charles Anthony of, 162 ; Hood,
 Rev. Edward Paxton, 166 ; Horsford,
 Gen. Sir Alfred H., 181 ; Horwitz,
 Bernard, 178 ; Hosken, Vice-Admiral
 James, 141 ; Houghton, 176 ; Howard,
 Lady Fanny, 202 ; Howson, Rev. John
 S., Dean of Chester, 199 ; Hudson, Sir
 James, 179 ; Hugo, Victor, 158 ; Hun-
 tingdon, Earl of, 161.
 JACKSON, John, Bishop of London, 135 ;
 Jackson, Thomas, 141 ; Jackson, Mrs.
 W. S., 177 ; Jeffreys, John, 142 ; Jen-
 kin, Fleming, 166 ; Jenkins, Joseph,
 150 ; Jonkbloet, Prof., 190.
 KALISCH, Dr. Marcus M., 178 ; Kara-
 georgevitch, Prince Alexander, 160 ;
 Kennedy, Tristram, 197 ; Kennedy,
 Vice-Admiral, John J., 178 ; King,
 Hon. Peter J. L., 197 ; Kinnoul, Lady
 Louisa Burton, 150 ; Kinsky, Count
 Eugene, 150 ; Knighton, Sir William
 Wellesley, 150 ; Kostomarov, Nicholas
 Ivanovitch, 156 ; Kuper, Admiral Sir
 Augustus, W., 190.
 LAMPSON, Sir Curtis M., 150 ; Law, Hon.
 Henry Spencer, 173 ; Leader, Robert,
 190 ; Leeson, Sir William E., 157 ;
 Levinge, Sir Vere H., 151 ; Liddell,
 Rt. Hon. Sir Adolphus F. O., 166 ;
 Locock, Sidney, 178 ; Lofthouse, Mary,
 160 ; Lowell, Mrs., 146.
 MABERLEY, Col. William Leader, 146 ;
 MacCabe, Cardinal, 144 ; Macan, Gen.
 Henry, 157 ; MacCloskey, Cardinal,
 Archbp. John, 190 ; MacIver, Charles,
 202 ; Maconochie-Welwood, Allan A.,
 161 ; Macpherson, Cluny, C.B., 141 ;
 Maffei, Count Andrea, 198 ; Main, Rev.
 Thomas J., 202 ; Manchester, Bishop
 of, Rev. James Fraser, 186 ; Manteuffel,
 Field-Marshal von, 164 ; Maxwell, Sir
 William, 201 ; M'Donald, Capt. James,
 197 ; M'Clellan, Gen. George B., 190 ;
 Medhurst, Sir Walter, 202 ; Meissner,
 Alfred, 161 ; Méran, Anna, Countess of,
 177 ; Mezzacapo, Gen. Luigi, 142 ;
 Miles, Major-Gen. Charles W., 174 ;
 Milman, Sir William, 166 ; Milne-Ed-
 wards, M. Henri, 174 ; Mirafiori,
 Countess Rosa de', 202 ; Modderman,
 Heer, 177 ; Monlear, Princess Augusta,
 151 ; Monnier, M. Marc, 156 ;
 Montefiori, Sir Moses, 171 ; Muir,
 Sir William, 165 ; Muirhead, John,
 181 ; Munro, Hugh A. Johnstone, 151 ;
 Murray, Gen. Freeman, 156 ; Mursell,
 Rev. James P., 197.
 NACHTIGAL, Dr. Gustav, 157 ; Neuville,
 Alphonse de, 161 ; Nina, Cardinal,
 174 ; Noailles, Duc de, 161 ; Nocedal,
 Señor Candido, 173 ; Nottage, George
 S., Lord Mayor, 156.
 O'CONNELL, Morgan, 141 ; Odescalchi,
 Don Livio, 197 ; O'Hagan, Lord, 142 ;
 O'Hara, Robert, 181 ; Ord, Sir Harry
 St. George, 178 ; Orloff, Prince Nicho-

OBITUARY, *continued*

las, 151; Ozzard, Lieut.-Col. Albert H., 161
PALMER-RIGBY, Maj.-Gen. Christopher, 156; Panebianco, Card. Antonio M., 197; Parkes, Sir Harry S., 149; Perrin, Emile, 190; Petitpierre, Gustave, 141; Phayre, Sir Arthur, 200; Phillimore, Sir Robert, 143; Philp, Elizabeth, 197; Pinnock, Rev. William H., 201; Pirie, Dr., 197; Polwhele, Gen. Thomas, 161; Pope, Maj.-Gen. George, 141; Posa da Herrera, Señor Jose de, 180; Prideaux, Miss Helen, 198; Primrose, Col. the Hon. Everard H., 156; Prittwitz und Gaffron, Gen. von, 190; Procter, Maj.-Gen. Montague, 190; Prowse, Joseph, 197
RAMSAY, Lieut.-Col. Balcarres Dalrymple Wardlow, 142; Ranelagh, Viscount, 197; Ratcliff, Col. Charles, 180; Reade, Thomas Fellowes, 151; Rees, Rev. Dr., 157; Reid, Sir Alexander, 201; Richards, Brinley, 160; Rogier, Charles, 160; Rondaire, Commander, 141; Rose, Sir William, 197; Rosetti, Constantine X., 156; Rovere, Count Ferenzio M. della, 161; Rowsell, Francis W., 180; Runbeer Singh, Maharajah of Cashmere, 179; Rye, Edward Caldwell, 146
SAINTON DOLBY, Madame, 146; Salisbury, Bishop of, Rev. George Moberly, 167; Salusbury-Trelawny, Sir John, 177; Samuda, Joseph d'Aguilar, 157; Sartorius, Adm. Sir George, 154; Schindler, Julius Alexander, 150; Schlagintweit, Prof. Robert von, 166; Schleinitz, Count von, 146; Schleswig-Holstein Glücksburg, Duke Frederick, 198; Scott-Douglas, Sir George II., 166; Scratchley, Maj.-Gen. Sir Peter, 201; Selborne, Laura Countess of, 156; Selkirk, Earl of, 153; Sénard, M., 190; Serrano, Marshal, 194; Shaftesbury, Earl of, 181; Shahzadah Sultan Sikander, 173; Shairpe, John Campbell, 181; Shaw, Henry W., 190; Silliman, Prof. Benjamin, 141; Smith, Philip, 161; Smyth, Mr. J. P., 141; Somerset, Duke of, 195; Sommerand, M. du, 146; Stern, Rev. Henry A., 161; Stewart, Maj.-Gen. Sir Herbert, 144; Stracey, Sir Henry Josias, 177; Strassman, Dr. Wolfgang, 201; Strathnairn, Lord, 184; Stronge, Sir Matthew, 150; Styeler, Karl, 156; Sullivan, Sir Edward, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 153; Swanwick, Frederick, 197; Syer, John, 166
TALBOT, Hon. Gerald Chetwynd, 146; Teignmouth, Lord, 181; Tempest, Lord Ernest McDonald V., 178; Thomas, Sidney Gilchrist, 146; Thoms, William J., 178; Thorburn, Robert, 196; Thornycroft, Thomas, 178; Thurn und Taxis, Prince Maximilian, 165; Topete, Don Juan B., 190; Travancore, Maharajah of, 177; Trefusis, Col. the Hon. Walter R., 201
ULLESBURGER, Xavier, 201
VANDERBILT, William H., 188; Vatel, M. Charles, 142; Vaughan, Henry

OBITUARY, *continued*

Halford, 156; Vaux, William S. W., 166; Vavasour, Sir Edward, 178; Veitch, William, 173; Vesey, Fitzgerald, Rt. Hon. Sir William R., 166
WADESON, Col. Richard, 141; Walker, Sir James, 178; Wardlaw, Gen. Robert, 201; Watson, Dr. Morrison, 151; Webb, Rev. Benjamin, 198; Weguelin, Thomas M., 155; Wells, Sir Mordaunt, 197; White, Richard Grant, 156; Wigan, Horace, 177; Williams, Penly, 174; Wilson, George, 201; Wilson, Rear-Adm. John Crawford, 173; Wilton, Earl of, 138; Wordsworth, Dr. Christopher, Bishop of Lincoln, 147; Wright, Gen. von, 173; Wurtemberg, Duke Alexander of, 173; Wynn, Sir Watkin Williams, 157; Wyon, Edward W., 146
YOLLAND, Col. William, 180; Yorke, Hon. Eliot T., 160; Young, John Radford, 150
O'BRIEN, Mr., at Mallow, on the Prince of Wales's visit to Ireland [199]
ODLUM jumped off Brooklyn Bridge and died of injuries, 30
OIL-SHELLS for saving life at sea, experiments at Montrose, 21
OKO Jumbo, King of Bonny, arrived in Liverpool, 30
OLIVER Brothers & Phillips, Messrs., of Pittsburg, suspended payment, 5
ORANGE Apprentice Boys' celebration at Londonderry, 49
ORANGE FREE STATE.—BOERS' encroachments [364]; revenue [364]
OSTERLEY Park Library, sale of, 29
OXFORD, Convocation at, for the grant of 500*l.* to the Physiological Laboratory, 14; commemoration, various honorary degrees conferred, 37; Mr. Plowden's decision about the claims of the undergraduates to vote, 56; upheld by the Divisional Court of Appeal, 61
 — University and Dover Rowing Clubs, a crew of eight rowed from Dover to Calais, 45
PAISLEY Church struck by lightning, 26
PALATINE, the, and other clubs in Manchester fined for infringing the Betting Houses Act, 33
PALGRAVE, Mr. Francis Turner, elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 65
"PALL Mall Gazette" on the Russian question [68]
PANAMA, Isthmus of, disturbances in [383]; canal, progress of [384]; Colon burnt and Aspinwall destroyed [383]; Jouett, Admiral, restores the free transit across the isthmus [384]
PARLIAMENT.—**QUEEN'S SPEECH** at the close of session [130]; ministry, change of [111]; Recess, the [134]; Easter [65]; Whitsuntide [96]; session, close of [131]; sixth session prolonged, 50
ADMIRALTY finance, state of [117-119].
AFGHANISTAN frontier defence [85].
ARMY Estimates [64]

PARLIAMENT, *continued*

BEATRICE, Princess, her dowry [92];
BISMARCK, Prince, hostility to Gladstone or his Cabinet [48]; complaint about Samoa [49]. BUDGET, Mr. Childers' [89-91]; second reading [102]; Sir M. Hicks-Beach's [117]

CABINET Crisis [45]; Lord Salisbury's [107]; policy of [113]. CENSURE, vote of [28-36]. CENTRAL ASIA, debate in the Lords [83]. CLOSURE, first application of [37]. COLONIAL legislation [91]; representatives [7]. CREDIT, vote of [69]; agreed to [79]; Lord Hamilton's amendment negatived [82]. CRIMINAL Law Amendment Bill [92], [127]

DISESTABLISHMENT question [154]

EGYPT, Debate in the Lords [39-44]; change of policy in [81]. EGYPTIAN Loan, debate on the [52]. ELECTION, the General [175]. ELECTIONS: Antrim, 30; Aylesbury, 43; Gloucestershire, West, 14; Lincolnshire, North, 41; Tipperary [19]; Wakefield, 40; Wolverhampton, 65; Borough [185]; Municipal, 62; Scotch [186]; County [187]

FOREIGN policy of the Conservatives [193]. FRANCE, relations with [51]

GOVERNMENT, defeat of [103]; opinions of the press [104]

HOME Rule, Mr. Gladstone's scheme [188]. HOUSING of the working classes [94]; introduced by Lord Salisbury [120]

IRISH Coercion Bill [92]; Land Bill, second reading [126]; legislation of the Government [123]; Nationalists' manifesto [180]

LABOURERS' (Ireland) Bill [126]

MEDICAL Relief disqualification [88]

NAVY, administration of [61]; estimates [63]. Newfoundland Fisheries [194]

PROGRAMMES, Lord Rosebery's [135]; Mr. Forster's [137]; Mr. Chamberlain's [139]; Mr. Parnell's [143]

QUETTA Railway, the [85]

REDISTRIBUTION Bill [56, 59, 87]. REGISTRATION Bill [87]. RESERVES, the, called out [47]. RUSSIA, negotiations with [67]. RUSSO-AFGHAN frontier joint Boundary Commission [45]

SCOTCH, representation [60]. SELLAR, Mr., his private Bill legislation proposals [33]. SESSION, business of [27]. Soudan, abandonment of [80]

WARREN, Sir Charles, his recall [193]. WOLFF, Sir H. Drummond, on a special mission to the Sultan [194]

PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES.—

ARGYLL, Duke of, on Indian and Egyptian affairs [82]; the ministerial action in Egypt [86]. ARNOLD, Mr. A., on the Scotch seats [57]

BALFOUR, Mr. A. J., at Hertford [112].

BARTLEY, Mr. G. C. T., reasons for his resignation [59]. BENSON, Archbp., at the Diocesan Conference at Lambeth [112]. BRADLAUGH, Mr., his withdrawal [115]. BRASSEY on the navy estimates [61]. BRETT, Mr. R. B.,

PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES, *cont.*

letter to the *Times* [136]. BRIGHT, Mr. John, on old and new Radicalism [12]; testimony to Lord Spencer [125]. BRUCE, Mr., on the Egyptian Loan [53]. BRYCE, Mr., on the University vote [56]; his amendment negatived [57]

CARNARVON, Lord, on Gen. Gordon's mission [41]; crime in Ireland, 114. CHAMBERLAIN, Mr., his programme of future legislation [2]; foreign and colonial questions [3]; at Ipswich [4]; at Birmingham [9]; creation of a yeoman class [11]; Egyptian Loan [54]; policy of the Government in the Soudan [82]; Radical policy [100]; "Ransom" [101]; at Hull [139]; article in the *Birmingham Post* [148]; at Warrington [151]; Socialism [152]; at Inverness [161]; at the Victoria Hall, Lambeth [168]; at Bradford [164]; at Trowbridge [171]; reply to Mr. Forster [175]; on Home Rule [190]. CHAPLIN, Mr. H., on the extinction of the yeoman class [17]; vote of censure [83]. CHILDERS, Mr., on the Egyptian Loan, [55]; his Budget [89]; Admiralty accounts [117]; at Pontefract [171]. CHURCHILL, Lord R., at Paddington [80]; at the Tower Hamlets on Tory Policy [98]; at Sheffield [150]. COURTNEY, Mr. L., at Torpoint [22]; on the Soudan expedition [34]. CRANBROOK, Lord, on the progress of Russia [83]

DERBY, Lord, defence of the Ministerial policy [40]; at Liverpool [175]. DILKE, Sir C., on the enclosure of commons [5]; defence of the Cabinet [34]; the Budget [102]; resignation of the Ministers [105]; at Chelsea [169]

FORSTER, Mr. W. E., on the Soudan expedition [35]; his political programme [137]; address [175]. FOWLER, Mr., on the borough seats [58]

GIBSON, Mr., on the sins of the Government [24]. GLADSTONE, Mr., on Egyptian affairs [26]; business of the session [27]; vote of censure [29]; evacuation of the Soudan [31]; agreement with Russia [46]; Egyptian loan [52]; the Russian question [69]; vote of credit for 11,000,000*l.* [71], 24; Russian policy [75]; the Budget [103]; resignation [106]; negotiations through the Queen [108]; letter to the Midlothian Liberal Association [111]; winding up the business of the session [115]; his Liberal manifesto [155], 55; letter to Mr. Bosworth Smith [174]; at Carlisle [176]; at Edinburgh, 63; in Midlothian [177]; West Calder [179]; on the creation of yeoman [182]; scheme of Home Rule [188]. GLADSTONE, Mr. Herbert, at Leeds [18]. GOSCHEN, Mr. at Edinburgh [14], [170]; at Liverpool [24]; on the intentions of the Government towards the Soudan [32]; at St. Leonard's [159]; at Harrow [172]. GRANVILLE, Lord, on Gen. Gordon's death and

PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES, *cont.*

- Egyptian affairs [25]; summing up the debate in the Lords [42]; Russian affairs [46]
- HAMILTON, Lord, his amendment on the Vote of Credit, 81; negatived [82].
- HARCOURT, Sir William, reply to Mr. Goschen [33]; at Blandford [163]
- HARROWBY, Lord, on the Admiralty accounts [118]. HART-DYKE, Sir W., moves the second reading of the Irish Land Bill [126]. HARTINGTON, Lord, reply on behalf of the Ministry [35]; army estimates [64]; Soudan and Afghan questions [82]; at Waterfoot [144]; at Rawtenstall [171]; on "expropriation" [172]; visit to Ireland [173]. HICKS-BEACH, Sir M., his eulogium on Gen. Gordon [24]; peasant proprietors [24]; policy of the opposition [34]. Egyptian Loan [53]. Bradlaugh taking the oath [115]; business of the session [115]; Budget [117]; at Salisbury [164]; correspondence with Mr. Gladstone [164].
- HOPWOOD, Mr., his amendment on promissory and other oaths negatived [115]
- IDDESLEIGH, Lord, on the depression of trade [129]
- KIMBERLEY, Lord, on the Soudan expedition [41]; defence of India [83]
- LUBBOCK, Sir John, at Glasgow on the Soudan expedition [23]
- MORLEY, Mr. John, on the Soudan expedition [23], [82]; at Newcastle [66]; at Clapton [153]; at Cambridge [163]; on Irish affairs [191]. MULHOLLAND, Mr., on the Irish seats [57]. MUNDILLA, Mr., on popular education [122]
- NAPIER of Magdala, Lord, on the Soudan expedition [42]. NORTHBROOK, Lord, on the Vote of Censure in the Lords [39]. NORTHCOTE, Sir S., at Barnstaple [7]; at Bideford [8]; on the absorption of the yeoman class [17]; notice of the Vote of Censure [27]; motion negatived [36], 12; on the Egyptian Loan [55]; deserted by his followers [58]; on the amendment for the Vote of Credit [82]; at Barnstaple [97]; created Lord Idlesleigh [108]
- PARNELL, Mr., at Clare [18]; the Tipperary election [19]; on the Barbavilla and Maamtrasna murders [122]; his programme [143]; political forecasts [149]; at Liverpool [178]; in Dublin on the coming campaign [200]. PLUNKETT, Mr., at Gloucester [154]
- RAIKES, Mr., on the metropolitan constituencies [60]. RICHMOND, Duke of, on Lord Northbrook's theory about the Opposition [40]. RIPON, Lord, at Ripon [22]; on the Russian question [72]; at Sleaford [98]
- ROSEBURY, Lord, at Epsom [23]; at Manchester [66]; his definition of the Liberal party [112]; in Midlothian and the Liberal programme [135]; on disestablishment [179]
- SALISBURY, Marquess of, on the general policy of the Government [26]; moves his Vote of Censure [36]; on the inde-

PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES, *cont.*

- cision of the Government [43]; at Wrexham [73]; at Welshpool [74]; at Hackney [79]; on the Afghan frontier [84]; at Knightsbridge [86]; the business of the new Ministry [113]; housing of the working classes [120]; on Lord Spencer's viceroyalty [125]; at the Mansion House [128]; at Newport [168]; at the Victoria Theatre, Lambeth [176]; his manifesto [181]; at St. Stephen's Club [183]. SHAW-LEFEVRE, Mr., at Reading, 66. SMITH, Mr. W. H., on the foreign and colonial policy of the Government [5]; the state of the Navy [63]; and the military ports [64]. SPENCER, Lord, on the Tory policy in Ireland [125]. STANHOPE, Mr. E., on elementary education [121]
- TREVELYAN, Mr. G. O., on the abandonment of the Soudan [31]; at Selkirk [99]; at Galashiels [100]
- WEMYSS, Earl of, on the abandonment of the Soudan [85]
- PARNELL, Mr., at the Nationalist Convention at Thurles, forces them to withdraw Mr. O'Ryan, and accept O'Connor, 3; at Arklow, 51; at Dublin, 51
- PASTEUR, M., his address at the French Academy of Sciences, 61
- ST. PAUL'S Cathedral, outrage during the Holy Communion, 20
- Church of, Wandsworth, discovery of vaults, 70
- PEABODY Donation Fund, annual report of the Trustees, 10
- PHELAN, "Captain," attacked by Barker, 3
- PIGEONS, carrier, decree of the French Government to owners and breeders of, 56
- PONDOLAND, British protectorate proclaimed, 2
- POLES, the, banishment of, from Germany [233], 52
- "POONAH" transport, the, series of misadventures, 12
- POPE, the, and the Italian Government, 46
- PORTUGAL.—BRAAMCAMP, Senhor A. J., death of [298]. BUDGET [295]
- COASTING Trade Bill [295]. CONGO, both banks of the, seized by, 8. CROWN patronage in India [298]. CUSTOM House reform [297]
- DAHOMY, protectorate over [298]. DOM Fernando, King, death of [298]
- LISBON Harbour Works [294]
- PEERS, election of [296]
- REFORM Bill [295]
- SALT Tax [294]
- PRESS, opinions of the, at the closing of the session in August [32]
- PRIMROSE League, the, annual banquet in commemoration of Lord Beaconsfield, 23
- QUEEN Victoria acknowledged the offers of assistance from the colonies, 11; held an investiture of the Order of the Bath, the Star of India, and the St. Michael and the St. George, 41; a Council at Windsor to dissolve Parliament, 64; presented medals to a party of non-

QUEEN Victoria—continued

commissioned officers and men from the Soudan, 65; letter contradicting the statement about her investments, 58; left Aix-les-Bains for Darmstadt, 24; at the confirmation of Princess Irene of Hesse, 25

— and Princess Beatrice left Portsmouth for Aix-les-Bains, 20; returned to Windsor, 25; visited the sick and wounded soldiers from the Soudan at Netley Hospital, 29

QUEENSLAND, Act for prohibiting the introduction of rabbits [400]; Appropriation Bill [401]; colonists, meeting of, to form it into a self-governing colony, 57; the *Hopeful*, and other vessels, enormities committed by [398]; labour trade [398]; members, payment of [400]; north and south, proposed separation [399]; return of the islanders [399]

QUINQUENNIAL valuation of the metropolis, result of, 69

RACES.—**ASCOT**, 37; **CITY** and Suburban, 25; **DONCASTER**, St. Leger, 55; **EPSOM**, Derby Stakes, 33; Grand Prize, 33; Spring Meeting, 25; **FRENCH** Derby, 82; **GOODWOOD**, 47; **GREAT Ebor** Handicap, 52; **GRAND PRIX** de Paris, 36; **HENLEY** Regatta, 40; **INTERNATIONAL** Bicycle Championship, 20; **INTER-University** Athletic Sports, 18; **LILLIE** Bridge, 53, 57; **MANCHESTER** Cup, 32; **MELBOURNE**, Victoria, 59; **NATIONAL** Rifle Association, meeting at Wimbledon, 45; **NEWMARKET**, 26; **Cambridgeshire** Stakes, 61; **Cesarewitch** Stakes, 59; **Middle Park** Plate, 59; **The OAKS**, 34; **ONE THOUSAND** Guinea Stakes, 27; **POWDERHALL** Grounds, Edinburgh, second contest between Mr. George and J. E. Cummings, 54; third at Lillie Bridge, 57; **SCULLING** match between Hanlan and Beach, Paramatta River, 19; **Clifford** and Beach, 12; **Hanlan** and **Clifford**, 8; **UNIVERSITY** Boat Race, 18; **WESTMINSTER** Aquarium, 39; **YACHT** Race from Dover to Ostend, 44; at New York, 54, 55

RAILWAY, Canadian Pacific, completed, 63
— London and North-Western, the workmen put on short time, 58

RANKE, Leopold von, ovation to, on his ninetieth birthday, 69

REGINA v. Ashwell, judgment reserved, 36; verdict, 67

RESERVE Force and Militia Reserves called out, 17

RIOR declared contraband of war by the French Government, 12

RICHMOND and Gordon, Duke of, Secretary of State for Scotland, 49

RIOTS, election, in various parts of the country, 67

RIPON, Marquess of, enthusiastic welcome at Studley Royal, 7

RISEHOLM Palace sold, 41

ROBERTS, Sir Randal, garotted and robbed, 35

ROCHEFORT, M. Henri, on the assassination of Olivier Pain, 50

ROCKING-STONE at Buckstone, Monmouthshire, thrown down, 35

ROSEBURY, Earl of, appointed Lord Privy Seal, 9

ROSIÈRE, the, crowned at the Albert Palace, Battersea, 50

ROSSA, O'Donovan, shot by Mrs. Yseult Dudley, 8

ROTHSCHILD, Sir Nathaniel de, made a peer, 38

ROYAL Navy Reserve, 2,000 firemen and stokers admitted, 64

RUSSIA.—**AFGHAN** question [259]. **CZAR**, the, Czarina and Cesarewitch entertained at Kremsier by the Emperor and Empress of Austria, 52

EASTERN question [262]

KOMAROFF, Gen., presented with a diamond-hilted sword [261]

ST. PETERSBURG, Maritime Ship Canal to Cronstadt opened by the Czar, 31

UKASE forbidding the transfer of landed property among the Poles [258]

WARSAW, Nihilist conspiracy discovered at, 57

SAHAM Toney, Norfolk, a parishioner excommunicated, 47

SALISBURY, Lord, accepted the task of forming an administration, 36

SALTAIRE, strike of the spinners, 15

SALVATION Army, "miracles" performed by "Major" Pearson in the potteries district, 9

SAMOA, encroachments of Germany [407]
German exports and imports, 408

SANATORIUM at Virginia Water opened by Prince of Wales, 36

SCARAMANGA & Co., Messrs., failure of, 17

SCHLIEMANN, Dr. Henry, receives the gold medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 34

SCHOLZ, Mr., committed perjury in the case of *Belt v. Lawes*, 4

SCHÖNERER, Herr, of the Austrian Chamber of Deputies, censured for his attack on the privileges of the press, 7

SCHOOL Board, London, meeting of the Finance Committee, 7; increase of expenditure per child, 58

SCHOOLS, voluntary, their position since 1870, 66

SCIENCE, retrospect of, 17.—

ASTRONOMY, the sun, 129; the planets, 129; stellar astronomy, 130; variations in the Nebula in Andromeda, 131; determination of latitude and longitude, 132

BIOLOGY, development of the monotremata, 117; eye-organs in the mollusca, 118; the *Challenger* expedition, 118; effects of cold on lower forms of life, 118; evolution theory, 119; animal colouring matter, 120; development of ferns, 120; a new blood-ferment, 120; minor biological discoveries, 121; cause of cholera, 121; cure of hydrophobia, 122

CHEMISTRY.—Action of water on metals, 122; new metals, 123; cause of chemical

SCIENCE, continued

action, 123 ; manufacture of oxygen, 123 ; a test of protoplasm, 124 ; new alloy, 124

GEOGRAPHY.—Central Asia, journey of the Indian explorer, 132 ; Africa, M. Girard's attempt to reach the Upper Congo, 133 ; the Portuguese Central African Expedition, 133 ; exploration in Somaliland, 133 ; area annexed by Germany, 134 ; America, discovery of the true source of the Mississippi, 133 ; the Hudson Bay route, 134 ; ascent of Mount Roraima, 134 ; Australasia, 134 ; ascent of Ruapehu, 134 ; of the highest of the Australian Alps, 134 ; exploration in New Guinea, 134

GEOLOGY.—Result of deep boring at Woolwich and Richmond, 128 ; Triassic beds, 128 ; metamorphism, 129

PHYSICS and MECHANICS.—New forms of telephone, 124 ; penetration of light through water, 125 ; electric currents and their applications, 125 ; new mechanical inventions, 126 ; the Etève engine, 126 ; a new lubricant, 127 ; a dynamite gun, 127 ; a new explosive, 127 ; tunnelling under rivers, 127 ; the Canadian Pacific Railway, 128

SCOTLAND, elections at Holyrood Palace, Marquess of Queensbury excluded, 67

SEAFORTH Highlanders, the feather bonnet issued to the regiment, 6

SERVIANS, the, crossed the frontier, and captured Pirot, 65

SHAFTESBURY, Earl of, funeral service in Westminster Abbey, 58

SHAKESPEARE'S birth, anniversary of, celebrated at Stratford-on Avon, 52

SHAW-LEFEVRE, Mr. G., admitted to the Cabinet, 9

SHIPPING DISASTERS.—"Algama," a complete wreck, 63 ; "Banshee," struck on a rock, 33 ; "Beaver," stranded on Blakeney West Sands, 65 ; "Brenda" and "Dolphin," collision, 55 ; "Caistor" lifeboat struck and sank, 44 ; "Calypso" and "Rover," collision, 58 ; "Chusan," ashore on the island of Perim, 7 ; "Dwarf" gunboat drove on the rocks off Holyhead, 59 ; "Hecla" and "Cheerful," collision, 44 ; "Helvetia," crushed in the ice, 27 ; "Iberian," ashore in Duncannon Bay, 65 ; "Indus," ashore on a coral reef at Moelito, 62 ; "Leander," ashore in Bantry Bay, 37 ; "Monarch," broke down after leaving Port Said, 21 ; "Roman" and "Guillermo," collision, 65 ; "Stanley" and "Eleanor," collision, 4 ; "Swiftsure," struck on a bank off Cape Elizabeth Island, 54 ; "William and Edward," capsized, 28

SHOEBURYNESSE, terrible disasters at, with experiments of "sensitive fuses," 12

SIMMONS, Police Inspector shot, 5

SION College, memorial stone of new hall and library, laid by the President, 24

SKYE, seizure of crofters' cattle at Uig, 29

SMITHFIELD Club Cattle Show closed, 68

SNOWSTORMS.—Alpine districts, 5 ; Austria, 43 ; France, Eastern and Southern, 29 ; London and great part of England, 17 ;

SNOWSTORMS, continued

Scotch and Welsh mountains, 56 ; Scotland, 19, 28 ; Vienna, 29.

SOCIAL Democratic Federation, meeting of the, 22 ; of the "unemployed" on the Thames Embankment, 10

SOCALIST meeting in Dod Street, Limehouse, 57.

SPAIN.—**BUDGET** [288]

CAROLINE Islands' dispute [289]. **CHOLERA** [289]. **COMMERCIAL** Treaty, [287]

EARTHQUAKES [287]. **ELECTORAL** Coalition [291]

FROST, 6 degrees of, 5

KING, the, conspiracy to assassinate discovered [289] ; his visit to Aranjuez [289] ; death [292]

LIBERAL Government [293]

MADRID, riotous demonstration on account of the cholera, 38 ; payment of house-tax for the British legation refused, 47 ; German Legation attacked, 53

POLITICS, foreign [288] ; home [289]

QUEEN Regent takes the oath [294]

RECRUITS for Cuba [288]

SPARROW'S nest discovered in the axletree-box of a cannon, 29

SPENCER, Earl, left Dublin, 39 ; his dinner at Westminster Palace Hotel, 44

"**SPHÉNOPHOGONES,**" the annual dinner at Paris, 23

STANFORD, Senator, of California, his munificent gifts, 63

STAPLES, Alderman, Lord Mayor of London, 63

STEAD, Mr. W., charged with the Armstrong abduction case, 53, 56, 63 ; removed to Holloway Gaol, 64

STEPHEN, Mr. A. Condie, his journey from Teheran to London, 28

STEPHENS, James, and Eugene Davis expelled from France, 15

STEWART, Gen. Sir H., severely wounded, 5

STOCK Exchange, panic in the, 21

STORMS.—**AUSTRIA,** 43 ; Colon, Isthmus of Panama, 66 ; London, Kent, and Berks, 54 ; Matlock, 60 ; Romford, St. Ervan, 54 ; Scotland, south-west, 26 ; and eastern coast, 49 ; Torre-cajetani, near Anagni, 44 ; Union, Southern and Eastern States of, 52

STRIKES.—**CHICAGO,** 23 ; Elswick, 55 ; Illinois and Joliet, 23 ; Oldham cotton operatives, 43, 59 ; Pittsburg and iron districts of Pennsylvania, 33 ; Saltaire, 15 ; Sunderland, 66 ; United States, 14, 26 ; Vienna [251] ; Yorkshire, south and west, colliers, 20

SUAKIN-BERBER, railway plant to be used for military railways, 49

SUBSIDENCE between Ossulton Street and the Midland Railway Station, 68 ; of the Pont Neuf, Paris, 68

SUEZ Canal, accident to a heavy dredger, 35

SUICIDES.—In Paris, 48 ; Keller, Hermann, 27 ; Thiebault, M. Paul, 12

SUMNER v. Hoare, judgment given, 16

SVENDSEN, Capt. Christian, voyage in a small boat from Stockholm to Millwall, 49

- SWEDEN.**—**ENGLISH** church, foundation-stone laid by the Princess of Wales, 55; "Fackföreningar," the [308]; "Grundskatterna," or land-tax [306]; Norway, relations with [307]; "Norse-haters," the [307]; protective duties [306]; speech from the throne [306]
- SWITZERLAND.**—**ANARCHISTS**, expulsion of [285]
CONSTITUTION, revision of [285]
LOCHAT, Mgr., appointed Bishop of Tessin [286]; **LIQUOR** traffic [285]
SMUGGLING [286]
- TASMANIA.**—Free trade system agreed to [402]; vote of 4,000*l.* towards the expenses for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition [402]
- TAYLOR**, Miss Helen, stands for North Camberwell, 32; not accepted, 65
- TELEGRAPH** tariff, the new, in operation, 57
- TELEPHERAGE**, successful experiment at Glynde, near Lewes, 59
- TELEPHONING**, trials of long distance at New York, 8
- TEMPLE** Church, seventh centenary of its dedication, 13
- TESTAMENT**, the Old, revised translation, precautions to prevent premature publication, 29
- THEATRES**, restrictions removed of closing on Ash-Wednesday, 57
- THURLOW**, Lord, motion for opening the national museums on Sunday, 16
- TRADES' Union** Congress meeting at Southport, 53
- TRANSVAAL**, state of affairs in [363]. Finances [364], 46; Krüger, President, his address at the Volksraad [363]
- TRAVANCORE**, Maharajah of, weighed against a mass of pure gold, 27
- TRICOUPIS** Ministry, the [265]
- TROOPS** of the United Kingdom, examination held, 13
- TUNIS**, international grievances [214]
- TURKEY** and the minor States of Eastern Europe [264]. **ALEXANDER** I., enters Philippopolis [269]; tenders his submission to the Sultan [275]; enters the Servian territory [267]
BULGARIAN Government recall the greater part of their troops [271]
CHRISTOVITCH, M. Gavril, Governor of Eastern Roumelia [267]. **CONFERENCE** of the Powers [273]
DELYANNIS, M., Prime Minister [266]
GREEK Parliament opened [272]
HADJEPETROS, Col., dismissed [266]
NICHOLSON, Mr., outrage on [266]
PEACE Negotiations [277]. **PHOTIADES** Pasha, resignation of [264]
ROUMELIA, Eastern, revolution [269]
SERVIAN troops despatched to the frontier [271]; advance into Bulgaria [274]
- TURLEY**, John, attacked, wife killed, 14
- UIG** Islands, invasion of the tacksmen, 53
- UNITED STATES**, 369.—**BROOKLYN** factory fell down, 26
CABINET, the new, [373]. **CENTRAL** America, union proclaimed by Gen. Barrios [373]; Cleveland, Mr., chosen President [369], 13; Congress assembled [376]
GRANT, Gen., death of [374]
HARVARD University, Mr. H. Irving's address, 19; Hendricks, Vice-President, death of [375]
IRISHMAN Journal, the United, offers a reward for the Prince of Wales' body, 9
ST. LOUIS, dead body of a man discovered, 22
MCCLELLAN, Gen. G. B., death [375]
PARTIES, state of [369]; Presidential speech [369-373]
REVENUE [377]
SILVER-COINAGE question [376]. Strikes, general, 14; of colliers, 26
WARD, Ferdinand, his frauds [375]
UNIVERSITY, a teaching, for London, 2
- VACCINATION** Act, the, summonses issued to those refusing to comply with it, 9
- VANDERBILT**, Mr. W. H., his death [375]; his will proved, 68
- VEGETARIAN** Society, the, results obtained at the Health Exhibition, 4
- VERNEY**, Sir Harry, farewell dinner to, 60
- VICTORIA.**—**AMBAS** Bay, the British flag hauled down, and the German flag hoisted, 14; financial condition [397]; liquor traffic [396]; Loch, Sir H. B., opens Parliament [396]; Melbourne Harbour Trust Loan [398]; New Guinea annexed by Germany [395]; Soudan, offers of assistance for [396]
- VOLCANOS.**—Colima, Mexico, 70; Coto-paxi of Ecuador, 44; Smerve, 36; Vesuvius, 26
- VOLUNTEER** manœuvres, Easter, at Brighton, Dover, and Aldershot, 21
- WALES**, Prince of, at the Stock Exchange, 13; presided at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, 16; with Prince Albert Victor and the Duke of Connaught, left London for Berlin, 16
—, the Princess and Prince Albert Victor visit Ireland [195], 21; laid the foundation-stone of the new Art and Science Museum, the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on the Prince, and Doctor of Music on the Princess, 21; left Dublin for a tour through Ireland, 22; at Belfast, 24; returns to England, 25
- WALES**, Prince Albert Victor, of, entered as a student at the Middle Temple, 6; opened the Whittington Home for Boys in Whitechapel, 8; initiated as a Freemason in the Royal Alpha Lodge, 16; Master of the Bench of the Middle Temple, 35; admitted to the freedom of the City of London, 39
- WARREN**, Sir Charles, his recall [193]

- WASHINGTON, dedication of the Washington monument, 11
- WATERHOUSE, Mr. Alfred, elected a Royal Academician, 33
 — Mr. J. W., Associate of the R.A., 33
- WATERSPOUTS in Austria, 43; in Jaliseo and Guanajata, 34; over the Cordal Mountain, 45
- WELDON, Rev. J. E. C., Head Master of Harrow School, 25
 — v. Gounod, damages awarded, 27
- “WELLINGTON,” the, arrived at Ghent, 64
- WENLOCK, the Dow. Baroness, v. the River Dee Company, 28
- WEST INDIES, 385.—CUBA Bill [387]
 FINANCIAL position [386]
 JAMAICA, introduction of tea plant [386];
 policy of retrenchment [386]
 NORMAN, Sir H., popular governorship [386]
 REVENUE and expenditure, list of [385]
 WINDWARD Islands, Barbadoes, appointment of Governor [385]
- WHALE, carcass of, stranded on the banks of the Severn, 5
- WIGHT, Rev. W., his peculiar will, 14
- WOLFF, Sir H. Drummond, despatched on a mission to the Sultan [194]
- WOLSELEY, Lord, recalled from the Upper Nile, 26; left Suakin, 30; arrived from the Soudan, 42; created Viscount, 49
- WOOLWICH Powder Magazine, soldier bayoneted for attempting to pass the sentry, 9
- YATES, Mr. Edmund, sentenced to imprisonment, 5; released, 14
- ZANZIBAR, treaty with Germany [247]
- ZEBEHR Pasha, arrested at Cairo, 15; conveyed to Gibraltar, 16
- ZULULAND, its future [362]. Hut-tax [363]

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